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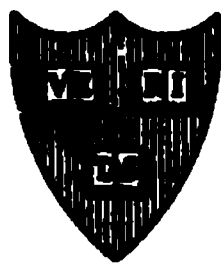
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JUNE 11, 1932

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE

From an Original Painting in the Florence Gallery.

THE
LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS
 OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

FROM HIS
**BIRTH DOWN TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR
 ST. HELENA;**

CONTAINING
 A Succinct and Interesting Account of his Early Character,
 AND OF
HIS RAPID ELEVATION

TO THE
IMPERIAL DIGNITY;
 THE
DREADFUL AND DECISIVE BATTLES HE HAS FOUGHT:

ALSO
Anecdotes of his Empresses,
 AND OF THOSE
CELEBRATED STATESMEN AND GENERALS
 WHO HAVE EITHER PROMOTED OR OPPOSED
HIS PROJECTS OF AMBITION.

THE WHOLE
*Comprising a brief Narrative of every remarkable Event which has
 occurred in the civilized World since the first Appearance*
 OF THAT MOST
 Singular and Famous Character;

WITH A MINUTE AND ENTERTAINING DESCRIPTION OF THE
 ISLAND TO WHICH HE IS EXILED.

By J. W. ROBERTSON, ESQ.

Newcastle upon Tyne,

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PREFACE.

THE history of mankind does not exhibit a more remarkable and important series of events than those which are interwoven with the life of Napoleon Bonaparte. Emerging from the greatest obscurity, amidst the convulsions of a terrible revolution, he raised himself to the highest pitch of human elevation. Possessed of an extensive and powerful empire, and directing its resources with unexampled energy and the most consummate policy, he menaced the existence of every political state. He has repeatedly vanquished the best armies and most experienced generals in Europe; the haughty Musselman has bowed to his arms and his policy, and the splendid hierarchy of the Romish church has been overturned and modelled to his pleasure. He has degraded the proud and ancient dynasties of Christendom, trampled on crowns, destroyed republics, and raised thrones on the ruins of his devastating course. Surrounded for some time by tributary princes or trembling allies, meanness and ingenuity were exhausted in panegyricizing his name; but the most unprecedented act of homage was given by the ancient and despised Israelites, who hailed him as the *Messiah* promised by the prophets. From this pinnacle of glory he has recently been hurled;

and, overwhelmed by an immense combination of enemies, presents now as a prisoner and exile a useful lesson on the subject of unprincipled ambition.

The private character of this celebrated hero is scarcely less remarkable than his public. Concentrated in himself, and always occupied with his glory, he is cold and repulsive in his manner. Unwilling to admit an equal, every thing belonging to him must strike, astonish, and impose upon the imagination. He would keep mankind at a distance, and only approach them the more effectually to direct their movements. Men are nothing to him—they are the means, himself the end: principles are nothing to him, but so far as they facilitate his purposes: he has been a Republican, Terrorist, Moderate, Musselman, and Catholic.

The elevation of individuals, whether by their merits, their crimes, or their intrigues, has always excited malignity, and become the subject of misrepresentation and abuse, especially when calumny acquires a tinge of patriotism. [The writer of the following narrative has therefore rejected all doubtful testimony, and advanced nothing but what is proved by authenticated documents, or the most circumstantial evidence; and to avoid the errors of prejudice, he has simply stated facts which speak for themselves.] Let the reader reflect and draw his own conclusions, for these eventual memoirs are pregnant with matter, which must furnish reflections the most serious and instructive.

THE LIFE
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAP. I.

BONAPARTE'S PARENTAGE—SENT TO THE SCHOOL AT BRIENNE—ATTACHMENT TO CORSICA—PECULIARITY OF HIS TEMPER—DEVOTION TO BOOKS—STUDIES IN HIS FORTIFIED GARDEN.

THE circumstances of Bonaparte's education are not much known to the public; but all that are known sufficiently prove that he gave very early indications of superior genius, and propensities of no common strength. He was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio in Corsica, of parents not above the middle rank, and of Italian, though not of noble extraction. His father's name was Charles Buonaparte, and his mother's maiden name Lætitia Ranioli; the former, having taken part with the patriots in their struggles for liberty against the French and Genoese, would have left the island with his friend General Paoli, after it was conquered, had he not been prevented by the entreaties of an uncle. Napoleon Bonaparte, his second son, gave strong proofs of very great talents even when a child; he learnt very quickly

whatever he was taught; he wished to know every thing, and suffered nothing to pass him without observation. His father remarking this penetrating disposition of his son, omitted no opportunity to comply with it, and seemed desirous of making him a superior man.

The notions of liberty which the young Bonaparte very early imbibed from all those around him, fermenting with his proud and impatient spirit, produced in him an equal fondness for command, and what was at first the mere love of resistance, became in time the lust of power. Whenever he heard his friends or relations lament the degraded state of their country, he seemed to partake of their feelings; and one day, when not above nine years old, he exclaimed, "Corsica shall be free, but we must wait." His father's former opposition to the French being forgotten on both sides, he was appointed king's proctor of the island, and lived on terms of friendship with the governor, the Marquis de Marbœuf.

Having thus come into favour, he was appointed to represent the noblesse in the deputation of the three orders sent, in 1778, to Louis XV. He died at Montpellier, whither he had gone for the re-establishment of his health. After his death, M. de Marbœuf, the friend and protector of his family, placed the second son, Napoleon, at the college of Antun, and afterwards at the military academy of Brienne. Bonaparte arrived at this place in the year 1779, being then only ten years old.

Among a hundred and fifty scholars Bonaparte was the most distinguished, not only for his wonderful proficiency, but for his singular manners and solitary disposition; he shewed a strong, vigorous, and inflexible mind, mixing very little in the sports and amusements of other boys, and never but in those of a military kind, and he always took the command; sometimes they were attended with bloodshed, and were at last put a stop to by the master of the school, who severely rebuked Bonaparte; on this he betook himself to his garden, and was never again seen among his companions

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

till the ground being covered with snow put an end to his usual employment. Whenever he talked of his country he was more than commonly animated; and used frequently to say to those of his comrades whom he conversed with, "I hope one day to be in a situation to free my country from the yoke of the French, and to restore her to her ancient liberty." He is said to have composed part of a poem on the deliverance of Corsica, in which while slumbering in one of her numerous caverns, the Genius of his country appeared to him in a dream, and putting a dagger in his hand called on him for vengeance. This was the commencement of the poem, and whenever he added any thing to it, he would go and dig up a short rusty sword which he called his dagger, and enthusiastically repeated to one of his companions the lines he had just written, after which he returned to bury his poignard.

Bonaparte's attachment to Corsica was almost proverbial. It was usual for the boys to receive the communion and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the military school by the archbishop: when he came to Bonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name: Bonaparte answered aloud. The name of Napoleon being uncommon, escaped the archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which Bonaparte did with an appearance of impatience. The minister who assisted remarked to the prelate—'Napoleon! I do not know that saint.'—'Parbleau! I believe it,' observed Bonaparte; 'the saint is a Corsican.'

His fellow pupils frequently irritated him by calling him a French vassal: he retorted eagerly, and with bitterness. He sometimes declared a belief that his destiny was to deliver Corsica from its dependence on France. The name of Paoli he never mentioned but with reverence, and he aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that officer could not accomplish. Genoa had added to the calamity of his country by surrendering it to France, and thus exposed it to a subjection which it gallantly resisted, but to which superior force compelled submission. To the Genoese his hatred

was inveterate and eternal; a young Corsican, on his arrival at the college, was presented to Bonaparte by the other students as a Genoese; the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage, he darted upon the lad with vehemence; twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment. His anger rekindled against this youth for many weeks afterwards, as frequently as he came near him.

He never shewed a particular preference for any of his comrades, but treated them all with the same gloomy reserve, and seemed like one who had lived in a desert remote from all human society; whenever he appeared among them it was to give them reproof and advice. He was often attacked by troops of the other boys whom he had provoked by his gibes and his satire, but he always repelled or avoided their attack with the utmost coolness and composure.

During the time which Bonaparte continued at Brienne, a library was formed for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Bonaparte on one of these, who was appointed librarian, were so often and so much more frequent than the applications of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper; Bonaparte was not less patient, nor less positive, and on these occasions extorted submission by blows.

The history of the little garden which he formed for himself while in this academy shows very strongly his original propensity. A piece of ground was allotted to the young men of the school, and each was to cultivate a certain portion for his amusement; but Bonaparte, not content with his own share, prevailed on two of his comrades to give up theirs to him, and adding them to it, (for they joined him on each

side) he enclosed the whole with a palisade and planted some trees in it, which served him in summer for a shade, and in two years it resembled the retreat of a hermit. On this spot he expended all the little allowance of pocket money which was sent him by his benefactor, the Marquis de Marboeuf, and was fond of retiring to walk and to meditate in this garden, where he passed almost all his hours of recreation, with a book of history or mathematics in his hand, seeming to disdain all lesser occupations. His savage and reserved temper frequently brought him into quarrels with the other boys, and he always shewed his resentment with the utmost excess of violence. The following anecdote, which has been awkwardly misrepresented, displays a strong trait of his character.—A very dangerous and improper custom prevailed in the school of Brienne of allowing the boys of a certain age, every year on the king's birth-day, a quantity of gunpowder to celebrate the anniversary in any way they pleased. The last year of his being at the school, Bonaparte came within the number of those to whom the indulgence was allowed, but not choosing to avail himself of it, either from republican pride or from a dislike to his companions, he shut himself up the whole day in his garden with his books and maps, which not a little excited both the laughter and indignation of his comrades, and they determined to be revenged on him, by disturbing his studies: about nine o'clock in the evening near twenty boys assembled in the garden adjoining to his, and prepared a pyramidal fire work, which they intended by its sudden blaze should annoy him; unfortunately a box, containing about two pounds of gunpowder, was left standing near, and while the youths were admiring the success of their pyramid, a spark fell into the box, and the consequences of the explosion were dreadful; arms, legs, and eyes were shattered by the blast, and a brick wall was overthrown; many of the boys, to save themselves, burst through Bonaparte's palisade, and forced their way into his garden: irritated at seeing the effects of his labour and the source of his pleasure

thus suddenly destroyed, he seized a spade and drove some of them back again through the fire, seeming rather to consider his own loss than their misfortune. The Belles Lettres were not any source of his entertainment; his sole and undivided attention was military acquirements, and a proficiency in the studies which form the habits of a warrior. Polite or liberal accomplishments, he appeared to consider that a soldier should disdain. He had, doubtless, heard of the achievements of Marlborough in the field, and perhaps that he had also studied the art of pleasing, 'that by it he gained whoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain every body, because he knew every body was more or less worth gaining.' But it was not by gracefulness of demeanour that Bonaparte designed to win: what he could not gain by mere force, he never sought to attain by a display of any endeavour to please; what he could not possess by his power, he never relinquished the pursuit of, but acquired it by stratagem, in which there was no seeing of his influence. He scorned the arts of a courtier, nor even employed them where it might have been supposed that no other attempt would succeed. All other means, which power, and the ingenuity of an uncultivated mind would have devised, he used without hesitation. His comrades called him The Spartan, and he retained the name until he quitted Brienne.

CHAP. II.

NAPOLEON CHOSEN CAPTAIN BY THE BOYS—BROKE BY THEIR COURT-MARTIAL—FORMS FORTIFICATIONS OF SNOW—QUITS THE SCHOOL AT BRIENNE—ADMITTED INTO THE MILITARY COLLEGE OF PARIS.

THE boys of the school were gradually familiarized to the temper of Bonaparte; he would not bend to them, and they were contented to concede to him. He accepted this acknowledgement of his superiority, without any appearance of self-gratulation, and although they could not esteem him for any of the milder virtues, they feared his inflexible nature, and allowed him either to indulge in seclusion, or to associate with themselves as he might please. The insurrections of the scholars against the masters were frequent, and Bonaparte was either at the head of each rebellion, or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore generally selected as the leader, and suffered severe chastisement. He often vindicated his conduct, but never entreated pardon. He listened to reproach and to reproof, to promises and to threats, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humiliated by these punishments that were intended to disgrace him, and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was equally received in sullen silence. He neither courted good will nor feared resentment.

The meetings of the boys were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and other officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys, and decorated by the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. These

distinctions of rank being conferred by the lads were mostly the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability; they were, therefore, considered by those who were so fortunate to obtain them, as an honourable *insignia* of merit. Bonaparte was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of Captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation; for he was soon afterwards summoned before a court martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on charges being proved against him, declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion, he was stripped of the distinguishing marks of his command, but disdained to shew that he was affected by the disgrace.

The younger boys, however, were partial to Bonaparte's manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be occupied, hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the Director of their diversions. Thus, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military rank, he was now recompensed by becoming the leader of the lads who submitted to the authority they had bestowed on him, and which authority soon extended itself over all the youths of the school. Without being restricted to observe the rules which are essential to modern military duty, he could now bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He availed himself of this new command, and he disciplined his comrades to a new mode of warfare.

His activity repressed in the only enterprise to which he was attached, Bonaparte retired to his favourite garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until the winter of the year 1783. The severity of the weather had driven him from his retreat, the snow had lain thick upon the ground, and a hard frost had set in. Bonaparte, ever fertile in expedients, determined to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. The modern art of war suc-

ceeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow pupils around him, and collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed entrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They laboured with activity, and Bonaparte superintended their exertions.

The whole of these works were soon completed according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Bonaparte, by turns, headed the assailants and the opponents; he united address with courage, and directed the operations with great applause. The weapons of the contending parties were snow-balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manœuvre, which always surprised, if it did not astonish. The encounters were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign, but the arms were different. The superiors now encouraged these games of the boys, by praising those who distinguished themselves. The sports continued throughout the winter, and it was not until the sun, in the month of March, 1784, had liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The rudeness of manners which Bonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne; his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure.

The annual examination of the pupils by the Royal Inspector General, M. le Chevalier de Renault, took place soon after. This officer found Bonaparte well versed in the art of fortification, and as he himself owed his preferment and his fortune to his talents, and to the universal testimony of an honourable conduct, he knew well how to estimate the ingenuity and ability which are the result of inquiry and reflection, and he adjudged that Bonaparte's proficiency in military knowledge entitled him to be sent to *L'Ecole Royal Militaire* at Paris. His masters, however, represented to the Inspector, several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion, but without effect, and Bonaparte arrived at the Military College at Paris, on the 17th of October, 1784.

During the time Bonaparte continued at the military school of Brienne, we have observed that he seldom courted the acquaintance of his fellow students, nor was induced to leave his retreat either to afford or receive any of those little offices of kindness which are congenial to the youthful disposition. If he quitted his professional duties or studies for the company of his comrades, it was principally to check the exuberance of their playfulness, or to condemn the objects of their solicitude. His aversion to sociability was much increased by his excessive indulgence in habits of suspicion; but if he feared treachery, he also avoided the possibility of being betrayed; he bestowed no confidence, nor accepted any favours. His temper was overbearing and irritable. He often endeavoured to control the actions of the other youths. Sometimes he excited their indignation by his sarcasms, but never did he fear their vengeance, or shrink from their endeavours to punish his ill-timed interference; he bore their attacks with firmness, and repelled them with equal violence, and with various success. No threats, either from his equals, or his superiors, nor no impending danger appeared to appal him, and he seemed as insensible to their applause as to their displeasure. Sternly independent, and confiding in himself alone, respecting no talents in another, which he could not

employ to his own purposes, intriguing where he could not command, firm in his resolves, impatient of restraint, and disdainful of authority—his character, when he left Brienne, was as remarkable for its turbulence as for its inflexibility.

To complete his knowledge of the mathematics, was the principal object of Bonaparte at the Military College of Paris. He laboured with unwearied diligence under the instructions of the celebrated Monge. The corps of Artillery and the corps of Engineers were, at that time, the only corps in France where merit was certain of promotion, and in which interest had no influence, and into one of these he determined to enter as soon as he had passed the requisite probation.

There were then about three hundred pupils at this college, and from them he selected Lauriston, a youth of phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man, for his intimates. He had made one friendship at Brienne, but which he never allowed to interrupt his professional avocations: this was with Faucalet de Bourienne, who was, like himself, a student of the mathematics, but of remarkably placid manners.

The leisure hours of Bonaparte at the college at Paris, were usually spent in one of the bastions of a small fort, called 'Lieu Brune,' which had been erected for the use of pupils. It was there that he was often seen with the works of Vaban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art.

CHAP. III.

APPOINTED LIEUTENANT IN A REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY
 -- DISSATISFIED -- QUARRELS WITH THE OFFICERS --
 LEAVES HIS REGIMENT -- COMES TO ENGLAND -- DEFEAT-
 ED AT CORSICA.

MONGE had so well qualified Bonaparte by his care and information, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fere*, in garrison at Auxonne, as Lieutenant, in the month of July, 1785, and he immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever; he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions which were then considered as factious, both by those of the higher orders, and those who were the partisans of royalty. His ill humour was seldom concealed against any regulations that abridged the privileges or checked the licentiousness of the people, and whether those regulations affected the indefeasible right of an individual, or a public body, or curtailed the excesses which arose out of the inefficacy of the laws, or the laxity of their administration, he was equally averse to the controlling power. His opposition of sentiment to all the measures of government was uniform, and unchangeable by any endeavours to reason its inconsistency or its injustice.

The death of General Count Marboëuf, in the year 1786, deprived Bonaparte of his protection and influence; the advantages which he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance, were no longer attainable, and his pay as a lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance his

rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and the numerous factions which disordered all the ranks of society in France, induced him to await with complacency for some terrible convulsion of the state that should open a path to his military activity and preferment.

While with his regiment Bonaparte by no means lived an idle life; his studies were uninterrupted, nor was he ever a moment unemployed, and he frequently remained in his chamber whole days together from morning till night. The memoirs of Montecuculi was one of his favourite books, but he did not neglect the study of politics and morality. The want of money was supposed by many people to prevent him from mixing with the other officers, and frequenting public places; but it was afterwards known that he employed himself in the studies of his profession, in general reading, and in the education of a younger brother whom he wished to prepare for the artillery; this brother, Lucien, afterwards found other employment.

Bonaparte was not long with his regiment before the revolution commenced, and with his accustomed firmness and decision of character he declared at once for liberty, which by no means tended to make him a greater favourite with his brother officers, and many of them who were irrevocably attached to the old system conceived such a dislike to him that they omitted no opportunity to persecute and insult him. While he was one day arguing with them on the causes and future progress of the revolution, he maintained singly against them all his own way of thinking so firmly, and so provoked them by his warmth, that they attempted to throw him into a ditch which was just at hand, and it was with difficulty that he avoided the effects of their resentment. From this time he forsook entirely the society of his regiment, till the spirit of freedom had made a greater progress, and brought many of his enemies to embrace the principles they had formerly despised.

The following anecdote, if true, shews that Bonaparte, at one period of his life at least, was not entirely devoid of generosity and humanity. The castle of a certain nobleman in the vicinity of Grenoble was attacked by a body of armed and irritated peasants, and Bonaparte was sent with a small force to defend it. On his arrival he saw that the noble owner of the castle was in imminent danger of being murdered; he therefore contrived immediately to get him off, and then addressed himself to the victors in nearly the following terms: 'Are you Frenchmen,' said he; this question touched them. 'What! are you Frenchmen and without generosity? No Frenchman will ever persecute a fallen enemy.' These words disarmed them, and Bonaparte by this means saved the unfortunate object of their hatred and vengeance.

After leaving his regiment, Bonaparte, in the year 1790, got the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio in Corsica, and did duty in his native town. But in 1793 it appeared that the Convention suspected him of tampering to surrender the island to the English, in consequence of which, the deputies le Courbe, St. Michael, and two others, ordered his arrest. Bonaparte, however, escaped the danger, and it has been stated, came to England in order to solicit a commission in the British army. Whether this statement be true or not, it is certain that Bonaparte was in England, but the object of his appearance here is not known. He lodged in the Adelphi, and remained in London but a short time. This information was procured from General Miranda, who says he visited him in England at the time. We state the circumstance on the authority of that general, the last time he was in this country, before his expedition to South America. This part of Bonaparte's life is involved in considerable obscurity. We know, however, that in 1794 he was appointed to command an expedition against Ajaccio, his native town, in the island of Corsica, in which he was repulsed by Masteria, a relation, who was at that time in the British service, and had served under General Elliot at the siege of

Gibraltar. The object of the expedition being defeated, he returned to Paris. Previous to an attempt being made on Corsica by the English, Bonaparte persuaded his mother to leave it with all her family, and to settle within a mile of Toulon.

CHAP. IV.

NAPOLÉON RE-ENTERS THE CORPS OF ARTILLERY—HIS CONDUCT AT THE SIEGE OF TOULON—PROMOTED—ARRESTED AT NICE—SEEKS REDRESS AT PARIS—REFUSED A PASSPORT FOR CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE siege of Toulon, which took place in autumn, 1793, afforded Bonaparte an opportunity of displaying those talents which could no longer be concealed. He was then only four and twenty years of age, and had re-entered into the corps of artillery as lieutenant, when his relation Salicetti introduced him to his colleague Barras as a young man of talents and high republican spirit. A short time after this, at the attack of fort Pharo by the French, an officer was observed extremely active in directing the corps of artillery under his command. Calm and intrepid in the midst of danger he was never unemployed, and at last, when most of his men were lying killed or wounded around him, he was seen performing the office of a common soldier with the few that remained. Upon enquiry this young officer was found to be Bonaparte. The two representatives, witnesses of his extraordinary skill and valour, immediately advanced him to the rank of a general.

Napoleon by this promotion obtained the command of the artillery, and his first operation was decisive of success. Seeing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and

arsenal, he opened a battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenas, which annoyed that position amazingly, by an incessant fire of shot and shells. Governor O'Hara, seeing the necessity of taking immediate steps for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the Convention Battery, and carry off the artillery.

Having procured some seamen from the fleet, to defend a post, from which he meant to withdraw some British soldiers; at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, marched from the town, under the command of Sir David Dundas. Although they were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide into four columns to march across olive grounds, divided by stone walls, and to ascend a considerable height, cut into wine terraces, they surprised the redoubt; but instead of forming upon and occupying the summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having done all the objects of the expedition, they eagerly followed the French troops, ascending other distant heights, and at last were compelled to retreat, by the French, who profited by their disorder, and compelled them to give up the advantages they first obtained. General O'Hara, who mounted the battery when the French were dispossessed, and when he thought the object of the day was obtained, arrived in time to witness the reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French.

After this event the besiegers began to make nearer approaches to the town, and Bonaparte directed the batteries with the greatest skill and success, and in a general attack, which immediately after took place, he signalized himself by a promptitude of exertion which marked him as one of the ablest candidates for military glory. It is said, that in the heat of the engagement Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Bonaparte; the young General requested he would attend to his

duty as a National Commissioner; 'I will do my duty,' said he, 'according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head.' Nothing was capable of inducing him to forego any purpose which he had planned.

After a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault for five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; but the victory was stained by the most terrible and indiscriminate carnage. Bonaparte having the command of the artillery, which were principally concerned in these massacres, has not unjustly been accused of cruelty in this instance. But having discovered great genius and talents, a prompt obedience to the most sanguinary orders, was, at this period, rather favourable to his advancement.

Towards the end of the year 1797, he was arrested at Nice, on suspicion of being a terrorist; but nothing reprehensible being found in his conduct or papers, he was immediately set at liberty. During this time he was indefatigably employed in military studies; it is therefore not improbable, that the events of the war which were passing before him, had deeply engaged his attention; and that he had formed some great schemes of operations in case of being again employed: but it is hardly to be supposed that he had conceived the vast project of giving law to France, and controlling the affairs of Europe.

While at Nice some one of his acquaintance, who wished to consult him on a matter of urgency, called at his apartments so early in the morning that he expected to find him in bed, but to his surprise he was dressed and sitting at study with books and maps lying every where open before him. 'What! not in bed!' said his friend. 'No,' said Bonaparte, 'I have been long arisen; two or three hours I find enough for sleep;' and he has seldom taken more since his youth.

Bonaparte, during his stay at Nice, lived in great obscurity, and laboured under much pecuniary embarrassment: his friends were not numerous, and he was often obliged for five or six livres to M. Guérin, a merchant at Marseilles; but

the assistance he received from others was even still more trifling. His prospects were shaded by adversity, and he had no certain expectation of either employment or support. Under these circumstances he went to Paris to state his complaints. Aubry, the representative, then at the head of the military department, refused him any more than the commission in the infantry he had been offered. Bonaparte demanded his discharge, which was refused: he then asked permission to retire to Constantinople, probably with a view of serving in the Turkish army, but this was likewise refused. A striking coincidence here presents itself between this and a similar circumstance in the life of Cromwell, who, finding himself not likely to emerge from obscurity at home, and the royal authority too strong for his unruly spirit, was on the point of sailing, with other puritans, for the freer land of America, when he was prevented by an order of government; and, as Hume shrewdly remarks, 'The king had afterwards full leisure to repent this exercise of his authority.' Happy had it been both for France and England, had the fire of these ambitious men been permitted to waste itself in any country less capable of finding it fuel.

CHAP. V.

**DISPUTE BETWEEN THE CONVENTION AND THE PARISIANS—
BONAPARTE APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE CONVEN-
TIONAL TROOPS—DIRECTS THE SLAUGHTER OF THE CITI-
ZENS—VISITS THE DIRECTOR CARNOT—MADE GENERAL
OF THE ARMY OF THE INTERIOR—MARRIES JOSEPHINE,
THE MISTRESS OF BARRAS—PREFERRED TO COMMAND
THE ARMY OF ITALY.**

AT the latter end of the year 1795, Napoleon's hopes were revived. Whilst the forty-eight sections of Paris seemed unanimous in their acceptance of the new constitution, forty-six of them rejected the decree that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be re-elected for the new legislature, and the decree which declared, that if the departments did not re-elect two-thirds, the convention would form an elective body, and supply the deficiency by its own nomination. These two obnoxious laws were denominated the laws of the 5th and 18th Fructidor (22d and 30th August) and were sent into the departments with the constitutional act. The scene of horror and tumult which prevailed in Paris was dreadful. The warmest debates took place, and the spirit of the Parisians was imitated by many of the departments.—The convention, however, were determined to enforce their decrees, and claimed the protection of the military. They ordered troops into the metropolis, and mingled with them some hundreds of Terrorists who were confined in prison, from their mortal antipathy against the sections. Such a guard was loudly exclaimed against by the sections; for they conceived it a signal for the return of a government like that of Robespierre. General Menou, who commanded the military force of Paris, was dispatched to where the sections met,

to effect their dispersion, or take away their arms. The Deputy, who was chosen to visit the sections, and General Menou had long conferences with them, when they said they would gladly lay down their arms, if the Convention would disarm the Terrorists; but, as they had no authority to come to terms with the sections, the troops were withdrawn on both sides, which offended the Convention, and for which General Menou was superceded.

Barras, who was charged with the direction of the armed force, was appointed in his place, and he determined to avail himself of the assistance of a general in whom he could confide. Who could be better qualified than Napoleon Bonaparte, who had served at Toulon with such success, as to confirm that opinion he entertained of his talents, which had made him appoint him a general? there was no time for hesitation; he sent immediately for Bonaparte, and gave him the second command of the Conventional troops then in Paris.

The sections beat to arms, and appeared serious in their military preparations. The inhabitants were alarmed at midnight by the sound of drums, and a knocking at almost every door, with the incessant cry of 'To arms, to arms, citizens! every one to his section—liberty or death!' This produced no material effect, as the people did not think that the assault was to be at night. About noon, however, the next day, the people were again in motion, in order to march their forces against the Thuilleries.

The troops of the Convention reached from the Pont Neuf, along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the Champs Elysees, and continued to the Boulevards; the people occupied the Rue St. Honore, the Place de Vendome, St. Roch, and the Place due Palace Royal. The convention deceived the people, in the morning, by sending to the sections, and in receiving and agitating propositions for peace, whilst they gained time to reinforce their positions, and encourage the troops to fire on the people when ordered. The debates in the Convention, and messages and letters to General Dani-

can, who commanded the troops of the Parisians, kept the people discussing instead of fighting; and to their astonishment, the post of the citizens at St. Roch was suddenly fired upon in the Cul de Sac Dauphin, and a dreadful scene of slaughter began.

The citizens on the northern side of the river were in close and terrible combat, those on the opposite were endeavouring to reach the Convention by the quay of Voltaire, though the cannon of the Convention, which defended each end of the bridge, presented to their view a most threatening appearance. The conflict on the one side of the river was not long; for the commander of the column having tried to force the passage without artillery, and being but ill provided with ammunition, a discharge of musketry was made, which quickly dispersed his followers: the artillery was commanded by Bonaparte. The battle near the Thuilleries, where the Convention was sitting, raged with great fury, the cannon being frequently seized by the insurgents, and as often retaken by the national troops. Though the sectionaries had no artillery, they made a gallant opposition, and, after many repulses, still returned to the charge, and did not retreat till after a bloody conflict of four hours. Within two hours, the firing of the cannon was heard again, which did not end till midnight, when the troops of the Convention were masters of the field of battle, and routed the citizens at every post. The church of St. Roch, and the Palais d'Egalite, were forced; the gates were opened by the cannon, and the people who had sought refuge within the walls were slaughtered. The few deputies who were in the Convention, staid in their places with their president at their head. Many of the others mixed with the troops without. The number of people slain on this memorable day, has been stated at 8000.

Barras, having had the chief command, received all the honours and the credit that the Convention fixed to the services of the day. The distinguished share that Bonaparte had in the affair, was eclipsed by the higher pretension of his

superior. The unpopularity of the measure was not likely to endear him to the Parisians; but he acquired notice, and Barras was at length so well pleased with his conduct, that he took an early opportunity of rewarding him.

After this dreadful rencounter the Convention* finished its sitting by electing itself into a body, to complete the members wanting in the council of Five Hundred. This new council and the council of Ancients, immediately elected an Executive Directory of five persons, and Lepaux, Letourneur, Rewbel, Sieyes, and Barras, were declared duly elected. Sieyes declined the office, and Carnot was appointed in his room.

When the Directory was inaugurated, Bonaparte, as General of the armed force of Paris, waited on each of the five

* This convention continued 37 months and four days sitting, they put to death the successor of an hundred kings, and, in one day, broke that sceptre, for which fourteen centuries had procured almost a religious veneration; they made France an armed nation, and sent a million and a half of men into the field, who defeated the combination of all the great powers of the continent, and subdued Holland. They enacted 11,210 laws, and denounced 360 conspirators, and 140 insurrections; 18,613 persons ended their lives by the guillotine.—The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men, and that at Marseilles 729. At Toulon 14,325 lives were destroyed; and in the south after the fall of Robespierre, 740 individuals perished. The war in La Vendee caused the destruction of 900,000 men, and more than 20,000 dwellings. Four thousand seven hundred and ninety persons committed suicide, through terror of the dreadful enormities that were committed; and 3400 women died of premature deliveries, from the same cause; 20,000 human beings perished of famine, and 1550 were driven to incurable insanity. In the colonies 124,000 white men, women, and children, and 60,000 people of colour were massacred, and two towns and 3200 habitations burnt. The loss of men by the war alone, is estimated at upwards of 800,000, and 123,789 emigrants, were for ever excluded from entering France. These were the events that happened during the time of that convention, which closed its sittings, by decreeing, that the punishment of death should be abolished at the termination of the war.

Directors. Carnot, who succeeded Sieyes, lived at the top of a house beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, his official apartments not being ready; it was on a Monday that Bonaparte presented himself, the day when a celebrated writer regularly visited Carnot. This person was singing an air, accompanied by a young lady on the piano-forte. The appearance of Bonaparte, a little well-made olive complexioned youth, amid five or six tall young men, who paid him great attention, was a great contrast: he entered the room and bowed with an air of ease and self-possession, and the author in question asked Carnot who the gentlemen were. The Director answered, 'The General of the armed force of Paris, and his aids-de-camp.' His being unlike such generals as Santerre or Rossignol was striking. 'What is his name?' said the author. 'Bonaparte.' 'Has he great military skill?' 'So it is said.' 'What has he ever done that is remarkable?' 'He is the officer who commanded the troops of the Convention on the day of Vendemiare.' The inquirer was one of the electors of Vendemiare; he retired to an obscure part of the room, and looked on the new visitor in thoughtfulness and silence.

Bonaparte seeing the young lady still at her instrument, and the company taken up with him, said, 'I have stopped your amusements; some person was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the party.' The Director apologised; the General insisted, and after two or three national airs were played, he rose, and took his leave. When he departed, the conversation turned on Bonaparte, and Carnot predicted from this short interview, that the young General would not long retain a command that an aspiring genius would consider only as a step to future fame and glory.

Barras was not wanting in discernment; and he, therefore duly valued the exertions of Bonaparte in the business of the sections; he saw that he was fitted for a station in which vigilance and activity were essentially requisite, and he procured him the command of the army of the interior; the high

rank of this appointment was attended with adequate emoluments, and carried with it considerable influence.

This period formed a remarkable era in the life of Napoleon, and the connection he now formed produced considerable influence on his future fortune, by opening his road to the eminence he had in view. It also evinced that the tender feelings, even at this season of his youth, could offer no serious obstacle in the way of his interest.

Josephine La Pagerie, when twenty-two years of age, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, Major in a royal French regiment of infantry; both were descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. The fortune of the beautiful Josephine was a pleasing addition to the slender income of the youthful Viscount; their expenditure was liberal; and, having been introduced at court, their rank, their manners, and the elegance of their entertainments, ensured them the best company in Paris.

At the beginning of the revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-General, or National Assembly; and, in June, 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people on the journey of the King to Varennes. He served under General Biron in April 1792, and bore the rank of Adjutant-General when the French were defeated near Mons. He succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August, 1793, and soon after arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July 1794; if Robespierre had not followed him, a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the republican scaffold. In one of the 36 lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to feed the guillotine for 36 successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August, 1794, he was released by Legendre.

Barras had the national seals taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoire, a few weeks after, and honoured her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel, until October, 1795, when his being chosen to the office of Director, required that he should make use of the splendid suite of apartments allotted to him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, dignified as one of the chief magistrates of France, found it inconvenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois; had their attachment been mutual, it was easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided, for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which shewed an obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self command she had acquired over her own feelings; she agreed to give her hand to Napoleon Bonaparte, the General of the interior, if the General could be brought to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed, and Barras proceeded to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The army of Italy had no leader; Carnot displaced General Scherer for habitual intoxication. Bonaparte having shewn his talents both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendemiare, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as most likely to serve the Republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Bonaparte seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Bonaparte Madame Beauharnois and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring General; his ambition was roused, and as the terms of the offer signified, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and Commander in Chief of the army of Italy.

CHAP. VI.

BONAPARTE ARRIVES AT HEAD QUARTERS—COMMENCES HOSTILITIES—THE BATTLE OF MONTENOTTE—GENERAL POVERA SURRENDERS—BEAULIEU DEFEATED—THE DIRECTORY COMPLIMENTS BONAPARTE—THE KING OF SARDINIA SUES FOR PEACE.

BONAPARTE arrived at head quarters early in the spring of 1796. Here he first displayed the full powers of his genius, for he had to contend with difficulties of every sort, moral, political, and military, and yet he triumphed over all. On this occasion, one of his friends suggested to him that he was too young for so great a charge; to which he replied, with Roman dignity and Spartan brevity, 'In one year I shall either be dead or old. His predecessor had left him an army without money, discipline, or clothes, in the face of a powerful enemy, provided with every thing the richest country in the world could supply—renowned also for its valour and obedience; yet in the space of two months, by his affability and firmness, and by exercising no great delicacy in the means of obtaining them provisions and clothing, he so won the hearts of his soldiers, and recalled them to a sense of their duty, that in the first and every successive engagement, he was victorious over an army superior in every thing but the justice of their cause, and the genius of their commander. To appease the discontent of his troops, and excite them to victory, he told them at one time, 'If we are conquered we have too much—if we are conquerors we shall want for nothing.' At another time, on a general muster, he said to them, 'It is true you are now in want of every thing, but push your way to Milan and you will want for nothing.'

He lived familiarly with the soldiers, marched on foot, at their head, suffered their hardships, redressed their grievances, and acquired, by attention to their desires, their esteem and affection.

The Austrians and Piedmontese occupied all those parts of the Alps which command the river of Genoa. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montonette, while two demi-brigades were much advanced in front of their right at Voltri.

After some time spent in movements intended to deceive the French, hostilities were commenced by the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men to attack the post at Voltri. General Cervoni with 3000 men retreated in the night, in great order, to the church of Our Lady of Savona, and Bonaparte covered him with 1500 men, posted expressly in the avenues of Sospello, and on the heights of Verraggio. On the 10th, Beaulieu, with 15,000 men, attacked and drove in all which supported the centre of the French, and at one o'clock of the day was before the redoubt of Montonette, the last of their entrenchments. In spite of repeated charges this redoubt arrested the progress of the enemy. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded these 1500 men, made his soldiers take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, for the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night-time General Laharpe took post behind the redoubt, and Bonaparte, followed by the Generals Berthier and Massena, and the commissioner Salieetti, brought up his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day-break, Beaulieu and Laharpe attacked each other with vigour, and various success, when Massena appeared, dealing death and terror on the Austro-Sardinians, where General Argenteau commanded. The enemy's Generals, Roccavino and Argenteau, were wounded, and the route was complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2500 made prisoners, of which sixty were officers; several standards were also

taken. The French made themselves masters of Carcara on the 12th, and also of Cairo.

Beaulieu was yet able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. Bonaparte changed his head-quarters to Carcara on the 12th, and ordered General Laharpe to march to Sozello, in order to threaten the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and on the day following by a rapid and concealed march, to get to the town of Cairo, while General Massena was to gain the heights of Dego, at the time that the Generals Menaud and Joubert occupied one of the heights of Biestro, and the other the position of St. Marguerite. This movement following the battle of Montonette, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps.

General Augereau forced Millesimo, while the Generals Menaud and Joubert drove the allies from all their posts, and surrounded a corps of 1500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General Provera, a knight of the order of Maria Theresa, who gallantly retired to the mountain of Cossaria, and entrenched himself in an old castle extremely strong, on account of its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, when a cannonade was kept up for several hours. In the course of the day Bonaparte, vexed at finding his march checked by a handful of men, ordered General Povera to be summoned to surrender. He requested to speak with the Commander in Chief, but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French, hindered him from going to Povera, who treated with General Augereau for several hours; Augereau at length formed his men into four columns and advanced against the castle. Joubert entered the enemy's works with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground; his soldiers thinking him dead, his column relaxed. The second column, under General Banel, advanced in silence, when the General was killed. The third column, under Adjutant-General Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted.

Night coming on made Bonaparte fear, that the enemy would attempt to make their way sword in hand: he therefore made dispositions to prevent them. Next morning the hostile armies faced each other; the French left, under Augereau, kept General Provera blockaded; several of the enemy's regiments strove to penetrate the centre of the French, but were repulsed by General Menard, who was then ordered to fall back on the right wing. Before noon General Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Deffo, strongly entrenched. The French pushed their light troops as far as the road leading from Diego to Spino. General Laharpe's division marched in three close columns; the one on his left, under General Causse, crossed the Bormida, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing. General Cervoni, with the second column, also passed the Bormida, covered by one of the French batteries, and advanced against the enemy; while the third column, under Adjutant-general Boyer, turned a ravine, and cut off their retreat. The enemy had not time to capitulate; and the French columns, spreading terror and death, put them to the route. General Povera, with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war. By this victory the French acquired from seven to nine thousand prisoners, and the enemy had near 8,000 killed.

On the 15th, Beaulieu, with the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego, and carried it. Massena, when he had formed part of his troops begun the attack, but was repulsed in three attempts. General Causse was not more fortunate; he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this situation, observing General Bonaparte, he collected his strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken.—'The posts are ours,' replied the General.—'Then,' said Causse, '*Vive la Republique!* I die content.' The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock in the afternoon. Bonaparte ordered a demi-brigade to form under

General Victor, while Adjutant-General Lanus, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, threw himself on the enemy's left. These movements carried Dego; the cavalry completed the route of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1,400 prisoners. General Rusca took the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of Bormida. General Augereau, having drove the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, communicated with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had lately occupied.

The Directory, in their dispatches to Bonaparte, expressed what they felt, in finding they had chosen him to conduct the army of Italy to victory. 'To-day, General!' said they, 'receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the scene of action, has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall constantly be defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the Republic.'

General Laharpe and the chief of brigade, Rampon, also received honourable testimonies of the regard which the Directory had of their exertions. The movements of Generals Augereau, Bayrand, and Joubert, obliged the enemy to evacuate the entrenched camp during night. General Serrurier entered Ceva, in which was a garrison of between seven and eight hundred men. The heavy artillery had not been able to keep pace with the army in the mountains, and were not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army, driven from Ceva took a position at the confluence of the Cursarglia. On the 20th, Serrurier attacked their right by the village of St. Michael, and, passing the bridge, compelled them after three hours fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division destined to attack their left could harass them only by its riflemen. General Serrurier therefore retreated: the enemy's position was formidable; surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers, they had destroyed

all the bridges, and erected strong batteries on the banks. Both armies reciprocally sought to deceive each other by false manœuvres, to conceal their real intentions.

General Massena crossed the Tanaro near Ceva, and occupied the village of Lezegno, whilst two generals of brigade, took the bridge of the Torra. Bonaparte meant to bear down on Mondovi, and compel the enemy to change the field of battle; but General Colli, dreading the issue of an action, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, retreated. At day-break the two armies were in sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. One division bore down on the left of Mondovi, while the two other brigades carried the redoubt which covered the enemy's centre; the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and on that evening the French entered Mondovi. The loss of the allies amounted to 1,800 men, of whom 1,800 were prisoners.

The Sardinians crossed the Stura, and took a position between Coni and Chorasco. The French entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier, on the 25th, marched to la Trinite, and cannonaded the town of Fossano, the head-quarters of General Colli. General Massena advanced against Cherasco, and drove in the enemy's grand guard. Bonaparte sent General Dujard, and his own aid-de-camp, Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzers to beat down the palisades. The enemy evacuated the town and repassed the Stura. This victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting the right wing, it gave an ample supply of subsistence. The French threw bridges of boats across the Stura, and Fossano surrendered to Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which surrendered, and threw several bridges of boats across the Tanaro, to enable the army to pass the river.

The king of Sardinia, shut up in Turin, determined to treat for peace. General Colli, commander in chief of his army, addressed a letter to Bonaparte, stating, that as the king had

sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa to treat for peace, under the mediation of the court of Spain; he thought the interests of humanity required, that hostilities should be suspended during the dependence of the negociation. He therefore proposed an armistice, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood. Bonaparte replied, that the Executive Directory preserved the right of treating for peace: it was therefore necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the king should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of those whom the French government should send thither. He further observed that the military position of the two armies prevented every unqualified suspension of arms; and although he was convinced that his government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to his majesty, yet he could not arrest his march. There was, however, he remarked, a means by which General Colli might attain his purpose, conformably to the true interests of his court, and which would prevent an effusion of blood; and that was to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona; they could then wait the issue of negociation, which probably might be protracted. A peace was granted to the unfortunate monarch: he surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Chapeau Dauphin, as the pledges of his faith, and relinquished Savoy and the country of Nice for ever.

Bonaparte immediately after this addressed his army from his head-quarters at Cherasco; he there stated to them the great things they had done in the short space of fourteen days, and the magnanimity they preserved under the different privations they experienced; that, destitute of every thing, they had supplied every thing, and without shoes, and often without bread, had performed harassing marches; he then promised them the conquest of Italy, but on the express condition that they did not pillage or plunder; that they were coming as friends and brothers, and to dictate a peace that would indemnify their country for what it had sacrificed. He tells them, that those guilty of marauding shall be in-

stantly shot, but that he in general sees them obedient and submissive; and concludes by stating, that the French come to break the chains of the Italians, and as enemies only to those Tyrants who enslave them.

CHAP. VII.

BONAPARTE ADVANCES TO THE PO—COMPELS THE DUKE OF PARMA TO SIGN AN ARMISTICE—SENDS THE PICTURES OF CORREGGIO TO PARIS—ADDRESSES HIS ARMY—PASSES THE BRIDGE OF LODI—ENTERS MILAN IN TRIUMPH—VISITS ORIANI THE ASTRONOMER—LEVIES CONTRIBUTIONS IN LOMBARDY—HIS VICTORIES CELEBRATED.

AFTER signing the armistice with the King of Sardinia, on the 29th of April, Bonaparte marched his army towards the Po. Massena had reached Alexandria, and seized on the magazines, which the Austrians had sold to the town. On the 6th of May the army of Italy took possession of Tortona; they found here more than one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and immense magazines. Ceva and Coni were in an equal state of defence, and liberally provisioned. Thus the war supported itself, and the successes of the French furnished them with the means of making new conquests. The stipulations of the fourth article of the armistice, induced the general of the Austrian army to believe that Bonaparte wished to cross the Po at Volenza; but Bonaparte hastened by a forced march to Castel-San-Giovanni with 5000 grenadiers and 1500 horse. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-General Frontin, with 100 dragoons, reconnoitered the Po as far as Placenza, and took five boats loaded with rice, on board of which were 500 sick, and all the army medicines. On the 7th, at nine in the morning,

Bonaparte reached the Po, opposite Placenza. Two squadrons of hussars on the opposite side of the river seemed determined to dispute the passage. The French troops got into the boats, and landed on the other side, when the Austrian cavalry retired. The divisions of the army passed the river in the course of the day. In the mean time Beaulieu, acquainted with the march of the French, was convinced of the uselessness of his entrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubt at Pavia. On the 8th at noon Bonaparte heard that a division of the enemy was near; he advanced and found them entrenched in the village at Fombio, with 20 pieces of cannon. After a spirited resistance, the Austrians retreated, and were pursued as far as the Adda.

Another body of the Imperialists reached Codogna, the head-quarters of General Laharpe, at two in the morning, and drove in the French videttes. General Laharpe ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the Austrians were drove back and disappeared; but Laharpe was killed by a ball. General Berthier went directly to Codogna, pursued the Austrians, and took Casal, with a vast quantity of baggage. The passage of the Po was a great operation, as in many places that river could not have been passed in two months. This alarmed all the states of Italy, and the Infant Duke of Parma signed an armistice with Bonaparte.

In this he engaged to pay a military contribution of 2,000,000 livres French money; to furnish 2200 draught horses and harness, and others for the officers and the cavalry; to provide a quantity of wheat and oats; and to furnish 2000 oxen for the French army. Bonaparte also stipulated for twenty of his best paintings, among which was the St. Jerome of Corregio; upon this circumstance, in his letter to the Directory, he attempts to be pleasant, and says, 'I confess this saint has chosen an unlucky moment to arrive at Paris; but I hope you will grant him the honours of the museum.' He afterwards, with a degree of modesty becoming his ignorance of the fine arts, requested that they would send some of

the first artists to select and pack up the best specimens of every thing rare and curious which they might judge proper to send to Paris. From this it appears, that he did not literally adhere to the agreement for only twenty pictures; but as the whole affair was a robbery, a little more or a little less makes no difference in his criminality.

Bonaparte, now flushed with conquest, and elevated with the hopes of fresh success, addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, full of deceit and insolent exultation, yet well calculated to effect the purpose for which it was intended. Though the tenor of his dispatches and proclamations display much of the French gasconade, yet they are in general conceived with great strength and elevation of mind, which distinguish them from the common class of such productions, and they contain much apparent philanthropy; for a greatman, who studies well the times in which he lives, never fails, if he is anxious to arrive at power by duping his contemporaries, to adopt the taste of the age, whatever it may be. Cromwell obtained the protectorship by the cant of religion, and Bonaparte adopted the cant of philosophy, the more effectually to disguise his real intentions, and to deceive both true and false philosophers; yet the former was the honestest of the two, for he partly believed what he professed—but Bonaparte appears to be totally indifferent to every form of religion, and every species of philosophy, and to use them only as the instruments of forwarding his ambitious purpose.

The battle of the bridge of Lodi was the next achievement of Bonaparte; his object in risking this battle was to gain possession of Milan, which he had left in his rear, and without which he could not ensure his future success in Italy; he therefore determined to force the passage of the Adda, over the bridge at Lodi. Berthier and all the other generals were against the attempt, for they said if he failed the whole army was lost. Scarcely had he heard their sentiments when he sprang up and exclaimed, 'We must make the attack, my friends, and I'll take the whole responsibility

upon myself.' He immediately flew to execute this daring achievement. Beaulieu had placed the Adda between himself and the French, and waited for them at the end of a bridge, 100 toises in length, and he hoped to stop their progress by covering it with a numerous artillery. This bridge lay at the town of Lodi; it was at the head of it, on the side next the city, that Bonaparte was to plant, under a shower of grape-shot, two pieces of cannon, to prevent the enemy from breaking it down, whilst a column was forming to carry the pass. The French entered Lodi, and Beaulieu, with his whole army, and 80 pieces of heavy cannon, defended the passage of the bridge. Bonaparte formed all his artillery, and the cannonade was kept up for many hours with great vivacity. The troops formed in close column with a battalion of carabineers at their head, followed by all the grenadier battalions, at their charge step, amidst reiterated acclamations of '*Vive la Republique!*' They shewed themselves at the bridge; but the Austrians kept up so tremendous a fire, that those who advanced fell by columns; they retreated, but were rallied, and the slaughter was again dreadful; a second time they retreated, but Bonaparte was immovable in his determination; again they darted forward, over the dead bodies of their comrades, and the Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dallemagne, the chief of brigade Lasnes, and the chief of battalion Dupat, placed themselves at the head of the column, and passed the bridge; the Generals Rusca, Augereau, and Bayrand, with their divisions, passed the Adda, a few miles below Lodi, when the French began to force the bridge, and attacked the Austrians suddenly in the rear, when they thought the French only on one side of the river, and this decided the fortune of the day. The line of artillery was instantly carried, Beaulieu's order of battle broken, and the French troops spread terror and death in every direction; the hostile army was dispersed, though the Austrian cavalry strove to protect the retreat of the infantry, and charged the French. The Imperialists lost 20 pieces of cannon, and be-

tween two and three thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The brave but unfortunate Beaulieu, with the remains of his army, took refuge under Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and all the Milanese, to the French. Bonaparte in his dispatches to the Directory, after stating this memorable battle, observes, That although the French had been engaged in many warm contests, none approached the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi; the French pursued the Austrians as far as Pizzighitone, and entered it on the 12th, after a brisk cannonade, and took about 400 prisoners. Cremona surrendered to them, and the vanguard of Bonaparte took the route to Milan, and entered it on the 15th, having received the submission of Pavia, where they found immense magazines of the Imperial army. The conquest of Lombardy might now be regarded as complete; for, although the castle of Milan still held out, the tri-coloured flag floated from the Lake of Como, and the frontiers of the Grisons, as far as the gates of Parma. Such rapid success, in so short a time, made some days of repose necessary to an army so much engaged. The Austrians had quitted Milan soon after the news of the battle of Lodi; and, when the French were about to enter the city, a deputation of the inhabitants carried them the key of its gates. The court of the Archduke departed, and the Archduke and Duchess shewed great sorrow at quitting their capital; the streets and squares, through which they passed, were crowded with people, who shewed neither joy nor sorrow, and few of the nobility attended the court in its flight. The people collected in great crowds to witness the entry of the French, and almost all wore the national cockade; the Imperial arms were taken away from most of the public buildings, and many of the nobility took the arms off their carriages. On the 14th of May, the tree of liberty was planted in the grand square; and on the same day, General Massena entered the city with his troops. A deputation with the Archbishop, went out to meet

him; upon entering, he clapped the keys, which had been given him, one against the other, in token of rejoicing.

Bonaparte's entry was extremely brilliant; the nobility and gentry of the city went out to meet him in their most splendid carriages, and returned in the procession, amidst the shouts of an immense populace; the cavalcade went to the Archducal palace, where he was to lodge, with several bands of musicians, playing patriotic tunes, and soon after his arrival he sat down to a dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in patriotism, by wearing the French national colours in every part of their dress. The next day, Bonaparte received visits from the citizens, and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. All the chests which contained the property of the Archduke and the city were emptied into the French coffers, and a splendid fete was given the day after, with much enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality!

At Milan Bonaparte wrote the following letter to the celebrated Orian, whom he invited to visit him. 'The pursuits of knowledge which do honour to the human understanding, the arts which adorn life and hand down the memory of great exploits to posterity, must ever obtain respect in all free governments. All men of genius, all who hold a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, be they of what country they will. Men of learning in Milan have never obtained the regard they deserved; living retired in their studies and laboratories, they thought themselves fortunate if they were not persecuted by kings and priests; but this will be no more so; freedom of thought is naturalized in Italy, and it will allow no more inquisition, no more intolerance, no more despotism. I invite all men of letters to impart to me their ideas as to the method by which arts and

knowledge may be revived. All learned men who choose to visit France will be received by the government with the utmost regard. A great mathematician, a celebrated painter, or a man of merit in any line, is a more valuable acquisition to France than the richest conquest. I request that you will make these sentiments to be known in Milan, to all men of distinguished talents or superior merit.' The day on which Bonaparte entered Milan, in the evening, the deputies of Sardinia signed the peace with France; and, during his stay there, he allowed the university of Pavia to resume its functions, which had been for some time intermitted.

A proclamation was issued by Bonaparte to the people of Lombardy on the 30th Floreal, or 21st of May, stating, 'That the French people looking on the people of Lombardy as their brethren, had a right to expect a just return, and he, therefore, should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, to be raised in equal proportions, by the different districts of Lombardy; the necessities of the army,' says he, 'require it, and it is a small sum for a country so fertile.'

Twenty one standards of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies had been already sent to Paris, and presented to the Executive Directory. These were received in a public sitting, amidst the acclamations of '*Vive la Republique!*' and the day on which Bonaparte entered Milan the ambassadors of the King of Sardinia signed, at Paris, the definitive treaty of peace between that sovereign and France. The government, anxious to encourage the ardour of the troops, by publicly acknowledging their services, decreed the celebration of a Fete des Victories, on the 29th of May, and it was observed at Paris.

Great preparations were made in the Champ de Mars for this grand ceremony. Several ornamental statues were erected, and military ensigns festooned together in various parts of the field, added to the dignity of the place.

The constituted authorities were on a mount raised in the middle, and large bodies of cavalry and infantry were ranged

found them. An immense crowd assembled; the Directory advanced to the sound of music, and after a profound silence was observed, the decree was read, and the president of the Directory addressed the crowd in an appropriate speech; discharges of artillery, and music continued after the ceremony to exhilarate the people, who formed themselves into dancing parties, and the day was spent in mirth and festivity.

CHAP. VIII.

INSURRECTIONS APPEAR IN LOMBARDY — BONAPARTE'S LETTER RESPECTING THEM—HIS CRUEL THREATS—CONDUCT OF THE BROTHER OF LOUIS XVI.—THE DUKE OF MODENA, THE POPE, AND THE COURT OF NAPLES, MAKE PEACE WITH FRANCE—PETITION OF THE FRENCH ARTISTS AGAINST REMOVING THE MONUMENTS OF THE ARTS TO PARIS—LEGHORN SEIZED—MANTUA INVESTED.

WHILE the Parisians were celebrating the feats of the army of Italy on the banks of the Seine, Bonaparte, faithful to his plan of activity, made dispositions to attack the castle of Milan and preparing to pursue the remains of the Austrian army, meditated an attack on the dominions of Rome and Naples. On the 20th of May, he published an energetic address to his brethern in arms.

He stated to them that they came like a torrent from the Appenines, and dispersed all who opposed them; that Piedmont had made peace with France, Lombardy hoisted the Republican flag, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena owed their political existence to their generosity. That much, however, remained to be done; forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge; he pointed out to them his plan of rousing the Roman people,

to restore the capitol, and thus have the glory of renovating the finest part of Europe; and that the French, free and respected by the world, would give Europe a glorious peace, and that they would then return to their homes.

Soon after this conquest, symptoms of insurrection appeared in different parts of Lombardy, and the district of Milan, which Bonaparte suppressed with somewhat too great severity; for though examples of rigour are always requisite in a conquered country which shews signs of rebellion, yet these may be of such a nature as to display a disposition to cruelty, rather than merely a desire to punish the guilty for the sake of the innocent. Let impartiality and rigid justice always guide the pen of the historian; even the conduct of an enemy should be weighed in a just balance, and with a view to ascertain the truth, rather than to inflame the passions; for history should never be subservient to the cause of a party, even though that party be our country: wherever the conduct of Bonaparte exhibits cruelty, injustice, or villainy, let him be held in abhorrence by every honest Englishman, but never let truth be sacrificed merely to blacken his character where it merits praise: instances of this sort, except with regard to his talents, it is to be apprehended will seldom arise. The inhabitants of Italy, who were blindly and strongly attached to their religion, were in many instances disgusted with the conduct of the French, who though they promised to respect both their religion and property, frequently insulted the one, and plundered them of the other; this treatment must have roused them to a great pitch of exasperation before they could venture to rise against so powerful an army. At Milan the symptoms of insurrection first appeared, and afterwards at Pavia: Bonaparte, in relating these circumstances, writes thus to the Directory:

‘Tranquillity being restored at Milan, I continued my route to Pavia; the general of brigade, Lasnes, attacked the village of Binasco, where 7 or 800 armed peasants opposed him; he immediately charged them, killed about a hundred, and dispersed the rest.

So far was justifiable, but the next sentence cannot be read without shuddering—

‘ I immediately set fire to the village, which, though requisite, was a horrible sight. At day-break I proceeded to Pavia, the castle of which had been taken, and our troops made prisoners ; thrice did the order for setting fire to the town expire upon my lips, when I saw the garrison of the castle arrive, and, with shouts of joy, embrace their deliverers. If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I should have erected on the ruins of Pavia, a column inscribed with these words, “ Here Pavia was.” I ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and demanded two hundred hostages, which I have sent to France. Tranquillity is completely restored ; and I have no doubt that this will serve as a salutary example to the rest of Italy.’

He forgets to add, that the town of Pavia was delivered up to pillage for twenty-four hours. The conduct of Bonaparte, in the commencement of this affair, may be defended upon the common principles of civilized warfare ; but by setting fire to a whole village, he punished the innocent with the guilty, and it admits of no palliation or excuse. In consequence of these insurrections, he issued two proclamations, which would have disgraced the character of Attila or Zingis Khan. The following, among other passages, are almost unrivalled in atrocity : not satisfied with having murdered many of the innocent inhabitants of Binasco, he threatens to repeat the same cruelty. ‘ All who refuse to take the oath of obedience to the Republic afresh, shall be treated as rebels, and their villages burnt.’ ‘ The French army shall be terrible as the fire from heaven to rebels and the villages which protect them.’ ‘ The troops shall march against all the villages which refuse to conform to the orders of the 6th Prairial, *shall set fire to them, and shoot, upon the spot, all who shall be found in arms.*’ ‘ All the villages in which the toscin shall be sounded, shall be immediately burnt. Every man found with a gun in his hand, and with military ammunition, shall be instantly shot.’ ‘ *All the nobles or the rich* who shall be proved to have excited the people to revolt, by talking against

the French, shall be immediately seized, and sent as hostages to France.' These passages hardly require any comment: they mark the character of the man who issued them.

Bonaparte, still pursuing his victorious course, addressed a proclamation to the state of Venice, in which he tells them, that he was come to deliver the most beautiful country in Europe from the iron yoke of Austria; and that though he was about to enter their territory, in order to pursue his enemies, yet he would respect their neutrality and ancient amity with France; that their property, religion, and government should be protected; and that the French army would take nothing that they did not pay for to the utmost. He then proceeded to Verona, from whence he wrote the following short dispatch to the Directory, which strongly marks his mind, always employed in something great or cruel.

'I have just arrived at this city, and mean to leave it to-morrow: it is very large and beautiful. I have told the inhabitants, that if the Pretender of France had not quitted the town before my arrival, I should *have set fire to a city* so audacious as to believe itself the capital of the *French empire*. I have been to see the amphitheatre; it is a remain of the Roman people, in every respect worthy of them. I could not avoid being humbled when I thought of the pitifulness of our Champ de Mars: here an hundred thousand spectators might sit, and every one of them hear the orator who was speaking.'

The following particulars relative to the unfortunate representative of the French monarchy while he resided in the Venetian territory, being extracted from a French publication, called the History of the Directory, will not be suspected of undue partiality.

'The 15th of Prairial, or third of June, General Massena entered the city of Verona, where the pretender had taken up his abode. Charles de la Croix, minister for foreign affairs, surprised at such a permission being given him, wrote to Quirini, minister of the republic of Venice, who having commu-

nicated the note to the senate, they returned for answer, That the republic of Venice, though they could not refuse the rights of hospitality to any one, had yet not transgressed against a proper regard to the republic of France; that the ancient committee of public safety had expressed their satisfaction that the ci-devant Count de Provence had remained in the Venetian state rather than any where else, and they flattered themselves that the Directory would not act contrary to the sentiments and principles of the said committee. This explanation appeared to give satisfaction, but the victories of the French army having caused a great impression on the senate of Venice, the Marquis Carletti was charged by them to signify to the brother of Louis XVI. that he must quit their territory with all possible expedition. To this the Pretender replied, "I will depart, but it must be upon two conditions; one, that they send me the golden book where the name of my family is inscribed, that I may erase it with my own hand; the other, that they will restore me the armour which my ancestor Henry IV. presented to the republic:" both these requests were refused, and nothing further passed. The private life of this prince while he resided at Verona, was singularly regular. At eight in the morning he was dressed, and wore a sword, and the insignia of the different orders to which he belonged; he passed great part of the morning in writing, and was visible to none but his chancellor; his table was frugal; after dinner he gave audience to a few particular people, and then shut himself up in his chamber, where he was frequently heard to walk backward and forward, in great agitation. Towards the evening he generally grew more calm, and had a small party of his courtiers, who read to him, and conversed. He never went out, nor paid any visits either in Verona or its vicinity. He constantly read the *moniteur* and other principal French newspapers, and went by the name of the Count de Lille. Whenever any of his courtiers saluted him with the title of Majesty, he was observed to sigh heavily.'

To the inhabitants of the Tyrol, after professing an improbable respect for their religion and property, Bonaparte declares, in a bombastic stile of cruelty,—‘But to those who mistake their true interest, and treat us as enemies, we shall be terrible as the fire from heaven; we will burn the houses, and lay waste the villages, of those who take part in a war in which they are not concerned.’

Alarming insurrections having again threatened the districts of Milan and Tortona, where whole picquets of the French had been put to the sword, Bonaparte published a proclamation, in which he declares, ‘That all those who are possessed of imperial fiefs, shall take the oath of obedience to the French republic anew; and if they neglect or refuse to do so, their property, in five days, shall be confiscated; and all who are found with arms or ammunition shall be instantly shot.’ Nay, he even declares war against things inanimate, for the 6th article says, that ‘All the bells which have been employed to sound the *tocci*, shall be taken down and broken in pieces; and all the people of the different villages who have neglected to do so shall be treated as rebels, and their villages burnt.’

About this time, Massena and Bonaparte honoured the theatre at Milan with their presence, at the representation of Metastasio’s opera of Cato; and the audience, as if desirous to regain their esteem, applauded every passage which they chose to apply to the latter; and, after the piece was over, they forced *him* to accept a crown of laurels, whom they so lately attempted to assassinate. How contemptible is the applause of an ignorant multitude!

At this time the court of Naples obtained a suspension of arms upon moderate conditions, which were merely to separate herself from her allies, the Emperor and the English. An armistice was also signed with the Pope, but not on terms so favourable.

The principal conditions imposed on his Holiness were heavy contributions on the monuments of the fine arts.—

The Pope, by these articles, was also compelled to set at liberty those persons who were at that time confined for their political conduct or opinions; to renounce the friendship of his former allies, and to shut his ports against them; to surrender to the French the cities of which they already had possession, as well as the citadel of Ancona, which gave them the command of the Adriatic: to pay twenty-one millions of French money, independent of the contributions to be levied on the cities of which the French had already taken possession; and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, vases, or statues, at the option of commissioners who should be sent to Rome for that purpose; amongst which statues were expressly named those of Junius and Marcus Brutus, both of which were in the capitol; and also five hundred manuscripts to be selected by the said commission. The last articles of this treaty, and similar ones which had been concluded with the states of Parma and Modena, excited much discontent among the professors and amateurs of the fine arts at Paris. While the national pride was flattered with the prospect of seeing that city become the centre of all that was most rare and excellent in Europe, several artists of celebrity petitioned the Directory to consider that part of the conditions of the peace, and the armistice, which respected the transfer of these monuments, and to reflect whether the arts themselves would not be greatly injured by such translation. The Directory, however they might have admired the liberal and disinterested spirit of these artists, did not appear convinced by their reasoning, and concluded on their first determination of placing those celebrated monuments in the galleries of the national museum at Paris.

The insolence and cruelty with which the French conducted themselves towards the conquered states, are too well known to need repetition. After the proclamation of Bonaparte, already cited, the slightest pretence was sufficient to deprive any man of his property, and apply it to the use of the state, whose agents of all kinds, superior and inferior, never

omitted to take their share. M. Spinola d'Arquata was one of the first martyrs to this new territory; for though a subject of Genoa, which was a neutral state, yet, being possessed of an imperial fief near Tortona, his property was confiscated, and himself sentenced to be shot, under pretence of disloyalty, which arose from his intimate connection with the imperial minister; from the protection and succour he had afforded to French emigrants; and from the imprudent conversation of his wife. This unfortunate man saved his life by flight; but the vultures seized upon his property.

The treatment which Bonaparte shewed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the state of Genoa, can only be excused from the singularity of the war in which he was engaged—a war in which both parties considered all those as their enemies who were not their friends, and in which it was hardly permitted to any one to be neuter.

Finding that there were several English vessels in the port of Leghorn, and being determined to drive them from every port of Italy, he had expressed his intention of detaining them; of course they left Leghorn before the arrival of the French. He therefore complained that Spanogchi, the governor, had favoured their departure, and immediately laid hold of him, and sent him in irons to Florence, writing, at the same time, a strong remonstrance to the Grand Duke, who returned a very humble and submissive answer, and complied in every respect, with the terms imposed on him by the French commander, even to the admission of a French garrison into the city of Leghorn.

The fate of this unfortunate prince seems to have been singularly perverse; he was first driven from his neutrality by the English, and afterwards forced into a peace with the French: his ambassador, Count Caletti, was dismissed from Paris in 1794, for having asked permission to pay his respects to the daughter of Louis XVI. and in 1795 he was obliged to receive a French army into his dominions to watch over his neutrality, and what was still worse, to entertain at his table

the victorious French general, who had treated him with such indignity, and two commissioners of the government, Garrau and Salicetti, both of whom had voted for the death of Louis XVI. his relation and ally. In the year 1799, upon the renewal of the war after the treaty of Campo Formio, the French Directory declared, that peace was at an end between France and Tuscany, on account of the adherence of the Grand Duke to the cause of the Emperor; and on the 15th of October, 1800, entered Florence as enemies, and Leghorn on the 16th.

Bonaparte having, by the terror of his arms, obtained the submission, and secured the plunder of the northern parts of Italy, hastened to concentrate his forces, with which he invested the fortress of Mantua, which was justly considered as the key of Italy.

CHAP. XVI.

GENERAL WURMSER SENT TO OPPOSE BONAPARTE—HIS FIRST SUCCESSES—DEFEATED ON THE MINCIO BY NAPOLEON—THE AUSTRIANS AGAIN DEFEATED BEFORE ROVEREDO—BONAPARTE'S ARMY ENTERS TRENT—BEATS WURMSER AT BASSANO—COMPELS HIM TO TAKE REFUGE IN MANTUA—BATTLE OF ARCOLE—BONAPARTE'S SUCCESS EXCITES ALARM IN FRANCE.

THE destruction or dispersion of the imperial army in Italy under Beaulieu, which had given to Bonaparte the means of conquering the whole of the northern part of that country, was now repaired by the arrival of a new army composed of the flower of the German troops serving on the Rhine, under the direction of General Wurmser. On his approach, the hopes of the Italian powers who had not made their definitive arrangements with the French republic, began to revive, as

they cherished the expectation that he was about to become the deliverer of Italy from the Gallic yoke.

The first success of the Austrians fortified this illusion of the Italian states; for, having assembled what remained of the forces under Marshal Beaulieu at Trent and Roveredo, General Wurmser, while he threatened an attack on the whole line of the French army, marched along the Adige with the whole body of his forces, and suddenly, on the 29th of July, fell upon the post of Salò, on the lake of Garda, and that of Corona, between this lake and the river, which posts covered the city of Mantua. The loss of these important positions was immediately followed by the deliverance of Mantua, from the siege of which place the French were driven in great disorder, and with a considerable loss of artillery and stores. The Austrians, emboldened by their success, after taking possession of Salò, whose garrison withdrew to Peschiera, instead of Brescia, as they were ordered, seized on this latter place, together with the magazines of the republic, and their hospitals, and thereby cut off the communication of the French army with Milan.

The Pope on the news of this success, sent his vice-legatè to take possession of Ferrara, which the French had now evacuated, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Azzara the Spanish ambassador, who represented this step as a direct violation of the armistice between his holiness and the republic. The vice-legatè made his public entry without opposition; but when he substituted the papal arms for those of the republic, the citizens of Ferrara immediately assembled, and replaced those of France.

The position of the French was extremely critical; for while the garrison of Mantua was now at liberty to act with the Austrians on the one side, Wurmser was pursuing Bonaparte on the other. The French general, in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his forces from Verona and other parts of the Adige, and by a forced march threw himself, with the whole of his army, on the other side of Mantua,

and regained possession of Brescia. He then brought together his forces between the lake of Guarda and Mantua, at Castiglione, behind which village Wurmser had drawn up his forces after passing the Mincio. The French had succeeded in retaking the various posts, and were now to decide the contest.

The battle was fought on the 15th of August with great obstinacy and courage, and ended in the total defeat of the Austrians, who were compelled to repass the Adige, leaving Bonaparte once more in possession of the country round Mantua; the siege of which place, from the loss of the heavy artillery, he was compelled to turn into a blockade.— This victory is said to have cost the Austrians twenty thousand men; the number of prisoners was very great, owing to the prompt submission or rather defection of various divisions, who were soldiers originally of the Polish nation, and who seized the favourable moment of contest, or defeat, to abandon a service which was hostile both to their principles and their feelings; and who afterwards formed a legion, under Polish officers, and were incorporated into the armies of the republic. During this engagement, which lasted several days, the inhabitants of Milan, by offering at the moment of danger to organize battalions, and march for the common defence, gave new proofs of their attachment to Bonaparte, so much the more unequivocal, as the further defeat of the French, whose retreat was at first cut off, would have rendered the Austrians complete masters of Lombardy.

Though this defeat of General Wurmser before Mantua had considerably weakened his army, yet the reinforcements he received by the Tyrol, kept him in a respectable state of resistance against the passage of the French armies by these mountains, into Germany. Bonaparte, leaving a sufficient number of forces to keep up the blockade of Mantua, marched along the Adige, to attack the Austrian army, who were strongly intrenched at Mori, and who occupied the passes of St. Marco. After a severe contest, (4th September) these

passes were taken by his army, and the Austrians were compelled to evacuate the city of Roveredo, which had long been their chief depot, and take refuge in Trent. In order to cover this city, the Austrians had rallied at the pass of Oalliano, and had taken positions which appeared impregnable. The address and courage of the division under General Massena surmounted this obstacle; and after a long and obstinate conflict, in which the French made six thousand prisoners, and took twenty pieces of cannon, this general victoriously entered the city of Trent, while General Wurmser drawing off the remainder of his forces to the right towards Bassano, assembled the greater part of them in the valley of Brenta.

By this manœuvre, the Austrian commander hoped to have engaged Bonaparte to have continued his march into the Tyrol, which appeared to be his object, and to which there was no longer any opposition; while by rapid marches he was enabled, from the position he had taken, to fall into the rear of the French army, and by cutting it off from the division left to form the blockade of Mantua, had hoped, with the assistance of the garrison, to defeat this division, and prevent the retreat of the French general.

Bonaparte, however, instead of continuing his march from Trent into the Tyrol, aware of the design of Wurmser, turned short to the right, and followed him closely to the valley of Bretna. Pursuing his march along the river of this name, he defeated the Austrians (8th September) successively at Primonalo, at Covolo, at Cismone, and lastly at Bassano, where Wurmser had established his head-quarters. Perceiving himself then vigorously pursued, Wurmser had no alternative but to retreat towards Trieste, by which he must have abandoned Mantua to its fate, or make good his march to that place, and reinforce the garrison with the wrecks of his army. This latter plan seemed to him the most practicable; he accordingly presented himself before Verona, where he attempted to pass the Adige: but General Kilmaine, whom

Bonaparte had left in that city, opposed his progress; and he was therefore compelled to seek a passage at Porto Legnano, which he fortunately effected. It was Bonaparte's intention to have prevented him from penetrating to Mantua, and he had taken measures to surround him and compel him to surrender; but Wurmser's marches were so rapid that this plan could not be put in execution. He met with resistance in his march, at Cerea, Castellano, and Due Castelli; but as he had to contend with inferior forces, he succeeded in making good his way to Mantua, where the French attacking and obtaining, after great slaughter, the posts of Favorite and St. George, in the suburbs of the city, and not having artillery to form a siege, turned the whole into a blockade. In this attack it is computed that the Imperialists lost twenty thousand men; and this was the third army which had been destroyed in the course of this campaign, in attempting to reduce Lombardy once more under the Austrian yoke.

The Emperor immediately assembled a fourth army to effect the release of General Wurmser, who was now shut up with his troops in Mantua. General Alvinzi had encamped on the Piava, and was advancing towards Vicenza, while Davidovitch, with the division under his command, descended from the Tyrol along the Adige towards Verona, which was the head-quarters of Bonaparte. Alvinzi, having passed the Piava, met the French on the Brenta, where an action took place which obliged him to repass the river; but the left of the French army under General Vaubois, which was opposed to the Austrian divisions on the Tyrol, being defeated, Bonaparte was compelled to retreat to Verona, and defend the passages of the Adige. The Austrian generals having now made themselves masters of all the country beyond this river, were concentrating their forces to attempt the attack of the French at Verona; and, by forcing the posts between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, to raise the blockade at Mantua. Bonaparte saw the danger of awaiting the attack of the Austrians, who, if they succeeded either in taking Verona or

in forcing their posts on the lake of Guarda, would probably attain their object, and deprive him of the fruits of all his former victories. He, therefore, with equal ability and spirit, resolved to prevent the junction of the two Austrian armies, by an attack on General Alvinzi; for which purpose he led the divisions under the General Angereau and Massena along the Adige, which he passed in the night of the 4th of November, by means of a bridge of boats, at the village of Ronco, hoping to reach Villa Nuova in the morning, and attack the Austrians (whose head-quarters were at Caldero) on their flanks and in their rear, and seize on their artillery and baggage. General Alvinzi, however, who had received intimations of the motions of the French, strengthened his position, by throwing Croatian and Hungarian regiments into the village of Arcole, through which the French must necessarily pass in order to execute the plan they had projected. This village, which was strongly situated between morasses and canals, held the Republican army in check during the whole day. In vain were the French troops rallied by their commanders, and led again to the charge. Four generals, who threw themselves on the bridge leading to the village, were successively disabled by wounds more or less dangerous. Angereau, seizing a standard, ran and planted it at the end of the bridge; and Bonaparte, after calling on the soldiers to remember the bridge of Lodi, inspired a momentary emotion which induced him to make another assault, in which he lost two more of his generals, and was himself in danger of perishing.

Having early perceived the extreme difficulty of taking this post in front, he had sent round a division by a march of several miles to attack the village in the rear. The general who was sent on this expedition reached it at night, and took possession of it with a small garrison which the Austrians had left to defend it, and had removed the artillery and baggage, which was one of the primary objects of Bonaparte's expedition. The action began at day-break on the 6th of Novem-

ber, through the whole line. The division of the French army on the right drove back the left wing of the Austrians, and pursued it to the head-quarters at Coldero. The centre of the Austrians, after a long and obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat before the centre of the French; but the attack made on their left, which Bonaparte endeavoured to turn, was ineffectual, as it was flanked by a morass and ditches. During the night Bonaparte threw bridges across; and the next day, the 17th of November, the two armies renewed the combat. The Austrians attacked the centre of the French army with great vigour, and drove it back with considerable loss, and were on the point of turning the right wing, when a body of troops which Bonaparte had drawn off from the left, and placed in ambuscade, fell on the flank and rear of the Austrians, and made a dreadful slaughter. The left of the Austrian army still held its ground, being formidable both in numbers, and also from its position. Bonaparte then finding it impossible to attack or dislodge it by force, had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded. He sent round a small party of horse to make the circuit of the morass, and fall on the Austrians, sounding at the same time a number of trumpets, to deceive the enemy as to their numbers. The arrival of a larger body of French troops, which had also been early sent by a longer circuit to fall on their rear, threw them into complete disorder. The Austrians fled on all sides, and the night only put an end to the pursuit.

The division under General Davidovich was more successful, having attacked and again defeated General Vaubois, who commanded the pass between the Adige and the lake of Guarda. Bonaparte, therefore, leaving his cavalry in pursuit of Alvinzi's army, hastened with reinforcements to Vaubois; and keeping in check the Austrians who were advanced within a short distance of Mantua, he succeeded, after a contest of some days, in driving them back with considerable loss into the mountains of the Tyrol.

At the battle, fought near the village of Arcole, Bonaparte displayed prodigies of skill and valour; he was alternately off and on horseback during the whole time of the engagement, and never spared himself either fatigue or danger. The division of Angereau having refused to obey all his orders to attack a little bridge which was strongly defended by the Austrians, Bonaparte came up and harangued them with spirit and animation—he reproached them for their cowardly tardiness, and asked them if they were the conquerors of Lodi, of Bassano, and Mondovi: finding his reproaches begin to touch them, he jumped off horseback, put himself at their head, and with a standard in his hand, led them intrepidly to the charge, and passed the bridge in defiance of the enemy; but, as before observed, the village was so strongly defended, that he renounced the design of taking it in front. Here the fate of Italy and of Europe had nearly been decided, for Bonaparte was thrown from his horse, amidst the fire of the enemy, and fell into a bog, in which he remained for a few minutes, without a probability of being saved; but, disentangling himself from the stirrup, he quickly regained the dry ground, and mounting another horse, which was ready to receive him, continued the attack till the middle of the next day.

About this time Bonaparte began to excite alarm among the friends of liberty in France, for they knew, by experience, that all great conquerors have in the end been dangerous to their country; one of the principal journalists expressed his apprehensions at the critical situation in which the Republic was placed, by generals providing for their armies with the spoils of conquered countries, when the necessities of the state prevented them receiving supplies from home, and cited the examples of Sylla, Marius, and Cæsar, who conquered the liberties of their country, by dispersing among their armies the treasures they had amassed: it is somewhat singular that Roederer, who was the writer of this article, should not only live to see his apprehensions realized, but also to become one of the most submissive agents of the tyrant he foresaw in

embryo. The Directory, who themselves began to be alarmed at the success of Bonaparte, thinking it better to soothe than to irritate him, addressed a letter to him, expressive of their entire satisfaction at his conduct, and their extreme disapprobation of those factious venders of sedition, who had dared to doubt his integrity.

This letter was severely criticised by La Cratelle, another patriotic journalist, who exposed the meanness of the Directory, in thus defending Bonaparte against the attack of a newspaper, and condescending to flatter a victorious general, who had evidently excited their jealousy: he shewed also, with great force and justice, the cruelty of ingratitude on the one hand, and the danger of idolatry on the other, to successful generals. 'The tribute of inconsiderable homage to these great men,' says he, 'may one day be the ruin of their country; let us, therefore, say little about those of whom posterity will say much—let us be reserved rather than ungrateful; the legions which exalted the glory of Rome would not have been dangerous to her liberty, if she had not intoxicated their generals by excessive adulation.' These remarks evidently caused a deep and strong impression on the haughty, irritable mind of Bonaparte; his answer to the Directory, and his letter to General Clarke, on the death of his nephew, evince his mortification and chagrin, which he in vain attempted to disguise.

'Citizen Directors,

'I have received, with gratitude, the fresh proof of your esteem, which you have shewn me by your letter of the 18th Thermidor.

'I know not what these gentlemen want with me; they and the Austrians have attacked me both together, but you have silenced them by the publication of your letter, and I have done for the Austrians; thus, at one and the same time, these double attacks of my enemies have failed.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.'

LETTER TO GENERAL CLARKE.

‘Your nephew, Elliot, was killed on the field of battle at Arcole. That young man was familiarised to arms, and has many times marched to victory at the head of his troops. He must one day or other have become a great officer; he died gloriously in the face of the enemy, and suffered not for a moment. What reasonable man will not envy him such a death? Who is he, that amidst the vicissitudes of life, will not be thankful thus to quit a world so frequently contemptible? Who is he among us, that has not regretted a hundred times not to be thus withdrawn from the powerful effects of calumny, and of all the malevolent passions which seem almost exclusively to govern the world?’

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.’

CHAP. X:

**BONAPARTE ATTACKED BY ANOTHER AUSTRIAN ARMY—
BATTLE OF ST. MARCO—BATTLE OF RIVOLI—GENERAL
PROVERO DEFEATED—TAKEN WITH HIS WHOLE ARMY
—MANTUA SURRENDERS—SKILL DISPLAYED BY BONA-
PARTE DURING THE SIEGE.**

NOT discouraged by the calamitous defeat at Arcole, and the consequent destruction of his bravest troops, the Emperor, during the short respite which the dead of winter afforded, redoubled his efforts, and depopulated his most flourishing provinces, to raise fresh levies for the relief of Mantua, and the expulsion of the Gallic armies from his Italian dominions. The young men of Vienna, not excepting those of the highest families, were embodied into military corps, and sent post (a method which was first adopted by the French in the Vendean war) to recruit the army of

Alvinzi. The grand object was still the same, to penetrate at some point or other the line of defence Bonaparte had established; to march down a strong column upon Mantua, to raise the blockade, to bring once more the experienced Wurmser into the open field, and by one effort to render nugatory all the preceding successes of the French commander. It required the active genius of Bonaparte to ward off a blow so judiciously aimed—it required that good fortune, which was his invariable attendant, to give effect to those bold and unprecedented manœuvres.

It was the latter end of December before the French commander prepared to take the field. The army of Alvinzi amounted at this time, according to report, to 59,000 men, and was posted on the Brenta and in the Tyrol; while Bonaparte's army extended along the Adige, occupied the line of Montebello, Corona, and Rivoli, with advanced guards before Verona and Porto Legnago. Mantua still remained in a state of close blockade. According to a letter from Gen Wurmser to the Emperor, the garrison must have been reduced to the greatest extremity, in the article of provisions especially, having no animal food but the flesh of their horses.

The Austrian army commenced its hostile movements on the 7th of January, and on the following day the division which had been posted at Padua attacked the advanced guard of General Augereau, which was posted at Bevelagna, before Porto Legnago. After a smart skirmish, the Adjutant-General Dufaux, who commanded there, found himself under a necessity of retreating to St. Zeno, and the next day to Porto Legnago, having been enabled by his resistance to give time to the whole line to be fully apprised of the march of the Austrians, and prepared to receive them.

Bonaparte was himself at this time at Bologna. He however, lost no time in detaching 2000 men who were quartered there towards the Adige, for the relief of Augereau, and immediately after set out for Verona, before which place the Austrians appeared on the morning of the 12th. They at-

tacked the advanced guard under General Massena, and were completely defeated with the loss of 600 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The attack of the Austrians, it appears, was pretty general along the French line; for at the same moment that the advanced posts of Massena were assailed, the division under General Joubert was also attacked at Corona. The Austrians at first gained some slight advantages, and became masters of a redoubt. General Joubert, however, soon rallied his soldiers, retook the redoubt by storm, forced the enemy to retire to their former position, and took upwards of 300 prisoners.

Repulsed but not defeated, however, the Austrians renewed the attack on Joubert the following day, and with such a superiority of force, as compelled him to evacuate Corona, and take a position before Rivoli. This movement of the Austrians left Bonaparte no longer in doubt with respect to the intentions of Alvinzi. It was now evident that the Austrian general with his main force was desirous of penetrating his line by the way of Rivoli, and of reaching Mantua by that route; the force with which this attack was to be made was at least double in number to that under General Joubert. Bonaparte now perceived that no time was to be lost. He ordered immediately large reinforcements from the division of Massena, and other quarters, to Rivoli, where he arrived in person with his staff the same day at midnight. The dispositions of General Joubert, though excellent for a small division, he found by no means adapted to the reinforcements which he had brought; he therefore immediately ordered them to resume some of the positions which they had evacuated, and in particular the gate of St. Marco, which was the key of the whole. Bonaparte, with the officers composing his staff, spent the whole night in reconnoitering the ground, and examining the position of the enemy, who occupied a formidable line of 25,000 strong; their right at Caprino, and their left behind St Marco.

The Austrian general, who had arranged his plan of attack some days before, expected neither the presence of Bonaparte nor the reinforcements which Joubert received almost at the instant of attack. While such were the dispositions of the generals, the night proved extremely unquiet to the outposts on both sides, who kept up almost a constant fire upon each other; and the resumption of the post at St. Marco produced a serious engagement. At day-break on the 14th of January, General Joubert, with one part of his division, attacked the enemy upon the declivity of the hill of St. Marco. The other part occupied the centre, and the left was chiefly composed of the reinforcements which had arrived during the night. The Austrian general still remained ignorant, it appears, both of the presence of the commander in chief, and of the arrival of the reinforcements. His plans were therefore disconcerted, and he acted in the dark. The battle notwithstanding was long and obstinate, and in its commencement the French were driven from some of their posts; while a fresh body of the Austrians advanced to the eminences between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, turned the flank of the French, and completely cut off their communication with Verona and Peschiera. In this embarrassing situation Bonaparte lost nothing of his presence of mind. He detached two battalions to face this new column; and caused four pieces of light artillery to be planted so as to cannonade the right of their line. In the mean time a reinforcement, under the command of General Rey, which had been tardy in its advances, fortunately arrived and took a position exactly in the rear of the column which had turned the French. Bonaparte now pressed the attack with the utmost vigour, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole column, consisting of 4000 men, laid down their arms. The Austrians were now every where put to the rout, and pursued by the conquerors during the whole of the night. Bonaparte relates, that in the course of their flight a body of 500 men surrendered as prisoners to a party of 50 republicans.

The Austrians still remained masters of Corono, but they were now disabled from acting in the offensive. Bonaparte, therefore, ordered General Joubert to attack them the next day, should they still be so imprudent as to retain possession of that place; and he then hastened to encounter new difficulties, and to reap fresh laurels. A column of the Austrians consisting of 10,000 men, under General Provera, had passed the Adige on the night of the 14th, and obliged the French General Guyeux, who guarded the Adige in this quarter, to fall back from Ronco. He, therefore, detached General Victor with a strong reinforcement to Roverbella, and ordered Massena also to take the same route, to stop, if possible, the march of the Austrians. General Joubert, in the mean time, faithfully adhered to the instructions of the commander in chief. General Murat had marched the whole of the night of the 14th with a party of light infantry, and appeared in the morning on the heights of Montebaldo, which commanded Corono; while the Austrians, who were posted there, were vigorously attacked in front by General Joubert. Perceiving, therefore, their retreat cut off, they were, after some resistance, thrown into the utmost confusion, and almost the whole party were either drowned in attempting to swim across the Adige, or made prisoners. In these engagements, (which are denominated by the French the battle of Rivoli) the conquerors took 13,000 prisoners and 9 pieces of cannon.

The column of General Provera, ten thousand strong, in the mean time continued their march, and forced the passage of Anguiari. General Guyeux had rallied and united all the forces which were posted in his vicinity, which, however, did not exceed 1,500 men; with so inadequate a power he was not able to force the enemy to recross the river, but he harassed and impeded their march for some time, and made nearly 300 prisoners. As Mantua was the object of General Provera, his advances were rapid; and General Augereau, who had collected his forces with the design of falling on the column of Provera, between Anguiari and Roverquier, could

only come up with the rear of his division. After a warm conflict, however, he succeeded in cutting off the whole of the rear guard of the Austrian column, and took 2000 prisoners, with 16 pieces of cannon.

Notwithstanding these impediments, General Provera arrived on the 16th of January at the head of 6,000 men, at the suburb of St. George, one of the posts where Mantua was blockaded. - The force at this post, under General Miolis, was greatly inferior to that of the assailants; but the French general was well entrenched. He, therefore, received the summons of Provera with no other reply, than that 'he would fight, but not surrender.' The Austrian general attacked the post, but found it impossible to carry it by force. Thus baffled in his main design, Provera next turned his attention to another post, La Favorita, which (seconded by a sortie from the garrison, which he had concerted with Wurmser) he expected to force, and by that means make good his entrance into Mantua. The design did not escape, however, the penetration of Bonaparte, and to prevent the junction, he saw no other means than to surround the column of Provera, and force it to surrender. He had previously dispatched General Serrurier to La Favorita, with all the forces that he could hastily withdraw from the other posts of blockade; and he now ordered reinforcements from different divisions of his army, who, by the most rapid movements that are recorded in history, arrived in time to effect their purpose. An hour before day-break, on the morning of the 16th, the Austrians attacked La Favorita, and General Wurmser, at the same moment, ordered a spirited sortie from the garrison, to support the assailants, and divert the attention of the enemy.

The detachment from the garrison, however, met with so discouraging a reception from the column of General Victor, one of the detachments which had marched during the night, that it was compelled to return to the fortress without being able to effect a junction with Provera, after leaving the field covered with dead and with prisoners. At the same moment

Serrurier advanced in order to block up Provera between this post and St. George's. Disorder and terror now pervaded the enemy's ranks, and the general solicited a capitulation. The prisoners who surrendered amounted to 6000 infantry and 700 cavalry, with 22 pieces of cannon. Thus perished the fifth great army detached by Austria for the support of its Italian territories, and to divert the destruction which now seemed to impend over the capital itself.

The fall of Mantua was an inevitable consequence of the total loss of the Austrian armies. It surrendered on capitulation the 2d of February. The terms were honourable, as the valour and good conduct of the veteran Wurmser and his brave garrison deserved. The garrison were prisoners, but marched out with military honours; and the old marshal himself, and his suite, were excepted from the humiliating condition of appearing as prisoners of war—he was then upwards of 70 years of age. It was asserted, that upwards of 5000 horses had been devoured by the garrison in the course of the blockade; thus far is certain, that the French found exceedingly few remaining, on taking possession of the fortress.

In exempting General Wurmser from the article which declared the whole garrison prisoners of war, Bonaparte shewed an act of generosity to a veteran soldier whose grey hairs demanded respect, and though his subsequent conduct may render it improbable, yet it is not impossible he may have been actuated by a liberal motive—'I have been desirous,' says he, 'to shew every mark of French generosity towards General Wurmser, an officer near seventy years of age, to whom fortune has been very cruel during the whole of this campaign, but who has, nevertheless, shewn a degree of valour and constancy which will not pass unnoticed in history. Those men who are always ready to calumniate misfortune, will not fail to persecute Wurmser.' Among the Austrian prisoners Bonaparte heard the name of Montecuculi, and he asked the officer who bore it, whether he was a descendant of the great

general of that name, to which he answered in the affirmative;—‘You have shewn yourself worthy of him,’ replied Bonaparte, and immediately gave him his liberty.

Bonaparte, in every thing relating to the siege of Mantua, and the battles it occasioned, rose to the height of military glory: he was indefatigable both in body and mind; he gave his enemies no rest; he harassed them with successive engagements, and often attacked them with an inferior force, rather than give them time to reflect and repose, and he had the art of inspiring his troops with a degree of enthusiasm which nothing could resist: yet unfortunately his general conduct, added to the superstitious ignorance of the people, rendered the French so unpopular in Italy, that upon the first slight successes of Wurmser, before Bonaparte left the siege of Mantua, the French army was every where received with execration and insult; their sick and wounded were treated with wanton cruelty—they were refused waggon to convey them to their quarters, and many expired on the road covered with blood and dust; the peasants frequently spat in their faces, and insulted them in the agonies of death: in some places they rose upon them with pitchforks and sticks, murdered them, and threw them into the rivers: their priests never failed to use the aid of superstition, and to represent the French as infidels whom it was their duty to drive from their country: the shrines of the saints were said to open and shut their eyes, and the very dead branches, with which they were adorned, to regain their verdure, in token of some great approaching reverse to the French. The aid of satire was added to that of superstition; Pasquin and Morforio contributed their share to the general abuse: on the statue of the latter were written these words, ‘*Si dice che i Francesio sono tutti ladroni,*’ to which the former replies, ‘*Non tutti ma, buona parte;*’ a pun can hardly be translated, but this is so very obvious that it may perhaps be understood, and so neat that it is a pity it should be lost: ‘They say the French are all rascals: no, not all, but *buona parte,*’ which means a

great many, and with the addition of a capital letter is the name of the French general.

CHAP. XI.

THE POPE BREAKS THE TREATY WITH FRANCE—BONAPARTE DECLARES WAR AGAINST HIM—CAPTURES LORETTO—ANECDOTE OF HIM AT BOLOGNA—NEGOCIATES WITH THE POPE—HIS CRUELTY IN ITALY—REGARD FOR VIRGIL.

THE French were now at liberty to pursue their conquests, and the Pope was the first object of their attack: this infatuated old man, notwithstanding all that had passed, and the convincing proofs he had received of the impossibility to resist the French arms, and how unequal he was to defend himself, (nevertheless, yielding most probably to the threats and solicitations of the English, who were desirous to retain at least one port in Italy), during the slight successes of the Austrians, was so imprudent (as before related) as to take possession of Ferrara, raised new levies in his dominions, and send succours to Alvinzi. Bonaparte has been accused of a breach of faith, and violation of treaty, in his attack upon the Pope; but if these are facts, (and they are so, if there is faith in history), the Pope was the author of his own destruction, and Bonaparte is not to be blamed for punishing so treacherous a friend; it is also certain, that M. d'Azzara took every pains in his power to prevent his Holiness from endangering his safety by a violation of the armistice, and urged as an argument for his continuing at peace, the determination of the court of Naples to pursue the same policy; nay, notwithstanding, he even assured the Papal court, that a treaty had been actually signed between Naples and France on the 10th of

October, yet such was their obstinate infatuation, that the Marquis del Vasto went to the Pope and persuaded him that the report was false, and that it was only raised with a treacherous design of inducing him to submit to a condition which, for the honour of the Holy See, ought never to be complied with; this condition was, that he should revoke every Bull which he had published against the French; it was considered as a surrender of his infallibility, and consequently tending to the subversion of his spiritual power. When this proposal had been offered in August, the Pope immediately summoned a meeting, which consisted of twelve cardinals, the most eminent for their learning and ecclesiastical knowledge; they were unanimously of opinion that the demand was inadmissible, but decided nothing as to the measures to be taken to get rid of the difficulty. The same evening the Pope sent off half a million, (which, by the condition of the armistice, he had agreed to pay), in order, most likely, to convince the French, that he could part with his money more freely than with his infallibility, and with the vain hope of preserving the latter, he prevailed on the Spanish ambassador, M d'Azzara, to set out for the French camp, accompanied by the prelate Galuppi and father Soldati, two famous theologians, to reason the point with the commissioner, Selicetti. The chevalier d'Azzara feeling himself much hurt that his veracity should have been doubted as to the reality of the treaty between France and Naples, wrote a very strong letter to the Cardinal Busca, the Pope's secretary of state, in which he told him, among many other things of importance, "Though I do not pretend to be your counsellor, when you have already so many, yet I will tell you, as a last legacy of friendship, that one moment may save you, if you are willing to submit to a great sacrifice, but that moment lost, your ruin will be complete." This letter was written on the 22d of October, after he had found the French commissioner inexorable as to the condition required. Bonaparte's letter to Cardinal Mattei, about the same time, and three months be-

fore he attacked the Pope's dominions, prove his attempts to preserve peace, and though we are not to believe all he says, or suppose that he was very sorry for the opportunity offered him of paying his army at the expence of the Holy See, yet it is certain that the Pope might have preserved himself from extremities, and prevented his final expulsion from Italy, and subsequent calamities; he might at least have enjoyed personal safety at a less expence than he paid for defeat and misery.

TO CARDINAL MATTEI.

'The court of Rome has refused to accept the conditions of peace which the Directory offers;—she has broken the truce—she arms—she wishes for war, and she shall have it; and you know, Cardinal, the strength and valour of the army which I command. To destroy the temporal power of the Pope I need but to wish it. Go to Rome, therefore, and enlighten his Holiness to his true interests—deliver him from the intriguers, who besiege him. The French government permits me to receive propositions of peace, and all yet may be settled. I wish you, M. Cardinal, in your mission, all the success which the purity of your intentions deserves.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.'

To this letter Cardinal Mattei returned the most indiscreet answer:—

'I have laid before his Holiness the letter which you took the trouble to write to me, M. General, on the 22d of October.—The sovereign Pontiff, who is the depository upon earth of the maxims of Jesus Christ, hath always endeavoured to maintain peace and harmony in the Christian world; for this purpose he has submitted to many sacrifices. When France, thrown into confusion by the unfortunate events which has afflicted her for these seven years past, wrung his head with grief, he remembered that he was the common father of all Christian nations; and when he saw his children of the church led astray by the most dangerous seductions, he thought that gentleness was the only remedy which he could employ, hoping that it would please God to cure them of their blindness, and bring them back to just and reasonable maxims. The success of your army in Italy has so far

misled your government, that by the most intolerable abuse of prosperity, not content with having shorn the lamb to the quick, they wished to eat it also, and even required of the Pope to make a sacrifice of his conscience and that of the people committed to his care, in exacting the overthrow and total destruction of those fundamental points which are the basis of the Christian religion, of morality, and church discipline. His Holiness, distressed by these intolerable demands, flew to the bosom of his God, to entreat of him that he would enlighten his mind on the conduct which he ought to pursue in so pressing a difficulty. The divine Spirit has, without doubt, inspired him in bringing to his remembrance the example of the holy martyrs; and after having in vain solicited the Directory to listen to more reasonable conditions, the court of Rome must prepare for war. It belongs to the rest of Europe to decide who has been the aggressor. The death with which you threaten us, M. General, is a commencement of a happier life for the good, but for the wicked it begins their punishment. Your army is formidable, but you know that it is not invincible. We will oppose to it all our resources, our constancy, our confidence in a good cause, and, above all, the aid of the Almighty. We know that modern philosophers and unbelievers turn into ridicule the arms of the Spirit; but if it please God that we have occasion to display them, you will have a mournful experience of their efficacy. But I return to the subject of your letter. You say you desire peace; we wish it more than you: grant it upon moderate conditions, and such as our allies can subscribe to, and you will find us ready to yield. On his part, his Holiness will make any sacrifice to obtain it which may not be inconsistent with his duty. We venture to believe, M. General, that for yourself you incline to the principles of justice and humanity, and I shall at all times be happy to co-operate with you in the great affair of pacification.

(Signed)

MATTEI.

Rome, Dec. 2, 1796.

Peltier seems to exult in the idea that the Pope dictated this letter when the situation of Bonaparte could not give him much inquietude: his health had suffered by the fatigues of the campaign; he was laid up at Milan with an erysipelas in his leg; his army was extremely weakened by a succession of engagements; the blockade of Mantua was become extremely difficult; the Austrians were sending reinforcements to relieve it, and insurrections were constantly breaking forth

in Italy: but, notwithstanding these favourable appearances, his Holiness was deceived, and in a few months was compelled to acknowledge his imprudence by signing a peace, which reduced him to insignificance; for Bonaparte having found that any degree of forbearance on the part of the French Republic towards the court of Rome was vain, on the 5th of January, 1797, he recalled the French minister from Rome, and wrote the following letter to Cardinal Mattei:—

‘The influence of foreigners at Rome will be its ruin. The words of peace which I charged you to carry to his Holiness were stifled by men to whom the glory of Rome is nothing. You are witness how much I desired to avoid the horrors of war; but the letters which I send you, and of which I have the originals, will convince you of the perfidy, blindness, and obstinacy of the court of Rome. Whatever may happen, I entreat you to assure his Holiness that he may remain at Rome without any inquietude; as the first minister of religion he shall find protection for himself and the church. My great care shall be to introduce no change in the religion which is established.’

The division of General Victor was therefore ordered to penetrate to Rome, previous to the surrender of Mantua; and the capitulation was scarcely signed before Bonaparte set off in person to superintend the operations of this army. The invaders slept at Imola, the first town within the papal dominions, on the first of February. The resistance of the papal troops was feeble, and they were overpowered with but little loss on the part of the French. In a few days the French proceeded to Loretto, and took possession of the famous Madonna, which was only a wooden image; they found also in that place a treasure of about three millions of livres. The whole marche of Ancona submitted with very little shew of resistance; and on the 19th Bonaparte had his head-quarters at Tolentino. The Pope, now reduced to the lowest extremity, and deprived of his allies by the fortune of war, addressed a submissive epistle to the victorious general, in which he solicited earnestly an amicable termination of the contest;

and dispatched two ecclesiastics, with full powers, to conclude a treaty. By the terms of this treaty, his Holiness renounced all connection with the famous coalition of crowned heads; engaged to disband the troops which had been raised for the support of the war; and to shut his ports against all the powers at war with the Republic. He agreed, without reserve, to the annexation of Avignon, and the county of Venaissin to the French, and also transferred to the Republic the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. In conclusion, he consented to pay to the conquerors the sum of 30 millions of livres, 20 of them in specie, and the rest in diamonds and other valuables, with 16,000 horses, as the ransom of that remnant of his dominions of which he was still permitted to enjoy the precarious possession.

The French troops having taken possession of Bologna, a lady of that city, seized with a sudden panic for her safety, dismissed from her house a French priest whom she had many years maintained. The poor man, finding himself friendless and forsaken, betook himself to Bonaparte. ‘General,’ said he, ‘I am come to ask a favour of you.’ ‘What is it?’ replied Bonaparte. ‘That you will suffer me to be shot at the outside of your camp.’ ‘What induces you,’ said the general, ‘to make so singular a request?’ ‘I am a poor, forlorn, and wretched priest,’ said he, ‘who had no other dwelling but in the house of a benefactress, and she took it into her head that after the arrival of the French army it was no longer safe for her to keep me, and now I have nothing left but to die, but I can patiently endure my lot.’ ‘Go,’ said Bonaparte, ‘to the lady, and tell her from me, that you shall henceforth be her security.’

Bonaparte is remarkable for a sort of keen sarcastic point, bordering upon indifference, which gives considerable force, in many instances, to his replies. A soldier, during this campaign, came up to him with a ragged coat, and asked for a new one. ‘Oh, no,’ said he, ‘that will never do, it will hinder your wounds from being seen.’

The cruelties which Bonaparte committed in Italy are but partly and indistinctly known; the splendour and rapidity of his victories cast a blaze of light over his whole character, which hindered its darker parts from being seen at a distance: he is undoubtedly a profound dissembler when it suits his purpose; but having now thrown off the mask, and committed so many horrid crimes without disguise, it is natural to look back to his conduct at a time when other circumstances prevented its being justly appreciated. The first great act of cruelty of which he is charged, beyond the evidence of his own proclamations, is that of having buried alive the dying and the wounded after the engagement at Salo; he commanded all who were deemed no longer fit for service to be thrown into the waggons among the dead, and there either strangled or suffocated: but in spite of this precaution, the waggons seldom arrived at the burying-ground without sending forth the cries and groans of those who were about to be buried alive; they were conveyed to an immense pit for the purpose, and immediately covered with five load of quick lime, which, thrown in upon their green wounds, occasioned such exquisite pain, that the rector of Salo positively died of the horror with which he was seized upon hearing their cries. They were at length, however, completely covered with earth. To balance these cruelties, must be related the tender regard which Bonaparte shewed for the memory of Virgil. At the commencement of his last campaign he sent the following note to the commandant of Mantua. ‘The people of the village of Andes, in which Virgil was born, shall, on that account, be exempted from all contributions; and you shall take care that all the losses they have suffered during the siege of Mantua shall be repaired.’

CHAP. XII.

**BONAPARTE MARCHES AGAINST THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES
—IS VICTORIOUS—PURSUES HIM INTO GERMANY—HIS
CRITICAL SITUATION—OFFERS PEACE TO THE AUSTRIAN
GENERAL—HIS FURTHER SUCCESSES—AN ARMISTICE
SIGNED—CRUELITIES EXERCISED BY HIS GENERALS—
OBSERVATIONS.**

THE Austrians, by no means dispirited from their repeated losses and defeats, resolved to prosecute the war with still greater vigour; new levies were raised in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor, and reinforcements to the amount of 40,000 men were sent from the army of the Rhine to enable the army of Italy to contend with the French; nine new battalions from Hungary were conveyed in chariots, for the sake of expedition, to the army of Alvinzi, and General Laudohn was again placed at the head of the troops in the Tyrol, which he had quitted in consequence of some disputes with Quasdanovich and Alvinzi. Bonaparte, on the other hand, received immense reinforcements: a new army under Bernadotte arrived at Milan, so that the whole of the French force amounted to near 140,000. Such terrible preparations could not but be followed by immense carnage; and accordingly the campaign was signalized by many desperate and hard-fought actions, though not equal to those of the former. The object of Bonaparte, after having driven the Austrians out of Italy, was to dictate a peace to the Emperor under the walls of Vienna; and for this purpose he determined to effect a junction with the army of Moreau, and thus, by pressing upon the enemies' forces on both sides, to hem them in completely between the two armies, and compel them to surrender; but the event of the campaign against the Archduke

Charles more than answered his most sanguine expectations. The particulars of this short and brilliant campaign, though not distinguished by any thing very striking, are yet curious, from the singular vigour and rapidity with which Bonaparte pursued his enemies, and the consternation with which they fled before him.

The French army, on the 12th of March at day-break, passed the river Pieva, and though it was very deep and rapid, they lost but a few of their men; and one was saved in a very singular manner; being nearly overpowered by the violence of the stream, a woman jumped in and saved him; Bonaparte immediately sent her a gold necklace as a reward for her intrepidity. The enemy retreated, and the next day the French came up with their rear guard, surrounded them, and took 700 prisoners. On the 16th the French army marched in different divisions, at three, four, and five in the morning, and arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento at eleven, after some slight skirmishes; the Austrians retreated during the rest of the day, and, in defiance of the darkness of the night, General Guieux attacked the village of Gradiska, from which Prince Charles escaped with difficulty. The French army still kept pursuing, and the Austrians evacuated the town of Palma Nuova, in which they left 30,000 rations of bread, and 1000 quintals of flour. At Gorice the French took possession of all the Austrian magazines, and found 1500 sick in the place. At Tarvis, General Massena was attacked by a division of the Austrians from Clagenfurt, which he defeated, after a severe engagement; it was fought in the midst of snow and clouds, on the summit of the Julian Alps, which separate the German from the Italian Tyrol, and though the Archduke Charles arrived in the midst of the battle, he was unable, by his utmost exertions, to prevent his army from giving way to the force of the enemy: the French cavalry charged upon the ice, and after both parties suffering severely, from the climate, and from each other, the Austrians were completely defeated. Massena, after the battle, proceeded with his divi-

sion to Clagenfurt; about three miles from which place he was again attacked by the Austrians, and was again victorious: he then entered the town, which is the capital of Cariothia; in their retreat, the Austrians lost nearly 20,000 men, killed and taken prisoners. About the same time that Massena was engaged, three other divisions of the army, under Joubert, Baraguay d'Hilliers, and Delmas, was attacked by the Austrians, who were repulsed with considerable loss; Brixen, Botzen, and Clavssen, large towns in the Tyrol, by the expulsion of the Austrian troops, fell into the hands of the French. From Olagenfurt, Bonaparte sent General Clarke to Vienna with proposals of peace, but Mr. Hammond, from England, had been there before him, and the court of the Emperor, listening to the desperate suggestions of Mr. Pitt, refused to agree to any terms of conciliation; thinking also, (most probably,) that the French had advanced too far into their country to receive succours from Italy, and that they might easily be cut off and subdued; but the event proved otherwise, for, in three weeks more, they were compelled to do what they might have done before with a better grace, and on better terms; though, when the armistice was afterwards signed, the French were in a most perilous situation; the inhabitants of the Tyrol and the Venetian state had risen against the small number of troops that remained, and had the contest continued a few weeks longer, they might have overpowered them; but the Austrians were ignorant of this circumstance.

At the same time that Bonaparte dispatched General Clarke to Vienna, he wrote the following letter to the Archduke Charles, which caused a greater impression at Paris than even his victories; it deceived those whom it was intended to deceive, and gained him a character for philanthropy, which he has since shewn how little he deserved.

THE GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY, TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS M. PRINCE CHARLES.

*' 11th Germinal, 5th year of the Republic,
(March 31.)*

' M. GENERAL IN CHIEF,

' Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Has not the war lasted for six years? Have we not killed men and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Such are the exclamations used on all sides. Europe, who had taken up arms against the French Republic, have laid them down. Your nation alone remains; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of hostilities. At some period, we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentment.

'The Executive Directory of the French Republic communicated to his Imperial Majesty their inclinations to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. Their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope, then, of accommodation? Is it essential to the interests or gratifying to the passions of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of 'the benefactor of the human race,' and 'the saviour of the German empire!' Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favourable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant general, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you, could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy glory which would result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg you to believe me to be, general in chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c. &c.

BUONAPARTE.'

The prince returned a polite answer, the substance of which was, that he neither considered it his part to enter into any discussion on the principles upon which the war was carried on, nor was he furnished by the Emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace.

The last effort of the Austrians was an endeavour to excite the peasantry of the Tyrol to rise in a mass to expel the invaders; and it was so far successful, that the divisions of General Laudohn and Baron Kerpen were strengthened by some fresh and undisciplined, but seasonable, levies. The French columns, under the command of Joubert, were weak, and had suffered considerably by disease and the frequent combats in which they had been engaged. In the beginning of April, therefore, the fortune of war in that quarter began to change. On the 4th, the French were driven from Botzen by General Laudohn, with some loss, and on the following day from Brixen, where the two Austrian columns under Laudohn and Kerpen effected a junction.

Undismayed by these losses, Bonaparte continued to advance. General Massena, with the advanced guard, attacked the Austrians on the 2d of April, in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark; after a most bloody engagement, the latter were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with dead, and about 600 prisoners,—and the following morning the French entered Neumark. On the 4th, the head-quarters of the French general were at Scheifling, and the advanced guard reached to Hunsmark, where the Austrians were again defeated, with the loss of 900 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Though the answer of Prince Charles did not augur the most favourably for peace, yet the overture of Bonaparte was not without effect. A very short time after the prince had dispatched his letter, he sent an aid-de-camp to the French general to request a suspension of arms for four hours—but the proposal Bonaparte declined, under the apprehension that the only object of the Archduke was to gain a day, and effect

a junction with General Spork, who was advancing with a fresh reinforcement. A correspondence, however, was immediately commenced between the two generals, which ended at first in an armistice, and finally in adjusting preliminaries of peace between the court of Vienna and the French republic, which were signed on the 18th of April, by Bonaparte in the name of the French Republic, and by the Neapolitan minister on the part of the Emperor. Among other articles, the preliminaries contained a direct cession of the Netherlands to France, with the duchy of Luxemburg, &c. the independence of the new Italian Republics, and the navigation of the Rhine. By a secret article, it is believed, the French undertook to indemnify the Emperor by a part of the Venetian territory, and by the secularisation of some of the ecclesiastical states in Germany.

The Emperor, to convince Bonaparte of his sincerity, sent three of his principal nobility as hostages to his camp: he received them with civility, and invited them to dine at his table; but at the desert he told them with great dignity, 'Gentlemen, from this moment you are free; tell your imperial master, that if his word requires a pledge you cannot serve as such, and if it requires none you ought not.' The deputies not agreeing upon terms, returned for further instructions to Vienna. It was not till after being constantly employed for two days, the preliminaries were signed in the castle of Eggenwald. During the discussions the Austrian commissioners introduced as the first article of the preliminaries, an acknowledgment of the French republic; at which Bonaparte exclaimed with indignant warmth, 'The French Republic is like the sun in the firmament, and requires not that its splendour should be acknowledged. The article was immediately erased. He demanded one hundred millions as an indemnity for the expences of the war; with this the Austrian commissioners hesitated to comply. 'One would think,' said Bonaparte, 'that we were met here merely to strike a bargain. The French Republic may give peace,

They all instantly quitted the place, and took refuge at Venice.

Men taken from the lowest situations in life, under a despotic government, and suddenly elevated to power and authority, it is not to be supposed, could have very correct notions of justice and injustice; and, having been slaves themselves, it is natural to suppose they would become tyrants in their turn. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that these men were guilty of every species of injustice and cruelty: such being the inevitable consequence of all violent revolutions, ought to convince every moderate and honest person, that gradual reform is the only means by which the condition of man can be improved without his happiness being endangered.

During the campaigns in Italy Bonaparte always carried with him a small travelling library, which consisted of *Caesar's Commentaries*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius* with *Folard's* notes, and the *Campaigns of Montecuculi*: he had also many maps, charts, and drafts, taken from the royal library at Paris; but his favourite study was *Ossian's Poems*, a book well suited to his fierce, unsocial spirit.

CHAP. XIII.

BONAPARTE'S CONDUCT TO VENICE—THE VENETIANS ATTACK HIS TROOPS—HIS ARMY MARCHES AGAINST THEM—ENTERS VENICE—ERECTS A NEW GOVERNMENT—ENDEAVOURS TO CONCILIATE THE ITALIAN CLERGY—HIS ATTENTION TO THE REVOLUTION OF GENOA—ATTACKS THE GREEK ISLES—CARE HE EVINced FOR HIS FAMILY—HIS ILLNESS.

THE conduct of Bonaparte to the government of Venice has been generally reprobated as an unprovoked aggression, and a wanton exercise of power. It is not to be doubted that he was ready to lay hold of every occasion which offered, to give him an excuse for invading so rich a territory, for the French armies being wholly maintained by plunder, excited in their generals a strong inclination to invade every country whose riches seemed to invite an attack, and to reward the labour of the conquest. The government of Venice had, however, given Bonaparte sufficient provocation to punish their treachery; and if he is to be blamed, it is not for having invaded them, but for having given up the people to the Emperor in the treaty of Campo Formio, after having promised them liberty and complete independence: for this cession he is said to have received 2,000,000 of florins, which, perhaps, formed a part of the 40,000,000 of livres which he is reported to have gained by the campaign in Italy.

- While the French troops were rapidly advancing towards Vienna, they received some slight checks from the Austrian army, but these were sufficient to excite a hope in the government of Venice, that by attacking them in the rear they might be cut off from the army in Italy, and compelled to surrender; such a hope was publicly expressed in France, in

Italy, and in England, by every one attached to the royalist party: and, in furtherance of this hope, the Venetians not only themselves rose upon the French at Verona, and murdered many thousands in cold blood, but excited the peasants in the Tyrol to avenge the cause of their country. General Balland was surprised, with the whole garrison of Verona, and reduced to the greatest extremities; the garrison of Chiusa also, which consisted only of eighty men, capitulated to the Venetians. General Kilmaine being informed of the distress and cruelties which the French had suffered at Verona, collected all the troops that could be spared from the different cities of Milan, Mantua, and Bologna, and came to their relief; and, on the 14th of April, compelled the Venetians to disperse. Bonaparte having, by the most prudent and vigorous measures, forced the Austrians to an armistice, at a time when they were ignorant of this diversion in their favour, was now at liberty to punish the treacherous Venetians; the very day after he wrote his celebrated letter to the Archduke, he wrote another to the Senate of Venice, stating all the grievances he had against them, and promising to them to make atonement for their conduct, and accept the alternative which he offered in three laconic words—‘War or Peace.’ The cowardly Senate, who had probably heard of his renewed success, for their letter was written on the 15th of April, and the armistice was signed on the seventh, returned a submissive answer: they did not deny the insurrection of the people, but pretended that they took every pains to repress it immediately, and promised to find out and deliver up to Bonaparte all those who had insulted or murdered any of the French troops; but they positively disavowed a proclamation attributed to them, and signed the 22d of March, 1797; in which the people were publicly excited to rebellion. Soon after this they sent two deputies to Gratz to enter into further explanations with the conqueror of Italy, and avoid, if possible, a rupture with the French: he received them very coolly, and demanded that all the citizens of Venice should be disarmed,

and all the troops raised within the last twelve months should be disbanded; but these points not being agreed on, he immediately published a long manifesto, containing fifteen charges against the republic of Venice. His army being now at liberty to act wherever he pleased, they immediately flew to avenge the cause of their brethren in Italy, and in a few days the whole territory of Venice submitted to their irresistible force; and here, though vengeance may be some excuse for their conduct, they exceeded all their former excess. The troops lived every where at free quarters; they pillaged, sacked, and plundered wherever they went; they seized the horses, carriages, and houses of the rich, and respected neither rank, age, nor sex.

On the 5th of May, 1797, a part of the French army entered Venice, with the avowed intention of overturning the government, and establishing another, more democratic, in its room: they immediately formed a municipality, who took the provisional administration of the state; but on the 12th the people rose *en masse*, tore down the manifesto of the new government, and pulled down the houses of the municipality. On the 17th 30,000 more French troops arrived, restored tranquillity, and caused much of the property plundered on the 12th to be given up. The new municipality was composed of 60 members; Jews, Turks, and men of all conditions. On the 18th the Doge formally laid down his authority, and recommended to the people submission to the new government. Bonaparte, in the month of June, signed preliminaries of peace with the new republic, by which they consented to pay an immense contribution in money, six ships of the line, forty of their finest pictures, a certain number of manuscripts from the library of St. Mark, the two famous bronze lions, and the four horses of the same metal. The limits of the Republic were afterwards to be settled.

About this time Bonaparte, always desirous to gain popularity in France, interceded with the Emperor for the release of La Fayette and his companions, so unjustly detained in the

dungeons of Olmutz: he could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity than when at the head of a victorious army; his demand was immediately complied with, and the wretched prisoners released.

The immediate consequence of the revolutions which the French had occasioned in Italy, was a considerable fermentation in the minds of the people, and an uncertainty as to their future destination. To gain the affections of the people, Bonaparte has always endeavoured to conciliate the clergy; for though he has done all in his power to weaken their influence as a body, he has every where availed himself of the efforts of individuals: to the military his conduct has been exactly the reverse, he has been regardless of giving any offence to individuals; but constantly, as a body, courted their support. His letter to the Archbishop of Genoa is one among many other proofs of his policy towards the clergy:—

‘ Citizen—I have just received your pastoral letter, in which I almost recognize one of the twelve apostles. It was thus, without doubt, that St. Paul wrote. How respectable does religion appear, when it has such ministers as you are, for you are a true apostle, an evangelical apostle; you obtain the esteem even of your enemies. How comes it that the clergy of your diocese are animated by so different a spirit? Jesus Christ sought to act by means of conviction, and he chose rather to die than to employ violence in the propagation of his doctrine. Wicked priests preach only revolution and bloodshed; like Judas they sell their people. I hope soon to be in Genoa, where it will give me the greatest pleasure to converse with you. Bishops like Fenelon—like the archbishop of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa, make religion more amiable; they not only preach virtue, but practise it. A good bishop is the best gift which heaven can give to any city or country on earth.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.’

The revolution of Genoa was the last which engaged his attention. This republic seemed in a manner destined from the first, if not to lose its independence, at least to change its government: its vicinity to France, the dissensions which at

all times existed among the different ranks of its citizens, all conspired to gain partizans to the principles of the French revolution; the establishment of the short lived Cisalpine republic, the independence of Lombardy, and the events which had passed in the Venetian state, all seemed to presage an almost immediate change in the republic of Genoa: this change was no doubt hastened by French gold and French influence. The democratic party beginning now to feel their strength, appeared in open insurrection against the government: after considerable commotion, and the alternate success of both parties, they came to a mutual agreement to solicit the mediation of the French minister Faypoult: a constitution somewhat similar to the French one of 1795 was adopted, and the republic of Genoa changed its name for that of the Ligurian republic, which form it for some time retained.

Bonaparte having successfully commenced the great affair of peace, determined not to return to Paris till it was finished, that he might appear there with the double éclat of a conqueror and pacificator. By a proclamation passed on the 3d of June, he fixed the limits of the Cisalpine republic, and continued to occupy himself in the settlements of Italy, by various regulations, all founded on a republican basis, and all tending to destroy the old prejudices in favour of nobility and monarchy. Not content with revolutionizing Italy, he cast his eyes upon such of the Greek isles as had belonged to the republic of Venice, and sent to them, from thence, a small fleet, with a handful of troops on board, commanded by the deaf general, Gentili; his letter to the Directory, giving an account of the success of the expedition, contains some curious particulars, among which the following are the most remarkable:—

‘The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *Papa*, or first minister of

religion, a well informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to General Gentili, and addressed him in these words:—'Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations, but despise them not on that account, they may one day become again what they were before. Learn in reading this book to respect them.' The General opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *Papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to find it was the *Odyssey*. The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the great nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce."

These isles, with four others, now form a republic, which was acknowledged by the treaty of Amiens, and at that time placed under the protection of Russia.

While Bonaparte was thus pursuing his victorious course, he had hardly time to think on his relations. His mother lived at Toulon, and his brother Joseph was engaged in trade at the same place, but he soon determined to quit it and endeavour to profit by the good fortune of his brother; accordingly he applied to his relation Selicetti, who gave him a good place in the commissary department. When Bonaparte heard of this he sent for him, and asked him if he wanted money. 'If you do,' said he, 'tell me, and you shall be welcome to the half of my purse; but I must request you to give up your place immediately and leave the army, for I will never have it laid to my charge that I have used my influence improperly in providing for my family. Return to Toulon, and there you may be always sure of advancing yourself by trade.' So far from following this advice, the crafty Joseph went to Paris and applied to one of the ministers, who soon gave him a good appointment. Supposing Bonaparte to have been sincere in this affair, he is much changed since then; but supposing, which is most probable, that it was only a politic manœuvre to obtain popularity, his subsequent conduct with regard to his family has at least the merit of consistency.

During Bonaparte's severe exertions in Italy, he was seized with a violent expectoration of blood, which lasted for several days, and excited considerable alarm; those who were then most desirous of his safety, will probably now wish that he had died in the midst of his glory; he has certainly lived too long for himself and the world. His vices would never have been heard of had he died at the end of the campaign in Italy.

CHAP. XIV.

TREATY SIGNED BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRIA—NAPOLÉON BEGINS HIS JOURNEY TO PARIS—OCCURRENCES ON THE ROAD—HIS HARSH TREATMENT OF THE SWEDISH ENVOY—POLITIC CONDUCT AT PARIS—HIS SPLENDID PRESENTATION TO THE DIRECTORY—HE AFFECTS A PARTIALITY FOR LETTERS—REMARKS ON HIS SITUATION AT PARIS.

WHEN the preliminaries of peace were signed, Bonaparte lost no time to follow them up by a treaty; for this purpose he fixed his residence at the castle of Passerians, near Udina, but he met with many obstacles in the tediousness of German forms. The Marquis de Gallo conducted himself with great prudence, and endeavoured to temper the fire of the Corsican, and at the same time urge on the sluggish formality of the Austrian deputies, yet the conferences proceeded very slowly; but at length, Bonaparte, no longer able to contain himself, assumed the tone of a conqueror, and, on the last day, starting up from his seat, exclaimed with great warmth, 'What not yet sign? not yet? this is the last opportunity I shall give you; in six months you shall all tremble; and did I not respect the law of nations, thus would I.' At these words he darted a fierce and threatening look at the Austrian minister, and

snatching up his hat from the table, threw it among a set of porcelaine which stood near him. The astonished Austrian no longer ventured to oppose him, but consented to sign and finish. This peace was concluded on the 17th of October, 1797.

The time was now approaching when Bonaparte was to receive the great reward of all his toils, of all his perils, and of all his victories, in the applause of his fellow-citizens, and the grateful acknowledgements of the government he had served. He had quitted Paris almost as a simple individual, without fame, distinction, or notoriety, and he was about to return the conqueror and pacificator of Europe. Had he lived in the times when the Roman generals returned to their country in triumph, he would have been attended by the armies who shared his victories, by the spoils of conquered nations, and by vanquished princes tied to his chariot wheels; but in civilized times these indecent spectacles are out of fashion, and Bonaparte was too modest or too prudent to revive them. He set out from Italy to Paris with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended only by two generals, two aides-de-camp, a secretary, and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French resident, and having been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him on the road, and immense crowds of people were all in earnest expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he slept the night before, he had been received with great honours by the celebrated Colonel Weiss, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writing, by his zeal for liberty and mistaken admiration of Bonaparte. Near Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the crowd of spectators who had assembled to see him thus speaks of him,—‘I had an opportunity of being very near him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else: he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation which reveals no-

thing that is passing within; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will some day or other influence the destinies of Europe. A burgess of Morat, observed with astonishment the figure of the general. 'How small a stature for so great a man,' cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of his aides-de-camp. 'He is exactly the height of Alexander,' said some one. 'Yes,' said the aid-de-camp, 'and that is not the only trait of resemblance.' He left Geneva on the 22d of November in the evening, and arrived the next night at Berne. At Faubron, a little village nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party who had out of curiosity and respect accompanied his train; and after that he went to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and full address from the burgomaster. In passing through Lausanne they had prepared a great fete for him, which he did not seem to enjoy: three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses which they had got by heart; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour, but seemed to have more need of sleep than of compliments: he appeared, indeed, every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted.'

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They all instantly quitted the place, and took refuge at Venice.

Men taken from the lowest situations in life, under a despotic government, and suddenly elevated to power and authority, it is not to be supposed, could have very correct notions of justice and injustice ; and, having been slaves themselves, it is natural to suppose they would become tyrants in their turn. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that these men were guilty of every species of injustice and cruelty : such being the inevitable consequence of all violent revolutions, ought to convince every moderate and honest person, that gradual reform is the only means by which the condition of man can be improved without his happiness being endangered.

During the campaigns in Italy Bonaparte always carried with him a small travelling library, which consisted of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius* with *Folard's* notes, and the *Campaigns of Montecuculi* : he had also many maps, charts, and drafts, taken from the royal library at Paris ; but his favourite study was *Ossian's Poems*, a book well suited to his fierce, unsocial spirit.

CHAP. XIII.

BONAPARTE'S CONDUCT TO VENICE—THE VENETIANS ATTACK HIS TROOPS—HIS ARMY MARCHES AGAINST THEM—ENTERS VENICE—ERECTS A NEW GOVERNMENT—ENDEAVOURS TO CONCILIATE THE ITALIAN CLERGY—HIS ATTENTION TO THE REVOLUTION OF GENOA—ATTACKS THE GREEK ISLES—CARE HE EVINCED FOR HIS FAMILY—HIS ILLNESS.

THE conduct of Bonaparte to the government of Venice has been generally reprobated as an unprovoked aggression, and a wanton exercise of power. It is not to be doubted that he was ready to lay hold of every occasion which offered, to give him an excuse for invading so rich a territory, for the French armies being wholly maintained by plunder, excited in their generals a strong inclination to invade every country whose riches seemed to invite an attack, and to reward the labour of the conquest. The government of Venice had, however, given Bonaparte sufficient provocation to punish their treachery; and if he is to be blamed, it is not for having invaded them, but for having given up the people to the Emperor in the treaty of Campo Formio, after having promised them liberty and complete independence: for this cession he is said to have received 2,000,000 of florins, which, perhaps, formed a part of the 40,000,000 of livres which he is reported to have gained by the campaign in Italy.

- While the French troops were rapidly advancing towards Vienna, they received some slight checks from the Austrian army, but these were sufficient to excite a hope in the government of Venice, that by attacking them in the rear they might be cut off from the army in Italy, and compelled to surrender; such a hope was publicly expressed in France, in

Italy, and in England, by every one attached to the royalist party: and, in furtherance of this hope, the Venetians not only themselves rose upon the French at Verona, and murdered many thousands in cold blood, but excited the peasants in the Tyrol to avenge the cause of their country. General Balland was surprised, with the whole garrison of Verona, and reduced to the greatest extremities; the garrison of Chiusa also, which consisted only of eighty men, capitulated to the Venetians. General Kilmaine being informed of the distress and cruelties which the French had suffered at Verona, collected all the troops that could be spared from the different cities of Milan, Mantua, and Bologna, and came to their relief; and, on the 14th of April, compelled the Venetians to disperse. Bonaparte having, by the most prudent and vigorous measures, forced the Austrians to an armistice, at a time when they were ignorant of this diversion in their favour, was now at liberty to punish the treacherous Venetians; the very day after he wrote his celebrated letter to the Archduke, he wrote another to the Senate of Venice, stating all the grievances he had against them, and promising to them to make atonement for their conduct, and accept the alternative which he offered in three laconic words—‘War or Peace.’ The cowardly Senate, who had probably heard of his renewed success, for their letter was written on the 15th of April, and the armistice was signed on the seventh, returned a submissive answer: they did not deny the insurrection of the people, but pretended that they took every pains to repress it immediately, and promised to find out and deliver up to Bonaparte all those who had insulted or murdered any of the French troops; but they positively disavowed a proclamation attributed to them, and signed the 22d of March, 1797; in which the people were publicly excited to rebellion. Soon after this they sent two deputies to Gratz to enter into further explanations with the conqueror of Italy, and avoid, if possible, a rupture with the French: he received them very coolly, and demanded that all the citizens of Venice should be disarmed,

and all the troops raised within the last twelve months should be disbanded; but these points not being agreed on, he immediately published a long manifesto, containing fifteen charges against the republic of Venice. His army being now at liberty to act wherever he pleased, they immediately flew to avenge the cause of their brethren in Italy, and in a few days the whole territory of Venice submitted to their irresistible force; and here, though vengeance may be some excuse for their conduct, they exceeded all their former excess. The troops lived every where at free quarters; they pillaged, sacked, and plundered wherever they went; they seized the horses, carriages, and houses of the rich, and respected neither rank, age, nor sex.

On the 5th of May, 1797, a part of the French army entered Venice, with the avowed intention of overturning the government, and establishing another, more democratic, in its room: they immediately formed a municipality, who took the provisional administration of the state; but on the 12th the people rose *en masse*, tore down the manifesto of the new government, and pulled down the houses of the municipality. On the 17th 30,000 more French troops arrived, restored tranquillity, and caused much of the property plundered on the 12th to be given up. The new municipality was composed of 60 members; Jews, Turks, and men of all conditions. On the 18th the Doge formally laid down his authority, and recommended to the people submission to the new government. Bonaparte, in the month of June, signed preliminaries of peace with the new republic, by which they consented to pay an immense contribution in money, six ships of the line, forty of their finest pictures, a certain number of manuscripts from the library of St. Mark, the two famous bronze lions, and the four horses of the same metal. The limits of the Republic were afterwards to be settled.

About this time Bonaparte, always desirous to gain popularity in France, interceded with the Emperor for the release of La Fayette and his companions, so unjustly detained in the

dungeons of Olmutz: he could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity than when at the head of a victorious army; his demand was immediately complied with, and the wretched prisoners released.

The immediate consequence of the revolutions which the French had occasioned in Italy, was a considerable fermentation in the minds of the people, and an uncertainty as to their future destination. To gain the affections of the people, Bonaparte has always endeavoured to conciliate the clergy; for though he has done all in his power to weaken their influence as a body, he has every where availed himself of the efforts of individuals: to the military his conduct has been exactly the reverse, he has been regardless of giving any offence to individuals; but constantly, as a body, courted their support. His letter to the Archbishop of Genoa is one among many other proofs of his policy towards the clergy:—

‘Citizen—I have just received your pastoral letter, in which I almost recognize one of the twelve apostles. It was thus, without doubt, that St. Paul wrote. How respectable does religion appear, when it has such ministers as you are, for you are a true apostle, an evangelical apostle; you obtain the esteem even of your enemies. How comes it that the clergy of your diocese are animated by so different a spirit? Jesus Christ sought to act by means of conviction, and he chose rather to die than to employ violence in the propagation of his doctrine. Wicked priests preach only revolution and bloodshed; like Judas they sell their people. I hope soon to be in Genoa, where it will give me the greatest pleasure to converse with you. Bishops like Fenelon—like the archbishop of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa, make religion more amiable; they not only preach virtue, but practise it. A good bishop is the best gift which heaven can give to any city or country on earth.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE.’

The revolution of Genoa was the last which engaged his attention. This republic seemed in a manner destined from the first, if not to lose its independence, at least to change its government: its vicinity to France, the dissensions which at

all times existed among the different ranks of its citizens, all conspired to gain partizans to the principles of the French revolution; the establishment of the short lived Cisalpine republic, the independence of Lombardy, and the events which had passed in the Venetian state, all seemed to presage an almost immediate change in the republic of Genoa: this change was no doubt hastened by French gold and French influence. The democratic party beginning now to feel their strength, appeared in open insurrection against the government: after considerable commotion, and the alternate success of both parties, they came to a mutual agreement to solicit the mediation of the French minister Faypoult: a constitution somewhat similar to the French one of 1795 was adopted, and the republic of Genoa changed its name for that of the Ligurian republic, which form it for some time retained.

Bonaparte having successfully commenced the great affair of peace, determined not to return to Paris till it was finished, that he might appear there with the double éclat of a conqueror and pacificator. By a proclamation passed on the 3d of June, he fixed the limits of the Cisalpine republic, and continued to occupy himself in the settlements of Italy, by various regulations, all founded on a republican basis, and all tending to destroy the old prejudices in favour of nobility and monarchy. Not content with revolutionizing Italy, he cast his eyes upon such of the Greek isles as had belonged to the republic of Venice, and sent to them, from thence, a small fleet, with a handful of troops on board, commanded by the deaf general, Gentili; his letter to the Directory, giving an account of the success of the expedition, contains some curious particulars, among which the following are the most remarkable:—

‘The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *Papa*, or first minister of

religion, a well informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to General Gentili, and addressed him in these words:—‘Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations, but despise them not on that account, they may one day become again what they were before. Learn in reading this book to respect them.’ The General opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *Papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to find it was the *Odyssey*. The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the great nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce.”

These isles, with four others, now form a republic, which was acknowledged by the treaty of Amiens, and at that time placed under the protection of Russia.

While Bonaparte was thus pursuing his victorious course, he had hardly time to think on his relations. His mother lived at Toulon, and his brother Joseph was engaged in trade at the same place, but he soon determined to quit it and endeavour to profit by the good fortune of his brother; accordingly he applied to his relation Selicetti, who gave him a good place in the commissary department. When Bonaparte heard of this he sent for him, and asked him if he wanted money. ‘If you do,’ said he, ‘tell me, and you shall be welcome to the half of my purse; but I must request you to give up your place immediately and leave the army, for I will never have it laid to my charge that I have used my influence improperly in providing for my family. Return to Toulon, and there you may be always sure of advancing yourself by trade.’ So far from following this advice, the crafty Joseph went to Paris and applied to one of the ministers, who soon gave him a good appointment. Supposing Bonaparte to have been sincere in this affair, he is much changed since then; but supposing, which is most probable, that it was only a politic manœuvre to obtain popularity, his subsequent conduct with regard to his family has at least the merit of consistency.

During Bonaparte's severe exertions in Italy, he was seized with a violent expectoration of blood, which lasted for several days, and excited considerable alarm; those who were then most desirous of his safety, will probably now wish that he had died in the midst of his glory; he has certainly lived too long for himself and the world. His vices would never have been heard of had he died at the end of the campaign in Italy.

CHAP. XIV.

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For the three months during which Bonaparte remained at Paris, he was no doubt employed in concerting measures with the Directory for the great expedition which was to destroy the English power in India, and open a new source of trade and riches to France. The secret was preserved most strictly, and the public kept in a state of perpetual oscillation as to the future employment of Bonaparte: at one time he was going to Brest to command an expedition against England; at another to Rastadt to hasten the tardy conferences of the Congress; and to countenance this latter deception, he actually wrote to Count Cobenzel to meet him there, the very day on which he arrived at Toulon. The idea of restoring liberty to Egypt and Greece had been first suggested in a speech of Monge to the Directory, in presenting to them the definitive treaty of peace with the Emperor, a speech which rises to the utmost height of French bombast in every sentence:—"The glory of the army of Italy resounds even to the farthest corner of Egypt; the Arabians of the desert talk of nothing else in their tents. A gleam of hope hath enlightened the minds of the descendants of the Greeks, and their hearts have leapt for joy. The little children of Sparta and Athens sing in French the hymn which formed our battalions, and led them to victory; they will soon sing that of our triumphs; and these hymns, like the hymns of Orpheus, will pass from mouth to mouth in every nation, and descend to posterity!" The Turkish ambassador having heard of this speech, preferred a formal complaint to the minister of the foreign department; to which he replied that it ought to have given no alarm or offence, as it was not the speech of any person in office, but the mere unauthorised voice of an individual, and for which the government ought not to be called to account.

But the first direct intimation of Egypt being the object of the expedition, was given in a report to the council of five hundred by Echasseriaux the elder, but supposed to have been written by Talleyrand, upon the colony of Sierra Leone,

and upon colonization in general. This report was read on the 12th of April, the very day on which the seavans set out to join the expedition at Toulon. After describing the advantages of colonization to France, the reporter enlarged upon one country peculiarly suited to that purpose, and at length named Egypt. 'What more glorious enterprise,' said he, 'than for a nation which has already given liberty to Europe, to regenerate in every sense a country, which was once the centre of civilization when barbarism overspread the rest of the universe, and to carry back to their ancient nurse, the sciences, the arts and industry. Here then the French republic ought to plant a new colony.'

Bonaparte arrived at Toulon on the 9th of May, 1798, to take the command of the troops destined for this famous expedition, and his presence inspired a degree of animation and confidence among them which set their minds at ease as to the nature and success of the undertaking; the army was composed of the veterans from the army of Italy, and amounted to about 36,000. The fleet, which consisted of 15 sail of the line, two of them armed en flute, 14 frigates, and several sloops of war, with about 100 transports, sailed from Toulon on the 21st of May, 1798; the whole was commanded by Admiral Brueys, and completely provided with every thing necessary for a long voyage; of these not above five thousand men and five ships of war ever returned to France. Such is the havoc that ambition makes among mankind!

The first news of the expedition was that of its having taken Malta, after a very short resistance, which considering the strength of the place, excited no very unjust suspicion of treachery.

The proclamations and addresses which Bonaparte issued before and after his taking possession of Egypt, contain professions almost ridiculous, with promises never performed, and expressions of cruelty not to be justified. Among the orders issued at Malta, there is one which contains two ar-

ticles, more barbarous than the Greek in which it is written, if it was written in Greek, which we take upon the authority of the intercepted correspondence. The articles alluded to are as follows:—‘All the Greeks of the isles of Malta and Gozo who preserve any connection with Russia shall be put to death. All Greek vessels which sail under Russian colours shall be immediately sunk when they fall into the hands of the French.’ At Malta he addressed a letter to the bishop, which, when compared with his proclamation to the inhabitants of Alexandria, shews how little credit is to be given to either.

TO THE BISHOP OF MALTA.

‘I have learnt with sincere pleasure, good Mr. Bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French troops. You may assure the people of your diocese that the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, nor more worthy of veneration, than a priest who, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, is persuaded that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity and union in his diocese. I request you immediately to repair to the town of Malta, and to preserve, by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I shall be there myself this evening. I request also, that at my arrival you will introduce me to all the priests and other chiefs belonging to Malta and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally.

On board the l’Orient, June 13th.

The next intelligence, though it announced that the troops had been successfully landed, was accompanied with the disastrous news of the fleet in the dreadful action on the first of August. The directory received the two accounts together, but they prudently chose to produce the best first. The fortune of Bonaparte in this instance seemed to have been as kind to him as usual, for the English fleet had left Alexandria only two days before the French one arrived; hearing, therefore, that the English were so near, he was extremely

desirous to effect a landing; accordingly, in the evening of the 2d of July, he began to prepare for the purpose.

CHAP. XV.

BONAPARTE LANDS AT EGYPT—STORMS ALEXANDRIA—HIS SINGULAR PROCLAMATIONS—APPEARANCE OF AN EGYPTIAN TOWN—THE FRENCH ATTACKED BY MURAD BEY—GRAND CAIRO SEIZED—BONAPARTE PURSUES THE MAMLUKS—HIS CONDUCT AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

WHILE the French army was busily engaged in landing, a vessel was descried at a distance, which was taken to be a part of the English squadron. Bonaparte, on hearing the alarm, exclaimed, in the utmost agitation, ‘Fortune, wilt thou abandon me; I ask only five days, and then do thy worst.’ Fortune was still constant to him, for the vessel proved to be a French one. The landing was effected with great difficulty, on account of a strong north wind which raised the surf a considerable height, and rendered it impossible for many of the boats to get near the shore. At one o’clock in the morning, however, Bonaparte landed, and put himself at the head of three thousand men, whom he divided into three columns, and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, he marched on to Alexandria without cannon and without cavalry. The heights which commanded the city were defended by about three hundred horse, which the French fired upon and soon dispersed.

The rest of the French army having landed by ten the next day, they joined the advanced guard, making on the whole about 23,000 men, and commenced the attack of Alexandria, a place in a great measure defenceless, having nothing but mud walls ill supplied with artillery. The garrison con-

sisted of about five hundred Janissaries, and the city was defended by 5000 Mameluks, with whom the French had a short engagement: they lost about one hundred and fifty men, who might have been spared by summoning the place, but it was thought proper to begin by striking terror, and accordingly the French took the city by assault, and murdered all who came in their way, even those who fled to their mosques for safety. Bonaparte, to rouse the emulation and flatter the vanity of his troops, gave orders that all those who were killed in the engagement should be buried under Pompey's pillar, have their names inscribed on its base, and the circumstance be inserted in the orderly book of every regiment.

The city of Alexandria having been given up to massacre and pillage for the space of four hours, the general at length commanded the carnage to cease, and endeavoured to restore confidence and tranquillity: the next day all was quiet, and the people began to sell their fruit and provisions to the French. Bonaparte then addressed two proclamations, one to his soldiers and the other to the natives: the first advised them to refrain from plunder, which, after the licence so lately given, was not very likely to be attended to: in the next he tells the people that he is the friend of Mahomet, and will respect their religion, which he could hardly expect them to believe after the recent violation of their mosques; not merely by the presence of men calling themselves Christians, but of Christians who came there to murder.

Translation of the Proclamation issued by Bonaparte, in the Arabic Language, on his landing in Egypt.

In the name of God, gracious and merciful. There is no God but God; he has no son or associate in his kingdom.

The present moment, which is destined for the punishment of the Beys, has been long anxiously expected. The Beys, coming from the mountains of Georgia and Bajars, have desolated this beautiful country, long insulted and treated with contempt the French nation, and

oppressed her merchants in various ways. Bonaparte, the General of the French Republic, according to the principles of Liberty, is now arrived; and the almighty, the Lord of both Worlds, hath sealed the destruction of the Beys.

Inhabitants of Egypt! When the Beys tell you the French are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: it is an absolute falsehood. Answer those deceivers, that they are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants, and that the French adore the Supreme being, and honour the prophet and his holy Koran.

All men are equal in the eyes of God: understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them: as the Beys, therefore, do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country.

Yet are they the only possessors of extensive tracts of land, beautiful female slaves, excellent horses, magnificent palaces? Have they then received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty? If so, let them produce it. But the Supreme Being, who is just and merciful towards all mankind, wills that in future none of the inhabitants of Egypt shall be prevented from attaining to the first employments and the highest honours. The administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, talents, and foresight, will be productive of happiness and security. The tyranny and avarice of the Beys have laid waste Egypt, which was formerly so populous and well cultivated.

The French are true Musselmén. Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (the Mahometan religion). Afterwards they directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Musselmén. The French have at all times been the true and sincere friends of the Ottoman Emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the empire of the Sultan therefore be eternal; but may the Beys of Egypt, our opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated!

Our friendship shall be extended to those of the inhabitants of Egypt who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality; and when they have seen our conduct with their own eyes, hasten to submit to us; but the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms for the Beys, and against us. For then there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain.

ART. 1. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the French army, shall send one of their principal inhabitants to their French General, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

ART. 2. Every village which shall oppose the French army shall be burned to the ground.

ART. 3. Every village which shall submit to the French, shall hoist the French flag, and that of the sublime Porte, their ally, whose duration be eternal.

ART. 4. The Cheiks and principal persons of each town and village shall seal up the houses and effects of the Beys, and take care that not the smallest article shall be lost.

ART. 5. The Cheiks, Cadas, and Imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions; and put up their prayers, and perform the exercise of religious worship in the mosques and houses of prayer. All the inhabitants of Egypt shall offer up thanks to the Supreme Being, and put up public prayers for the destruction of the Beys.

May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal, pour forth his wrath on the Mameluks, and render glorious the destiny of the Egyptian nation.

This was followed by another written in the same singular style; and which seemed intended to allay the ferment at Alexandria.

*Alexandria, July the —, 6th year of the Republic
One and Indivisible, the — of the month of
Muharrem, the year of the Hegira 1213.*

**BONAPARTE, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE, COM-
MANDER IN CHIEF.**

For a long time the Beys, who govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and covered her merchants with injuries: the hour of their chastisement is come.

For too long a time this rabble of slaves, purchased in Caucasus, and in Georgia, has tyrannized over the fairest part of the world; but God, on whom every thing depends, has decreed that their empire shall be no more.

People of Egypt! you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion: do not you believe it. Reply, that I am come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers; and, that I reverence more than the Mameluks themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran!

Tell them that all men are equal before God. Wisdom, talents, and virtue, are the only things which make a difference between them.

Now, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, have the Mameluks, that they should boast the exclusive possession of every thing that can render life agreeable?

If Egypt is their farm, let them shew the lease which God has given them of it! But God is just and merciful to the people.

All the Egyptians shall be appointed to all the public situations. The most wise, the most intelligent, and the most virtuous, shall govern; and the people shall be happy.

There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has destroyed them all? What? but the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mameluks.

Cadis, Cheiks, Imans, Tchorbadgis! tell the people that we are the friends of the true Musselmen. It is not we who have destroyed the Pope; who said that it was necessary to make war on Musselmen! Is it not we, who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that it was the good pleasure of God that they should make war on Musselmen? Is it not we, who have been in all ages the friends of the Grand Signior, (on whose desires be the blessing of God!) and the enemy of his enemies? And, on the contrary, have not the Mameluks always revolted against the authority of the Grand Signior, which they refuse to recognize at this moment?

Thrice happy those who shall be with us! they shall prosper in their fortune and their rank. Happy those who shall be neutral! they shall have time to know us thoroughly, and they will range themselves on our side.

But woe, woe, woe, to those who shall take up arms in favour of the Mameluks, and combat against us! There shall be no hope for them: they shall all perish.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

A true copy.

(Signed) BERTHIER.

This proclamation was rather a rude beginning for a man who came to extend the blessings of civilization, to revive the arts and sciences, and release the inhabitants of the country from the bondage of the Turks and Mameluks! but the whole affair, the more it is developed, deserves to be considered as a

farce, if it was not too much of a tragedy; it was a series of deception and trick, of murder, plunder, and tyranny from beginning to end, and seems to have been contrived for no other purpose than to find food for the insatiable ambition of a man who had not room enough in Europe, and required some new field to exercise his restless and destructive spirit.

Alexandria did not answer the expectations which the French had formed. 'On landing at Alexandria,' says a Scavan, 'we could scarcely prevail on a group of beggars leaning on their crutches, to point out to us the head-quarters. All the houses were shut: those who had not dared to light had fled; and those who had not been killed in the combat, had concealed themselves for fear of being put to death, according to the Oriental custom. Every thing was new to our sensations: the soil, the form of the buildings, the persons, customs, and language of the inhabitants. The first prospect that presented itself to our view was an extensive burying-ground covered with innumerable tomb-stones of white marble on a white soil. Among these monuments were seen wandering several meagre women with long tattered garments, resembling so many ghosts: the silence was only interrupted by the screeching of the kites which hovered over this sanctuary of death. We passed from thence into narrow and deserted streets, where Europe and its gaiety were brought to my recollection only by the chirping and activity of the sparrows. I could not recognize the dog the friend of man, the faithful and generous companion, the gay and loyal courtier. Here this animal is a dull and selfish brute, a stranger to the master beneath whose roof he dwells, and separated from the inmates without ceasing to be a slave, loses sight of him whose asylum he defends, and on whose bleeding carcase he feeds without abhorrence.'

Bonaparte having issued his proclamations, hastened to collect the grandees of the city; and the surviving members of the old government, who, after being reproved for their *revolt*, were compelled to take the oath of fidelity to their con-

queror. The Sheik Koraim was an able and enterprising man, whom Bonaparte, with equal effrontery and dissimulation addressed in the following terms: 'I have taken you in arms, you have, however, behaved with courage, and, as I think bravery inseparable from honour, I give you back your arms, and I think that you will be as faithful to the republic as you have been to a bad government.'

Having secured the possession of Alexandria, Bonaparte set out to meet the only enemies he pretended to oppose, viz. the Mameluks. The army, after suffering severely from thirst and fatigue in passing through the desert, at length came to the banks of the Nile; and such was their ardor to drink that they threw themselves into it, with their clothes on, and drank most copiously. The heat of the day was excessive, and the French army were almost overcome. Destitute of the necessary means to refresh them, the commander in chief employed such methods as their untoward circumstances could supply. When the troops of Bonaparte halted to enjoy a little repose, the army of Murad Bey appeared, and were instantly formed in order of battle. There was something impressive and awful at that moment. The French were sensible of their own superiority, both in numbers and military skill, and they did not despond, but they were situated in an enemy's country, where every thing was different from those scenes of Europe where they had fought and conquered.

The army of Murad Bey consisted of 6,000 Mameluks, together with a multitude of Arabs, fellahs, and other attendants. The armour of the Mameluks, and the accoutrements of their steeds, were costly and splendid. They sparkled and shone amidst the radiance of the sun, and the horses foamed and pawed with eagerness for the battle. Over the right of the army were beheld the city of Grand Cairo, the castle, which overtops the town, and the mountain of Makattem rising in proud eminence behind. Over the left of the Mameluk army, the pyramids of Gaza appeared in awful grandeur, on the brink of the Lybian desert, and, at a distance, in the rear,

were the plains where Memphis once stood. The scene was all clothed in the majesty of ancient importance, and the whole circumstances were striking and awful. When Bonaparte had given his final orders, he said to the soldiers, 'Push on, and recollect that from the summit of these monuments forty centuries watch over us!'

The army of the French was formed in divisions, and so arranged as to assist and protect one another. The word of command was given to advance, and when the Mameluks observed the enemy in motion, they rushed forward with impetuous courage. They seemed as if they would attack the centre, but, suddenly changing their course, they poured with incredible swiftness upon the divisions of Regnier and Desaix, which formed the right of the French army. Those veteran columns of the republic stood unmoved till the cavalry of Murad Bey had advanced within half range of musket-shot, and then a steady fire from the ranks wounded many and killed numbers. Still the Mameluks pushed forward, and rushed upon the well-directed bayonets; but their impetuous rashness was the forerunner of destruction, for their ranks were thinned, and the field was covered with the slain. While the divisions of Regnier and Desaix were thus engaged, those of Bon and Menou, in connection with Kleber's troops, which General Dugua commanded, made an attack upon the village of Embaba. Masked batteries were opened upon the French soldiers; but they soon took possession of the entrenchment, and spread such desolation, that Grand Cairo itself trembled.

The brave and unfortunate Mameluks erred in venturing into a pitched battle. They ought to have retired before the French to the right bank of the Nile, and contented themselves with harassing them. Nothing, in short, but a blind reliance on their own courage, and a total ignorance of the European manner of fighting, could have induced between five and six thousand men (for this was their utmost number) to attack 24,000 of the best troops of France, furnished with

artillery, and bristled with an impenetrable fence of bayonets. That they should be defeated is not so wonderful as that they should be able to do injury at all to the French.

Bonaparte, in his dispatch to the Directory, represented the plunder of Mourad's camp as being immense. 'The Mameluks,' says he, 'shewed great bravery. They defended their fortunes, for there was not one of them on whom our soldiers did not find three, four, and five hundred louis!' Yet in a letter to Kleber, written at the same time, he complains of having no resource for paying his troops but the plundered ingots of Malta, which he had therefore sent to the mint at Cairo.

The first thing after the taking possession of Cairo was to settle something like a government, but what was given to the wretched natives hardly deserved that name. Its first object, like that of most other governments, was to raise money, and the soldiers were to be the tax-gatherers. A divan of seven persons was appointed in every province, who, assisted by the French troops, were 'to repress sedition, collect the taxes formerly paid to the Beys, and enlighten the people.' It may here be enquired what was become of the Scavans, to whom the latter duty seemed exclusively to belong: perhaps they did not like the soldiers for their coadjutors, and thought that though men may be silenced, they cannot be enlightened by the bayonet.

Bonaparte having now secured the possession of Cairo, set out to finish the conquest of Egypt, and pursue the refractory Beys who had fled before him. Ibrahim, the principal of them, had taken refuge in the deserts of Syria. Mourad Bey was closely pursued by General Desaix; but though his troops were chiefly dispersed by the various engagements he had sustained, he was neither taken nor vanquished.

On the 1st of August, Admiral Nelson having discovered the French fleet, bore down to the attack, and with undaunted courage and unequalled dexterity, broke the enemy's line, by directing part of his vessels between their fleet and that very sand-bank which the republican Admiral had viewed

as a complete protection on that quarter. The French ships were in succession exposed, on both sides, to a cross and destructive fire, eleven sail of the line were either taken or destroyed, and above three-fourths of their crews were also either killed or wounded. Thus the schemes of France received a deep blow, and the current of their victories was stopped in its course. So unfortunate a project would, in any situation of the republic, have damped the spirits of the people; but in the distracted state of the French nation, at that period of its history, so disastrous an event was calculated to increase its confusion, and augment its dangers. The reigning powers, being weak and unpopular, were scarcely able to withstand the shock which the news of an enterprize, so unfortunate and calamitous, would unavoidably produce; and another faction, by starting into power, might occasion new changes, and prolong the horrors of revolutionary movements. Bonaparte was not indifferent to the fate of his own character; he had fought successfully with the armies of France, and was then the favourite hero of the republic; but former victories might be forgotten among the splendid deeds of some new champion, and the verdure of the laurels, which adorned his numerous triumphs, might fall into decay before the blasting influence of the late misfortunes.

Though he was not personally engaged in the fatal contest at Aboukir; yet to him was entrusted the care of the expedition, and his fame was unquestionably involved in its failure or success. Conscious of the dangerous situation in which he was placed, Bonaparte endeavoured, with considerable address, to remove the blame from himself, and fix it upon Admiral Brueys, who commanded the fleet. It would naturally be asked, why the French fleet did not return to the harbour of Corfu or Malta, since they could not enter the ports of Alexandria, nor occupy a station which could protect them from the danger of the British ships? The commander in chief of the French army ascribed to the republican admiral that course of conduct which detained him upon

the Egyptian coast, and induced him to anchor in the bay of Aboukir. That respectable officer was then dead, and could not repel the ungenerous accusation; but in various parts of the intercepted letters, it appears unequivocally evident, that he was commanded, by the express orders of Bonaparte, to remain for a while on that station. Meeting with such opposition in Egypt, it was not deemed expedient to let the means of escaping from the country be taken away; and perhaps it might be concluded, that the French fleet were in more safety, anchored in line of battle upon the coast of Egypt, than running the chance of encountering the British squadron at sea.

Such was the perplexing situation in which Bonaparte was placed, when he received information of the defeat at Aboukir. This momentous battle had been fought while the commander in chief was in pursuit of Ibrahim Bey, in his flight to Syria; and the hero of Italy returned from his expedition in deep distress, and entered Grand Cairo under great depression of spirits. The prospect toward Alexandria was gloomy, and foreboded evil. The British were masters at sea; Egypt itself was hostile to the French republic; and every scheme was pregnant with alarm. The resources and firmness of General Bonaparte were now called into rigorous exercise; and he must either establish his authority in Egypt, or surrender himself and his army to the power of Britain.

The letter which Bonaparte addressed to the widow of Admiral Brueys shews, that if he cannot feel himself, he knows what other people feel. A gentleman has attempted to transfuse the beauties of this epistle into the English language; but they cannot be transfused into any language, it is therefore not to be wondered if he has failed.

‘Your husband was killed by a cannon ball in fighting nobly for his country: he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely for what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love is terrible; it insulates us from every thing around us, and causes convul-

sions of agony : the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connection with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die? but after these first emotions, when we press our infants to our breast, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy and cultivate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of our own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few soever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility.

BUONAPARTE.

2d Fructidor, 6th year.

CHAP. XVI.

BONAPARTE ORGANIZES THE AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—SUPPRESSES A DREADFUL INSURRECTION IN CAIRO—HIS POLICY TOWARDS THE OTTOMAN COURT—PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION INTO SYRIA—TAKES EL-ARISCH—ENTERS GAZA—INVESTS JAFFA—TAKES IT BY STORM—MURDERS THE GARRISON—POISONS HIS OWN SICK.

TO put Egypt in a proper posture of defence and improvement, the artists and philosophers who accompanied the French expedition were employed in various works of elegance and utility. Bonaparte was indeed unceasingly active in organizing the affairs of Egypt. He established a system of defence for the city of Grand Cairo, in such a manner as

to secure it against the Arabs, while at the same time he rendered himself master of that populous town so far as to command it with a battalion. He disposed the French parties in such a manner, that they were proof against any seditious movement. He adopted a system of warfare against the hordes which have always desolated Egypt. He established a new distribution of imposts. He introduced economy into the administrative part of the army. He established a commercial company. He employed General Andreossi, (a general equally distinguished for his military and scientific knowledge,) to reduce the lake Menzale, the Pelusiac mouths, and to take an actual survey of all these points, both under a scientific and military point of view. General Andreossi, October 23, returned from this survey of the lake of Natron.

Bonaparte had established an Institute at Cairo, he formed there a library, caused a chemical laboratory to be constructed, assigned proper funds for the support of these establishments, and sent out men of science to examine those parts of the country where the position of the army assured them of safety. He made arrangements to make himself master of Suez, and to explore that point of so much importance to the commerce of India, as well as to resolve the question concerning the canal said to have joined the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, respecting which history has left us only doubts.

Towards the latter end of October, a dreadful insurrection broke out among the inhabitants of Cairo, who, it appears, were far from being satisfied with their new masters. On the 22d, in the morning, General Dupois hearing that a great crowd had assembled near one of the principal mosques, mounted his horse, and put himself at the head of twelve of his cavalry in order to disperse the mob, who pretended that discontent at the taxes was the sole cause of their meeting. Finding them, however, not disposed to retire, he attacked them: they returned the attack with stones and other missile weapons, by one of whom the general was so severely wounded, that being taken home, he shortly after expired. The

Turks continued to assemble in still greater multitudes: they betook themselves to their mosques, which they endeavoured to fortify: the French forced the gates of most of them, and put the wretched insurgents to death. They were not however dispirited; fresh numbers succeeded the slain, and the carnage lasted for three hours, during which time about three thousand men, women, and children, were put to the sword. The proclamation to the people of Cairo after this insurrection is too gross to be read with patience.

‘ People of Cairo, pervertise men have led you astray, and they have perished. God hath commanded me to be mild and merciful towards the people, and I have been so towards you all. Is there a man among you so blind as not to see that fate directs all my operations. Is there a man among you so incredulous as to doubt that the whole of the universe is subject to the empire of destiny. Let the enemies of the people know, that when the world began, it was written that after having destroyed the enemies of Ismalism, and overthrown the cross, I should come from the farthest part of the west to fulfil the task which is imposed upon me. Make the people see that in more than twenty passages of the Koran, that which has happened has been foretold, and that which will happen is equally explained. I might demand of each of you to tell the most secret thoughts of his heart, for I know them all, even those which you have never divulged to any one; but the day will come when all the world shall know, by evidence too strong to be denied, that I am conducted by orders from above, and that no human efforts can prevail against me. Happy they who are the first to attach themselves to me.’

The weakest credulity could hardly forbear to smile at such shameless audacity. He then names a divan of sixty persons to render justice to the people, and attend,—not to their interest, but the interests of the French republic.

Bonaparte, notwithstanding every act of hostility which he had committed against the Porte, still wished that power to believe that the French republic was desirous to preserve the friendship which had subsisted between them. His object in this pretence of amity was to hinder the Turks, if possible,

from entering into an alliance with Great Britain, and combining the forces of the two nations in an attack upon the French, who were now, by the destruction of their fleet, prevented receiving any succours from home: but the disguise was too thin not to be easily seen through, even by the most dim-sighted politicians, and consequently all his professions of friendship were treated as they deserved, by both nations. The Turks formed a treaty of alliance with the English, and they entered into vigorous measures, agreeable to the interest of both, to drive the French out of Egypt.

Bonaparte, notwithstanding his fraudulent pretences, did not neglect the most active means to defeat the combination of his enemies, and accordingly he prepared an expedition into Syria to punish the Djezzar Pacha for his friendly reception of Ibrahim Bey, and to destroy the preparations of the Porte, and the English, against Egypt. Before he departed for the grand expedition, he was desirous to get possession of Suez, in order to secure his great object, the possession of India, and likewise to ascertain the existence of the canal which was said to join the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He departed for Suez on the 22d of December, and took possession of it on the 6th of January. He there learnt that the Djezzar had been nominated Pacha of Damascus and Egypt, that he was collecting his troops to oppose him, and that a part of them had already approached El Arish, which was only one day's journey from the desert. After getting every thing in readiness for his march into Syria, he sent his battering artillery to be shipped at Alexandria, and gave orders to Admiral Perree to sail with the Juno, the Alceste, and another frigate, to cruize before Jaffa, and be ready to co-operate with the army on shore: but before his departure he addressed the following letter to the Djezzar:—

‘ Since I came into Egypt I have told you many times that my intention was not to make war against you, but against the Mamelukes. You have given no answer to my repeated overtures. I told you that I desired you to drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; so far

from that you have sent troops to Gaza, and even to El-Arish, which is six leagues within the territory of Egypt. I will march in a few days against St. John d'Acre. But why should I take away the few years that remain from the life of an old man whom I have never seen. I wish to be merciful not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no reason to be my enemy, for you were formerly the enemy of the Mamelukes; become again my friend and the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English, and I will do you as much good as I intend to do you harm. Send me your answer by the messenger, who has full powers to treat with you. I shall set out for St. John d'Acre the 24th of the month: I must before that time have your answer.'

To this epistle no answer was returned.

The effective force of the army destined for the expedition into Syria amounted to 12,943 men. Prompt and extraordinary measures were taken at Cairo, to collect together the necessary number of camels and mules for the carrying of every thing requisite for the passage of an army through the desert; artillery, provisions, water, ammunition, &c. Gunboats had been constructed at Boulac, and brought to Damietta, in order to take possession of the navigation of the lake Menzale. The army was soon put in motion, and on the 21st of February General Regnier, who commanded the advanced guard, appeared before El-Arish; but in describing the progress of Bonaparte through these distant regions, we have no guide except the account published by his favourite general, Berthier. Making allowances for national partialities, his narrative is minute and exact, and on the whole seems very faithful.

'While General Regnier proceeded on the right of El-Arish,' says this writer, 'General Lagrange advanced with rapidity over the sand-hills, which command El-Arish, where he took a position, and planted his artillery. General Lagrange caused the charge to be beat, when the advanced guard threw themselves with rapidity from the right and left on the village, which he attacked in front. The enemy occupied the village, which stands in the form of an amphi-

theatre; it consists of stone houses, with battlements on the top, and is protected by a fort. Notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, and a violent fire, the village was carried by the bayonet. The enemy retired into the fort, but with such precipitation, that in shutting the gates they excluded about 200 men, who were killed or taken prisoners. General Regnier the same evening blockaded the fort of El-Arisch. At the same time he observed a reinforcement of cavalry and infantry of the enemy escorting a convoy with provisions for El-Arisch, and this reinforcement continually increased till the 25th, when the enemy, emboldened by their superiority in cavalry, encamped within half a league of El-Arisch, on a plain covered by a very steep ravine, where they considered themselves as safe from an attack.

General Regnier having acquainted General Kleber, who had arrived with his division, with his project of surprising the enemy in their camp at El-Arisch, during the night, which project was approved by General Kleber. During the night between the 26th and 27th, a part of Regnier's division turned the ravine which covered the camp of the Mameluks, fell upon the enemy, killed or made prisoners such as could not escape by flight, and took a great number of horses and camels, together with a large quantity of provisions, stores, ammunition, &c.; two Beys, and some Califfs, were killed on the field of battle. The Commander in Chief had left Cairo on the 22d, and arrived on the 29th at El-Arisch, where at the same time were to join the park of artillery, the division of General Bon, and that of General Lannes. General Regnier had ordered a few cannon shot to be fired against the fortress, and had already began to advance his line of attack; but not being furnished with a sufficient quantity of ammunition to batter it in breadth, he summoned the commander of the fort, and closed in the blockade; he had also advanced a mine under one of the towers, which, however, was countermined by the enemy. The army took a position before El-Arisch. On the 30th, Bonaparte ordered one of

the castle to be cannonaded; the breach being opened, he summoned the place to surrender. The garrison was composed of Arnauts and Maugrabins, all rude barbarians, without leaders, uninformed in any of the principles of war acknowledged by civilized nations. Their answer was, that they were willing to come out with their arms and baggage, as it was their wish to go to Acre. Bonaparte was anxious to spare the effusion of his soldiers' blood; he delayed the assault. At length, on the 2d March, the garrison, consisting of 1600 men, surrendered, on condition of being permitted to retire to Baydal, by the desert. Some of the Maugrabins entered into the French service. We found in the fortress about 250 horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and several days provisions. The guides led General Kleber astray in the desert, as also the divisions of Bon and Lannes, who had followed his steps. The troops suffered severely from thirst, and their absence alarmed Bonaparte, who retreated into the desert until the army was concentrated.

'On the 6th of March, the head-quarters of the army marched to Kan Jonnesse, the first village of Palestine, as you get out of the desert, and from which you discover the cultivated plain of Gaza. General Regnier's division had orders to remain at El-Arisch till dispositions were made for putting the fortress in a state of defence, and the park of artillery in motion. At a league and a half distance from Kan Jonnesse, we discovered on the road a few columns of granite, and some fragments of marble dispersed here and there, which betokened the remains of an ancient monument, a well, bearing the name of which, is to be found in the neighbourhood; but, upon examination, it appeared more probable that, from the appearances of the remaining ruins, it was a place where the caravans stopped to take in water at the entrance of the desert which separates Syria from Egypt. Abdalla Pacha and the Mameluks encamped in the front of Kan Jonnesse, informed of the approach of our army, raised their camp during the night of the 6th, and fell back upon Gaza.

‘On the 7th the army marched against Gaza; at the distance of two leagues from that fortress, we perceived upon the heights a body of cavalry of the enemy. Bonaparte formed his three divisions, each into a square body; that of Kleber was ordered to march against Gaza; General Bon’s division moved against the centre; that of General Lannes was to occupy the heights on our right, in order to turn those that were possessed by the enemy’s cavalry. The enemy made several movements, and, from changing their positions, seemed undecided. They at length put themselves in motion to advance towards us; they however made immediately a retrograde movement; we marched against them with fixed bayonets, upon which they withdrew. Kleber’s division cut off and killed several of their riflemen; our cavalry also manoeuvred to entice and attack, but they could not succeed in engaging the hostile cavalry, who disappeared altogether at the close of the day. The army was at three quarters of a league in front of Gaza, which had been evacuated since the morning. The head-quarters were established at Gaza, and the army took its position upon the heights.

‘Gaza has a circular fort, in good condition, forming in the interior a pentagon of about 40 toises (240 feet) in diameter. It contained 15,000 lb. of powder, several cannon, a quantity of carcases, cartridges, with a large store of warlike provisions. In the town were also found about 100,000 rations of biscuit, with much rice, tobacco, many tents, and a large quantity of barley. The inhabitants had sent commissioners to meet Bonaparte, and were therefore treated as friends. The Commander in Chief passed two days in organizing the place and the country, both in a civil and military point of view. A Divan was formed of the principal Turks inhabiting the town. The provisions and ammunition found here were so much the more acceptable, as the supplies which were to have been sent after us from Cathick were greatly delayed, from the difficulty of conveyance across the desert.

‘The main body of the army began to advance towards Jaffa, where the enemy were collecting their forces, for the purpose of making a stand. We encamped on the 11th at Esdodes, and on the 12th at Ramlay, a town inhabited for the greater part by Christians. We there found some magazines of biscuit, which the enemy had not time to remove. We also found some at the village of Ledda. Some of the roving Arabs attempted to plunder these villages, but were repulsed by our advanced parties. The division under General Kleber, which formed the advanced guard, marched to Jaffa. The enemy, on his arrival, entered the body of the place, and cannonaded his division, whilst it took its position. Bonaparte and the other bodies of the army arriving in succession, Kleber’s division and the cavalry were ordered to advance to the banks of Lahoya, about two leagues on the way to Acre, for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa.

‘The following day the division of Bon and Lasne formed the investment of the place. They were encamped on the adjoining heights, from which, in the evening, the town was reconnoitered. The point of attack was fixed on to the south of the town, where the heights make an approach to the highest and strongest part of the fortifications. Jaffa is enclosed by a wall, but without any fosse, and flanked by towers provided with cannon. Towards the sea are two forts, which defend the harbour and the road. The place appeared well provided with the means of defence.

‘In the preceding night the trenches were opened, and exertions were used to open a battery in breach against the most commanding of the square towers, and two counter batteries. Another battery was also erected to the north of the place, to make a diversion by a false attack. The 16th, as well as the preceding day, was employed in completing our works. The enemy attempting two sallies, but were driven back with considerable loss. The batteries then opened their fire, and at four o’clock in the evening a breach was made, which appeared to be practicable. An assault was ordered, and the 22d brigade

of light carbineers was the first to advance. They were led by the Adjutants-General Rambeaud and Netherwood, with Vernois, an officer of the engineers. They had with them the workmen of the engineers, and of the artillery: the chief of the brigade was killed. Our brave fellows flew to the breach, and ascended it in spite of a flanking fire, which we could not by any means subdue. They made a lodgment in the square tower, and hoisted our flag. The enemy made every effort to attack and repulse our troops; but these being supported by the division of General Lannes, and by our artillery, which fired grape-shot into the town, following the progress made by our troops, advanced from roof to roof, and from street to street, until they took and hoisted our flag on the fort. They at length reached the harbour, and terror seized the garrison, the greater part of which was put to the sword. About 300 Egyptians, who escaped from the assault, were sent to Egypt, and restored to their families. We lost about 30 men killed in the breach and in the town, and had also several wounded.

‘The garrison was composed of about 1200 Turkish gunners, about 2500 Maugrabins, or Arnauts, and some Egyptians. We found in the place ten pieces of cannon, and 16lb. howitzers for the field equipage, sent by the Grand Segnior to the Dgezzar Pacha, and twenty bad brass and iron pieces, which were placed on the ramparts.

‘Bonaparte being master of all the forts, ordered that the inhabitants should be spared; and General Robin took the command of the place. He succeeded in extinguishing the disorders which naturally follow an assault, resisted with obstinacy by barbarians, ignorant of the usages of warfare amongst civilized nations. The inhabitants were protected, and immediately returned to their own habitations. In the harbour we found 15 small trading vessels. Bonaparte formed a Divan, consisting of the most distinguished Turks in the place: he took the necessary measures for restoring it to a state of defence, and also established an hospital. Jaffa was

to the army a place of the highest importance, as it became the *entrepot* of every thing that was to be sent to us from Alexandria and Damietta.'

Such is the account of this affair, as given by General Berthier, the friend of Bonaparte. But acts of atrocity were said to have been committed at this place, so very atrocious as almost to exceed credibility. The character of the great and mighty Bonaparte is deeply involved in the enquiry. It is the pen of the historian only that can intimidate ambition in the full possession of power, or guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious despotism. Hence the recorder of these events, if true, is entitled to the thanks and admiration of the world. If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character. If he cannot refute them, then must he sink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of such offences, and the miserable prescience that execration shall attach to his memory, instead of the fame he coveted. That on his cenotaph posterity will inscribe—*ille venena Colcha et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas tructavit.*

The gallant Sir Robert Wilson, in relating these black and unprecedented acts of cruelty, expresses himself thus: 'Had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the ories of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

'Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers

of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

‘Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners,* ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the Etat Major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Bonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

* Bonaparte had in person previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, ‘Old man, what do you do here?’ The Janissary, undaunted, replied, ‘I must answer that question by asking you the same; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine.’ The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour: Bonaparte even smiled. ‘He is saved,’ whispered some of his aids-de-camp. ‘You know not Bonaparte,’ observed one who had served with him in Italy, ‘that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence, remember what I say.’ The opinion was too true: the Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered.

‘When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details were partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

‘These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

‘Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

‘Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof, or leading circumstances stronger than assertion being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy for obeying a command when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bon’s division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by enquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

‘The next circumstance is of a nature which requires indeed the most particular details to establish, since the idea can scarce be entertained that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized), to be

deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carriere, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which had blackened its page.

Bonaparte finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Bonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

Bonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium was distributed at night in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol.

'If a doubt should exist as to the veracity of this statement,' continues Sir Robert Wilson, 'let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting

after the return of Bonaparte from Syria; they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Bonaparte of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Bonaparte with strangling, previously at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Bonaparte attempted to justify himself,* the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion. [Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institute; no, Bonaparte's policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole: there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate enquiry; and Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.]

‘Bonaparte pleaded that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of El-Arisch, who had promised not to serve again, (they had been compelled, in passing through Jaffa, by the commandant to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Bonaparte was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Scavans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the physician president of the Institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.’

During the short peace which lately existed between France and Great Britain, a complaint was entered by General Andreossi, the ambassador of Bonaparte at the court of London; and Sir Robert Wilson was charged with having uttered atrocious calumnies against the French army and their Commander in Chief. For vindicating Bonaparte's conduct from charges so inhuman and disgraceful, the ambassador of France, in his note to Lord Hawkesbury, appeals to the report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent by Bonaparte as a commercial agent into Syria and Egypt. But the treatment which, in several instances, that officer received, was not flattering, as to the character or impressions which the French had left in the East. We shall not presume to speak with certainty of the innocence or guilt of the French Commander in Chief; but while Andreossi resided in London, he was possessed with the best means of vindicating, if falsely aspersed, the name and character of his master, the first consul of France.

The courts of law were open for instituting an enquiry, and carrying on a trial, which would have done justice to the parties, and placed the truth in a conspicuous point. The charge was worthy of so serious a proceeding. It affected the dearest interests or good name of Bonaparte; it was made by an officer of high character; and, if the accusation had been false, Sir Robert Wilson, who was not an eye-witness, but spoke upon what he deemed sufficient authority, would have honourably embraced every proper opportunity of retracting his assertions, and pointing out the means by which he had been misled. The division of Bon was specified as the body of soldiers who were compelled to fire on the prisoners of Jaffa; and surely a sufficient number of that division was to be found in France, who, if the statement were not true, could by solemn testimony, have wiped away the reproach of so foul a deed. Many members of the Institute at Cairo were then residing at Paris, and could easily have appeared at London, and, by an honourable avowal of the truth,

have refuted, if ill founded, those charges of inhumanity which they are represented as having indignantly made against the conduct and character of the Commander in Chief. Even Andreossi himself had a distinguished rank in the army of Egypt, and, if all had been fair and honourable, he might, from personal knowledge, have said and done much to vindicate his master. But while no such methods were pursued, though a grievous charge was made in such direct terms, suspicions will rest upon the character of Bonaparte, and nothing but a direct proof of innocence will wash away the stain.

CHAP. XVII.

THE FRENCH ADVANCE—SIR SIDNEY SMITH SEIZES THEIR
FLOTILLA—BONAPARTE COMMENCES THE SIEGE OF ST.
JOHN D'ACRE—THE PACHA AL D'JEZZAR IS ASSISTED BY
THE BRITISH—BONAPARTE DEFEATS IBRAHIM BEY—
PUSHES THE SIEGE OF D'ACRE WITH GREAT FURY—
OBLIGED TO ABANDON THE SIEGE—RETURNS INTO
EGYPT—HIS COMMANDING GENIUS—REFLECTIONS.

AFTER the dreadful affair at Jaffa, the French army marched onward to Zeta. Abdalla Pacha, with about 1000 horse, was on the heights of Kersum, having on his left a body of about 50,000 Nablousians, who occupied the mountain. His plan was to arrest the progress of the French army, by taking a position on their flank, to harass them, and to oblige them to come to action amongst the mountains of Nablous, for the purpose of retarding their march to Acre. The division of Lasne was ordered to march forward to the right, in order to cut off Abdalla Pacha from the Nablousians, and to disconcert his plan, by forcing him to retreat either to Acre or to Damas. This division, borne away by its ardour, advanced

amongst the mountains, and attacked the Naplousians, who took to flight, and were pursued too far by the French light infantry. Bonaparte perceived that the army was continuing its march, by pursuing the Pacha, who had taken the road to Acre; he, however, several times recalled the light infantry, who were engaged in a difficult contest among the rocks, and which could answer no purpose. It fell back, after repeated orders; but the Naplousians, looking on this movement as a retreat, pursued them, firing on them from the rocks, by which means they wounded about thirty men, and killed Citizen Barthelemy, chief of the 69th demi-brigade: they were checked, however, at the opening into the mountain. This affair cost the Naplousians more than 200 men in killed and wounded. The French army was under arms all night, near the town of Zetta, about one league from Korsum. On the 26th they encamped at Sabarien, near the opening of the defiles of Mount Carmel, on the plain of Acre. General Kleber marched upon Caiffa, which the Naplousians abandoned on the approach of the French, who there found 20,000 rations of biscuit, and as many of rice.

It was upon the 1st of September that the Grand Signior declared war against France; and an army, under the command of the Grand Vizier, was to cross the straits of Constantinople, traverse Asia Minor, and join Al-Jezzar in Syria. A fleet was to be sent into the Levant to co-operate with the army on land, and, by compact with the British government, Sir William Sidney Smith, with a few vessels belonging to his own nation, was to have an important command in naval affairs. In autumn, Sir Sidney Smith had left Portsmouth, on board the *Tigre* of 84 guns, and a squadron of Turkish vessels was ready before the end of September to sail from the Dardanelles, and yet it was not till the beginning of February that Sir Sidney Smith appeared off the coast of Alexandria, and bombarded the city and the vessels in the harbour.

After the bombardment of Alexandria, Sir Sidney Smith was apprehensive that the appearance of the French army

while Jezzar was unsupported, would strike them with terror, and disconcert the schemes of recovering Egypt, and therefore he sailed for St. John d'Acre, with the Tigre, and the two frigates Theseus and Alliance; and now he watched the movements of the forces of Bonaparte.

The French army marched by Cæsaria towards St. John d'Acre, and, about the close of the evening, arrived at the banks of a river which could not easily be forded, and which winds slowly through a tract of marshy land, at no great distance from the town. But a bridge was constructed, and other preparations were made, during the silence of the night; and, though Jezzar was in force on the opposite side of the river, yet, upon the following morning, the army of Bonaparte sustained little injury in passing over.

As the battering cannon could not be dragged across the desert from Egypt, Vice-Admiral Peere had been ordered to have them conveyed by sea from Alexandria to Jaffa. This was a necessary, but hazardous attempt, for ships of Britain and Constantinople were cruizing in the Levant. The knowledge of this design was communicated to Sir Sidney Smith, and he stationed the Theseus off Jaffa to intercept the convoy. The flotilla, which consisted of a corvette and nine gun-boats, was first seen from the Tigre itself, and the crew of that ship took seven of the smaller vessels as they were doubling a point of land near Mount Carmel. Thus the French were disappointed of the artillery which they expected; and Bonaparte issued orders for sending him the battering cannon which had been left at Damietta. In the mean time, the commander in chief took possession of an eminence which commanded the town of Acre; and, upon the 20th of March, he opened trenches upon the east side of the city, and within a few yards of the wall.

As Bonaparte approached St. John d'Acre, the Pasha of Jezzar was upon the point of leaving the city, with his women and effects, but the triumphs of the French had made him afraid; but he was encouraged and kept at his post by

the advice and assistance of Sir Sidney Smith. This enterprising officer had sent to St. John d'Acre Colonel Philipeaux, who had continued in his favour and interest since he assisted him to escape from the prison of the Temple in Paris, and, at the same time, also Captain Miller of the *Thesens* went to the aid of Al Jezzar. These two experienced and active engineers exerted their best abilities to put the town in a proper state of defence; but, upon the ninth day of the siege, a breach was made in one of the towers, though the French batteries were only supplied with field pieces; for the walls were not strong, and the defence of the town was precarious. They had also driven a mine, in order to blow up the counterscarp, but, when sprung with the highest expectations of success, it was found to have been insufficient, and did little more than slightly injure the glacis.

The French army, being elated with their victory at Jaffa, sprung into the breach; and, being repulsed with great loss, Malli, with two other officers, were killed in the attack. Some battering cannon had been brought to Jaffa, which was the French depository for the military stores, but they could not be transported to Acre, on account of the British ships which were stationed in their way. The town and harbour of Caiffa were indeed possessed by the French, and Lambert, who was entrusted with the command, had annoyed the squadron of Sir Sidney Smith; but still the ships of this commodore had the command of the sea. Deprived as General Bonaparte was of a necessary supply of more powerful artillery, he continued to push on the siege, and made another effort to enter the town; but still the attempt was as unsuccessful as it was dangerous.

The equinoctial gales being over, and an enemy at sea able to annoy him, Sir Sidney Smith anchored in the road of St. John d'Acre. The situation of that place was such as to stand in need of his immediate assistance, and in the hazardous enterprises of the siege the marines and sailors of his squadron readily and with eagerness engaged. They joined

the Turkish garrison, who were under the command of Ali Jezzaz, and, with united courage, a vigorous sally was made from the fort. The grand object was to destroy the mine which the French was pushing forward with so much danger to the town. The Turkish forces, with native courage, but not with sufficient silence, approached the works of the French before the dawn of day, and fought with considerable effect. The British entered the mine, discovered its direction, and damaged the works; but this important service was performed at great expence. Among the wounded were Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the pioneers, Lieutenant Beattie of the marines, and Mr. Janverin, a midshipman of the *Tigre*. Among those who were killed were Major Oldfield, of the marines, whose skill and services were highly valuable to Britain, and who, at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, was the first man who entered the works.

General Berthier bears testimony to the bravery of the English. 'The enemy,' says he, 'at day-break, came on with an attack against our left and centre; each column was headed by naval troops belonging to the English ships, and their colours were seen waving in conjunction with those of Djezzaz, and the batteries were all manned by English troops. The enemy made an attempt to surprise our advanced posts, but their design was seen through: we received them with a brisk fire from our parallels, and all that attempted to appear against us were either killed or wounded. The enemy ultimately retired without gaining an inch towards destroying our works. The central column acted with more obstinacy—their object was to penetrate to the entrance of our mine; they were commanded by Captain Thomas Oldfield: he advanced boldly towards the entrance of the mine, at the head of some of his intrepid countrymen; they attacked like heroes, and were received by heroes; death only checked their bold career; the remainder retreated, and took refuge in the fortress. The approaches of our parallels remained covered with the dead bodies of English and of Turks. The corpse of Captain

Thomas Oldfield was carried off by our grenadiers; they brought him to our head-quarters; he was at the point of death, and soon after his arrival was no more; his sword, to which he had done so much honour, was also honoured after his death; it remains in the hands of one of our grenadiers; he was buried amongst us, and he has carried with him the esteem of the French army.'

When Ibrahim Bey fled from Egypt, he took the route of Damascus; and by his instigations, together with the influence of Al Jezzar, the whole regions of Syria were in commotion. While Bonaparte was carrying on the siege of St. John d'Acre, corps of Mameluks appeared in force, large parties of troops, in the interest of Constantinople, were passing the river Jordan, and the Arabs were assembling in vast numbers among the mountains of Samaria, and upon the heights of Lubi. General Junot, who occupied the posts of Saffet and Nazareth, was in imminent danger from the increasing numbers of the enemy, and Kleber was sent with his division to support him. This general pursued his route by Nazareth, and when under the height of Sed-Jara, in the neighbourhood of Lubi and Cana, the enemy in multitudes rushed into the plain, but were put to flight, and driven with precipitation across the Jordan.

Upon the 11th of April, the desultory forces which were threatening the French invaders assembled from all points toward the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor; and imagination, combined with fear, having magnified their numbers, stated them at 40,000 or 50,000. So vast an army on the plains of Esdrelon, or Fuli, created in the breast of Bonaparte the most serious alarms. He was aware of the danger which such numerous hosts might occasion, if they approached the vicinity of St. John d'Acre, and therefore he resolved to meet them at a distance and give them battle.

Leaving the divisions of Regnier and Lannes to carry forward the siege, he departed from Acre on the 15th of April, and proceeded to the assistance of Generals Kleber and Ju-

not. He had in his party the division of Bon, eight field-pieces, and that part of the cavalry which had not already been sent toward the streams of the Jordan. Upon the morning of the following day, he arrived at the heights of Fuli, and saw General Kleber surrounded by a number of cavalry, which must have exceeded 20,000; and various parties of the enemy were hovering at a distance in different directions.

In this critical situation Bonaparte adopted the most decisive measures. Rampon was sent, with a large reinforcement, to the assistance of Kleber; Le Turq was dispatched, with the cavalry under his command, to attack a body of Mameluks; and General Vial was commanded to assume a post upon the mountains, which might prevent the enemy from taking refuge among their defiles, so that in every situation the most active arrangements were made. When the proper dispositions were completed, the appointed signal of discharging an eight pounder was promptly given, and the report inspired Kleber with additional vigour. He rushed into the village of Fuli, defeating a number of the enemy; and being joined by the reinforcements, he attacked the main body of the Turkish forces, and put them to flight. But their retreat was difficult, for General Murat had occupied the bridge of Jacob, which is over the Jordan near the lake Tabaria, and the position of Vial prevented them from taking shelter among the mountains of Naplusium. Moreover, a considerable body of infantry was so placed as to prevent an escape toward Jenin, where their magazines were established.

In this situation of difficulty and despair, they threw themselves behind Mount Tabor, and, in their flight toward Damascus, crossed the waters of Jordan at the bridge of Giz al Mecani. Of these bridges, and some adjoining strong holds, Kleber got complete possession, while Bonaparte and the soldiers who were with him rested upon their arms, and waited in readiness for farther exertions. But the enemy durst not return, and the apprehension of another attack was thus removed. Never was the influence of order and military tac-

ties more conspicuously displayed than they were in those rencounters which had recently taken place between the French and Turkish armies. Kleber, with a comparative handful of men, formed a square, and resisted for a time the repeated attacks of numerous bands. When encouraged by reinforcements, though the whole of his troops could not amount to 5,000 men, yet he defeated collected armies of 10,000 infantry and more than twice that number of cavalry. They were well acquainted too with the country, and had all the advantages of a far-extended line of battle, as well as numerous detached parties among the defiles and strong holds of the mountains. The reliance which Bonaparte had on Kleber does not appear to have been misplaced, for on every occasion he acted wisely, and in this expedition his judgment and dexterity were equally conspicuous. Every person who was entrusted with a command appears to have done his duty; and Bonaparte returned to Acre rejoicing in his success.

The siege was renewed with vigour, and, in the evening of April the 25th, another attempt was made to enter the town. A lodgment was effected in the lower part of one of the towers; but the men were annoyed by combustible materials from above; and, by the vigorous exertion of the besieged, the whole attack proved abortive. Under the direction of the British engineers, ravelins, at great hazard, were formed without the wall of the town, at each end of the enemy's nearest lines, and thus their operations were greatly disconcerted. A counter mine was wrought, to destroy the effect of those preparations which the French had made to blow up the counterscarp at a new breach in the wall; but the greatest impediment to the progress of the French arose from the fire of the British vessels, which were so stationed, in the road of St. John d'Acre, that they held the besiegers in considerable check.

‘Nothing but desperation can induce the French,’ writes Sir Sidney Smith, ‘to make the sort of attempts they do, to mount a breach practicable only by the means of scaling.’

ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them ; and it is impossible to see the lives even of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret. The English marines work under a heavy and incessant fire from the French, in a way that commands the admiration and gratitude of the Turks.

‘On the 2d day of May we were busily employed,’ continues the gallant English commander, ‘in completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy’s nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since, but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss; the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent sorties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. On the fifty-first day of the siege a fleet with Turkish troops appeared in sight. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark.

‘The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold: during the night the French effected a lodgment, and covered themselves in this lodgment and the approach to it by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night, and which were now seen composed of sand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey’s troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way to shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort

was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival.

‘I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described. Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impelled the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast work for both, the muzzles of their muskets touching, and the spear heads of the standards locked. Jezza Pacha hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying “If any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost.” The amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassen Bey’s troops. The Chifflick regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, and disciplined after the European method, immediately made a sortie, and took the enemy in flank, while those that remained in the lodgment were either killed or dispersed.’

‘The enemy began a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aids-de-camp which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion’s Mount. Bonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle;

his gesticulations indicated a renewal of attack, and his dispatching an aid-de-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and who we have since learnt to be General Lœne, was carried off, wounded by a musket shot. General Rombeaud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by means of their numerous emissaries. The English uniform which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison, wherever it appeared, was now in the dusk mistaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd, and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which Colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter, who had just arrived with Hassan Bey, and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, when both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move: Bonaparte will no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men abreast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it

must and shall be defended, not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Bonaparte means to march to farther conquests. It is on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor, and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock.'

So hopeless had the attempts of the French now become, that the persevering efforts of Bonaparte were rather the effects of frantic disappointment than rational zeal. But at length discontentment was visible in his army; the best troops refused to march into certain destruction, and after a siege of sixty days, he was forced to abandon his views upon St. John d'Acre.

He now began to make secret preparations for withdrawing his army and returning to Grand Cairo. The more effectually to conceal his intention of departing, Bonaparte continued to fire incessantly upon the town, and took precautions in the night time to prepare the way for a safe escape. Having previously removed the sick and wounded, the whole army secretly retired, at nine o'clock in the evening of May the 29th, and it was not till the morning that Jezzar was made acquainted with their departure. Upon the fourth day of their march they arrived at Jaffa, and having burnt the carriages, and sunk in the sea, or buried in the sand, twenty-three pieces of heavy artillery, they put the howitzers and small cannon on board some small vessels at Jaffa, and ordered them to be conveyed to Egypt, along with 2,000 wounded soldiers, who were unfit to travel by land.

The battering cannon, which Bonaparte had attempted to conceal, were recovered, and easily made fit for use; and the vessels with the sick and wounded were taken at sea, and sent to Damietta; but the advantage of this capture was to the sick and wounded themselves. Embarked in vessels which scarcely had sailors sufficient to navigate them, and in want

of every comfort and convenience, they were cast upon British compassion, and every humane assistance was granted. As the French army marched along the coast of Syria, they were exposed to the fire of several ships which were ordered to annoy them. Troops of cavalry were sent to harass their rear, and bands of Arabs frequently attacked them. The weak and the slightly wounded, who had been ordered to march with the army, were overpowered by the fugitives of the journey, and the desert was strewn with bodies of the dead. From Acre to Jaffa they destroyed the produce of the fields, burnt the villages, and marked their route by desolation. If these ravages had been confined to the districts which bordered upon Acre and Jaffa, the violence might have been ascribed, partly to a temporary frenzy of disappointment, and partly to a severe exercise of precaution, that, by destroying the means of comfort and support, the enemy might be prevented from pursuing them in the retreat. But how shall we frame an apology for those cruelties which Bonaparte committed towards Gaza, and the confines of Egypt, when the flames and the smoke proclaimed at a distance their approach?

Upon the 2d of June the army halted at El-Arisch, and having strengthened the defence of the frontier towns, they recruited their forces as they marched through Egypt; and, upon the 14th of the same month, arrived at Grand Cairo. Although the forces which returned from Syria made a better appearance than could have been expected, yet their ranks were thinned, and they had suffered much from climate and fatigue. Sensible of their situation, Bonaparte endeavoured to recruit their strength, and prepare them for new and perilous engagements.

An anecdote, after what has been said against, should, however, be related, as a proof of the commanding genius of Bonaparte, and will be told as repeated by a Frenchman of high consideration. 'Bonaparte, notwithstanding his successes and fame, was considered by those who knew him best,

as not in himself possessing the great qualities ascribed to him. We regarded him as indebted more to an extraordinary peculiar good fortune, forcing irresistible circumstances to his advantage, than to his own abilities and exertions. After his disasters and repulse at Acre, our opinion was confirmed, and we expected to see him return dejected, conscious of disgrace, his shame aggravated by the recollection of his having sent a messenger with a dispatch, and which was read in the Institute, in which he expressed himself, 'In three days I shall be in Acre; when you open this, be assured that Jezzar Pacha is no more.' The day before he entered Cairo, we received orders, to our astonishment, to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, &c. for honour to the conquerors of Syria and of Jezzar Pacha. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves stiled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Bonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forwards a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their character was retrieved. It was then,' says the narrator, 'we pronounced Bonaparte really a great man. We confessed his knowledge of human nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation, and resume his influence, as to disgrace those very men, who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades (now approving of their dishonour) had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him.'

In reviewing the siege of St. John d'Acre, we are led back to scenes of ancient military glory, where many princes of Europe fought in the battles and cause of the crusades. The

spot where Bonaparte appeared, in making his last effort to storm the town, was an eminence which still retains the name of Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount, in memory of the English king, who acquired great and lasting fame in fighting against Saladin. There the king of England and the monarch of France drew their swords in the Christian cause against the Mahomedans; but now Sir Sidney Smith, the plenipotentiary of the British sovereign, had interested himself deeply with Jezzar, a Mahomedan chief, in resisting the progress of French principles and French arms. The Gallic nation, which had borne a most conspicuous part in supporting the cause of kings, and defending the interests of the Holy Land, had exchanged the government of princes for the fluctuating and irregular authority of ambitious rulers and contending powers. It had not only changed its ancient forms and manners, but rejected, as we have seen, the very name of Christian; and, to obtain its sanguinary ends of conquest, pretended to revere the prophet of Mecca, against whose claims their fathers fought, and to extinguish whose unhallowed flame the best blood of Europe flowed.

Tracing in our memory the paths of Bonaparte's progress, and observing the course of his former uninterrupted success, we are utterly astonished at his failure in Syria, and his humiliating retreat from the walls of Acre. With 10,000 men, of the best troops of France, whose prowess had raised the admiration of Europe, he had only to contend with a Turkish garrison, not nearly amounting to half the number of his men; and the town only inclosed by a wall, which could easily be destroyed, and was principally to be distinguished from the fence of a well-protected garden, by the warlike towers, which were built at certain intervals. To this, indeed, was super-added, the direction and assistance of Sir Sidney Smith; but the resources of this gallant officer were unavoidably few, till within ten days of raising the siege, when the Turkish fleet arrived to support him.

The French ascribed their disappointment at St. John d'Acre to the want of battering cannon, which were seized by Sir Sydney Smith on their way from Alexandria. This loss abstracted a part from their accumulated strength; but the field-pieces which were in their possession, frequently and with readiness made breaches in the slender wall of the town; and moreover, during the siege, they were supplied with those heavy pieces of artillery which they attempted to destroy in leaving Acre. We must therefore seek for the principal cause of their failure in other circumstances which attended their situation. Their cruelties at Jaffa sunk deep into the remembrance of the Turks, and the garrison of St. John d'Acre resolved to die rather than surrender. If this resolution and courage proceeded from themselves, they were indebted to Sir Sidney Smith, not only for the intrepid assistance of the marines and sailors, but also for much of that judicious and steady conduct which defied the united efforts of the French troops. The whole operations of Bonaparte were descriptive of vigour and enterprize; but they were marked with precipitation, and more nearly allied to daring courage than prudent counsel.

The success of Lord Nelson at Aboukir had planted anxieties in the mind of Bonaparte which every successive difficulty tended to multiply and perplex. The hostile multitudes which abounded towards Damascus and the Jordan were kept in awe, but not subdued; and they only watched for a favourable opportunity of pouring their hosts upon the French army. The whole of Egypt displayed a spirit of insubordination: British ships of war had arrived in the Arabian Gulf; the Mameluks were still in great force; the country about Grand Cairo was a scene of hostile arrangements; and still Bonaparte looked toward Britain and the sea with fearful apprehensions. Threatened as it were from every point, and looking no where without dreadful danger, he rushed against the walls of Acre, with a degree of violence and precipitation which betrayed the uneasy agitations of his mind. Every

part of his conquests in the East seemed to call for his presence and aid; while Acre held him at defiance, and his untoward circumstances contracted the means of bestowing aid where additional power was wanted.

Thus, in a frenzy approaching to despair, Bonaparte conducted the siege of Acre with an impetuosity and violence which rather seem to have hindered than promoted his success. Every attack was in the full career of fury, by which the coolness of genuine courage was taken away; and the combatants never parted till their strength was exhausted, and scenes of horror had appalled their souls. While the number of unburied dead were disgusting to the eye, and productive of disease, a proposal was made by Bonaparte for granting a truce, till those victims of war and human passions should be removed, and decently interred. But the eager violence of the contest did not permit this humane and necessary measure to be carried into effect. The French complain that the flag of truce was not respected; and Sir Sidney Smith asserts, that the French themselves violated the sacred pledge, and fired upon the town. For the sake of honour and the laws of war, we would willingly suppose, that neither party acted knowingly in opposition to the necessary rules of an old established covenant. The injury complained of was merely an effect, we trust, of highly irritated jealousy and precipitate conduct, flowing from misconstrued and unintentional appearances.

The bitterness of animosity induced Bonaparte to impeach the gallant and generous Sir-Sidney Smith with an inhuman and immoral proceeding, in wantonly exposing the French prisoners to the contagion of the plague; but the assertion carries the confutation in itself; for how were the crew of the ships to be preserved from the contagion if the prisoners were infected; and even the darkness of malice itself could not have induced the British to plot the destruction of the French, at such imminent hazard to themselves.

CHAP. XVIII.

DEFEAT OF THE ANGEL EL MAHDY—LANDING OF MUSTAPHA PACHA—BONAPARTE ADVANCES AGAINST HIM—DEFEATS HIM AT ABOUKIR—ARRANGES THE AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—EMBARKS AT ALEXANDRIA—OCCURRENCES DURING HIS VOYAGE—ARRIVES IN FRANCE.

DURING Bonaparte's expedition into Syria, the province of Bahreyh was thrown into revolt by the following curious circumstance, which is related in one of his dispatches to the Directory.—'A man who came from the interior of Africa joined the Bedouins, calling himself the angel El Mahdy, announced in the Koran by Mahomet. Two hundred Moghrebyns arrived a few days after apparently by chance, and put themselves under his command. This impostor pretended that he had come down from heaven in the midst of the desert; and though he was entirely naked, he scattered gold among the people, which he had the art to conceal somehow or other. Every day he dipped his fingers in a bowl of milk, and passed them over his lips: this he pretended was the only nourishment he took. He attacked Demenhour with his party, and surprized sixty of our nautical legion, whom he put to death. Flushed with this piece of success his disciples increased, and he caused them to believe that by throwing a little dust upon our cannons he could hinder the powder from taking fire, and make the balls fall from our muskets before the eyes of true believers, and numbers of people attested the miracles which he had performed. General Lefebvre marched from Rhamanyeh with four hundred men against the angel; but perceiving his followers increasing every instant, he found it impossible to bring them to

reason by a mere show of resistance; he therefore drew up his men in order of battle, and fired upon them: they seemed to press forward against our cannon insensible of danger; at night, when they came to count their killed and wounded, which amounted to above a thousand, they were probably convinced that God does not perform miracles any longer. General Lanusse arrived at Demenhour the 15th of Floreal, attacked them again, killed near 1500, and reduced the village of Demenhour to ashes. The angel himself being wounded, began to feel his zeal a little cooled, and sought a retreat in the desert, attended by numbers of his partizans. There is no reasoning with whom reason cannot penetrate. The nature of this revolt contributed to hasten my return to Egypt. This ridiculous scene was no doubt concerted before hand, for it happened just at the time when the Turkish fleet which I destroyed at Acre was to arrive at Alexandria.'

Bonaparte soon after his return to Cairo, received intelligence that 100 sail of Turkish vessels had anchored off Aboukir on the 12th of July; and that a party had landed and taken a redoubt by storm. He immediately collected his forces, and proceeded towards the sea. On the morning of the 24th of July he was employed in viewing the fortifications of Alexandria, and in preparing every thing for attacking the enemy at Aboukir, where, by the reports of spies and reconnoitring parties, Mustapha Pacha, commanding the Turkish army, had landed, according to the French accounts, with about 15,000 men, a great quantity of artillery, a number of horses, and was engaged in erecting fortifications. In the afternoon Bonaparte left Alexandria, the head-quarters, and took a position at the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir.

Here was a point of great danger, which must be attacked with vigour, or Egypt must be lost. The arrival of a Turkish army, so numerous, was calculated to give spirit to every internal foe; and the different bands of enemies who had hitherto baffled subjugation, would therefore be ready to rise

in renewed strength, and from all quarters ruin might be poured upon the armies of France. This foreboding prospect was rendered still darker, and more pregnant with alarm, when Sir Sidney Smith was viewed in connection with the plan of attack. It was not to be supposed, that an officer of his vigour and enterprise would remain inactive among so many movements of heroism and danger. His success at St. John d'Acre would naturally stir him up to further pursuits of victory, and who knew but he had his station among those very ships which brought the Turkish army to the coast of Aboukir.

Bonaparte, whose courage and resolution never forsook him, determined upon an instant trial of strength and fortune; and perceiving that the Turks made no movements, either for battle or attack, he, upon the 25th of July, 1799, had his troops early under arms, and, by day-break, marched to attack the Turkish lines. The following account of the desperate struggle that ensued is given by a French general, and is the most minute and methodical of any that has appeared.

'The squadron came to anchor in the road, about a league and a half from the shore. After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came in sight of the enemy, and the sharpshooters commenced a discharge of musketry. Bonaparte ordered the columns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack. Brigadier-General Destaing, with his three battalions, were to carry the height on the enemy's right, which was occupied by 1000 men, while a picquet of cavalry was at the same time to cut off the retreat of this corps upon the village. The division of Lannes was ordered to advance upon the sand hill, to the left of the first line of the enemy, where he had 2000 men and six pieces of cannon. A squadron of cavalry was ordered to observe the motions of this corps, and to cut off its retreat. The remainder of the cavalry proceeded against the centre. The division of Lanusse remained as a long line. General Destaing advanced upon the enemy at

the charge of the bayonet. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retreated towards the village. The fugitives were cut in pieces by the cavalry.

‘The corps against which the division of Lannes marched, seeing the first line give way, and the cavalry about to turn its position, fired only a few shot, and immediately quitted it. Two squadrons of cavalry, and a platoon of guides on horseback, cut off their retreat, and killed or drove into the sea this body of 2000 men, of which not an individual escaped.

‘The corps of General Destaing marched upon the village, which formed the centre of the enemy’s second line, and turned it, while the 32d demi-brigade attacked it in front. The enemy made a vigorous resistance; his second line detached a considerable corps from its left to the relief of the village. Our cavalry charged and routed it, killing many with their sabres, and driving a great number into the sea. The village was then carried, and the enemy pursued as far as the redoubt in the centre of the second position. This second position was very strong, the redoubt being flanked by a ditch of communication, which secured the peninsula on the right as far as the sea. Another ditch of the like kind stretched along on the left, at a small distance from the redoubt. The remaining space was occupied by the enemy stationed on the sand hills and in the batteries. In this position the enemy had from 8 to 9000 men.

‘Whilst the troops took breath, some pieces of artillery were planted in the village, and along the shore on our left. A fire was opened on the redoubt, and the enemy’s right: the battalions under General Destaing formed the centre of the assailing corps opposite to the redoubt: orders were given to advance to the attack. General Fuguières received orders to form in column, to march along the shore, and to carry, by a charge of the bayonet, the enemy’s right. The 32d, which was posted on the left of the village, was ordered to keep the opposite body of the enemy in check, and to support the 18th.

The cavalry on our right attacked the enemy's left, which it repeatedly charged with great impetuosity, cutting down, or driving into the sea, every one that came in their way. But they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being put between its fire and that of the gun-boats. Hurried by their bravery into this terrible defile, they fell back at each charge, and the enemy made a stand with fresh forces on the dead bodies of their companions. The cavalry performed prodigies of valour; they pressed forward, and charged the enemy to the very ditch of the redoubt.

'The Chief of Brigade Duvivier was killed; but the Adjutant-General Roize continued to direct their movements with distinguished ability and coolness. The Adjutant-General Leture, the Chief of Brigade Bessieres, and the cavalry guides, were at the head of the charging column. Leture thought that it was necessary to have a reinforcement of infantry; on communicating his desire, the General in Chief sent him a battalion of the 75th. He again joined the cavalry; his horse was shot; he then put himself at the head of the infantry, and flew from the centre to the left, in order to join the van of the 18th, which he saw on their march to attack the enemy's right.

'The 18th marched towards the entrenchments; the enemy at the same time instantly sallied out upon his right: the heads of the columns fought body to body; the Turks endeavoured to wrest from our men the bayonets, which proved fatal to them. They slung their muskets behind them, and fought with their sabres and pistols; for every Turk carries a musket, two pistols in his girdle, and a sabre. The 18th at length reached the entrenchments; but the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the entrenchments, where the enemy again rallied, checked the column at the moment when every thing yielded to its impulse. General Fuguieres and Adjutant-General Leture performed prodigies of valour. The former received a wound in the head, but he still continued to fight; a ball then shot off his left arm, and he was

obliged to follow the 18th, which retreated to the village, keeping up, however, a hot fire during the movement. The Adjutant-General Leture, having in vain exhorted the column to throw itself into the enemy's entrenchments, rushed into them himself; he was unsupported, and met a glorious death. The Chief of Brigade Morangie was wounded.

'About twenty brave men of the 18th fell on the field of battle. The Turks, notwithstanding the dreadful fire from the village, darted from their entrenchments, to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might receive the reward which the Turkish government bestows for the encouragement of this barbarous custom. A silver aigrette is given for each head thus cut off, and brought into the camp.

'The General in Chief directed a battalion of the 23d light infantry, and one of the 69th, to advance upon the left of the enemy. General Lannes, who was at the head of these troops, seized the moment when the enemy had imprudently left his entrenchments. He attacked the redoubt vigorously upon its left and on the breast-work. The 22d and 69th leaped into the ditch, and were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt. Meanwhile the 18th rushed forward at the charging step upon the enemy.

'General Murat, who followed every movement, commanded the advanced guard, and was constantly with the sharp-shooters; displayed on this day as much coolness as talent, and seized the moment when General Lannes attacked the redoubt to order a corps of infantry to charge and traverse all the enemy's positions as far as the ditch of the fort of Aboukir. This movement was executed with so much impetuosity, and so opportunely, that at the moment the redoubt was forced, this corps had already reached its destination, and entirely cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The route was complete. Confused and terrified, the enemy found every where the bayonets and death. The cavalry cut them down with their sabres. They believed they had no resource left but to fly to the sea, into which 6 or 7000 threw

themselves: There they were assailed by muskets and grape-shot. Never was so terrible a spectacle exhibited before. Not a man escaped—the ships were two leagues distant in the road of Aboukir.

‘Mustapha Pasha, Commander in Chief of the Turkish army, was taken, with about 200 Turks; two thousand men lay on the field of battle. All the tents, the baggage, and twenty pieces of cannon (two of which were English, being given by the court of London to the Grand Seignior,) fell into our hands. Two English boats fled from our grape-shot. Ten thousand Turks were drowned.

‘The fort of Aboukir did not fire. The garrison was struck with terror. A flag of truce came out, by which we learned that the fort contained 1200 men. It was proposed to them to surrender; but some were inclined to adopt this measure, while others opposed it. Thus the day passed over. We took a near position, and removed the killed and wounded. Our loss in this action was 150 killed and 750 wounded; among the latter was General Murat, who was wounded in the head, but not dangerously. Cretin, Chief of the Brigade of Engineers, died of his wounds; as also did Citizen Guibert.’

Thus the Turkish army were annihilated; but in achieving this victory, the French were called forth to severe trials of courage and skill. The Ottoman soldiers displayed that native valour which has often distinguished their countrymen, and they were so flanked and defended, that nothing but superior force, or the highest military skill, could have dislodged them from their position, or overcome them in battle. The French state the Turkish army at 15,000 men, but it did not exceed 8 or 9000. The fort of Aboukir, which continued to resist, was, in the course of a few days, reduced to a heap of ruins, and the garrison was compelled to surrender.

After gaining so complete a triumph, Bonaparte surveyed the works of Alexandria, and then returned to the city of Grand Cairo. In this capital of Egypt, General Bonaparte

made those public and private arrangements which the circumstances of the country seemed to require, and which the nature of his schemes led him to adopt. The severities which were exercised by the provisional government, and the successful efforts which had lately been made by the French troops, had struck terror into the people, and produced a temporary calm. But the taxes were ill paid, and the soldiers murmured for want of money and necessary supplies. This tranquility of the country, however, was fondly received as a token of obedience and prosperity, or it was dexterously held forth as a means of removing complaints, and restoring contentment in the army. Every measure was adopted, and every scheme apparently pursued, as if Egypt had been secure, and no eventful proceeding to be feared.

To gain the affections of the Mahometan people, the grand festival of the prophet was celebrated, with as much solemnity and pomp as the French had displayed in Grand Cairo, when they held the anniversary rejoicings of the revolution in France. Two parties of French artists were sent into Upper Egypt, to fulfil the object of their mission; and every public arrangement bore the appearance of security and confidence. But Bonaparte returned to the city of Alexandria, where his presence was ostensibly wanted, because it was the point of danger; and because in that quarter many public works were going forward, which, in regard of courage and fidelity, were to bear the names and designations of the officers of France, who had fallen in the battles of Syria and Egypt.

Bonaparte, however, had secretly resolved to return to Paris, and a few generals and artists were to be of the party. Those of them, who were not already in Alexandria, were sent to that city on some ostensible business, and Denon was enjoined to appear in his character of an artist, to take charge of the trophies which had been obtained from the Turks in the late battle of Aboukir. Though no hint of the secret object was given to any, but to Berthier, the personal friend of Bo-

naparte, yet through the darkness of reserve, some rays of prophetic light darted across the minds of the assembling few, and the wish of returning to Paris often engaged their thoughts, till hope, in its progress, was sweetly realized.

‘On my arrival at Alexandria,’ says Denon in his Journal, ‘the first things that struck my attention were two of our frigates ready for sea, lying at single anchor off the new port; not a single English cruizer was in sight, and I began to believe in prodigies. Generals Lasnes, Murat, and Marmont, were agitated with anxiety; we listened without saying a word; were unable to occupy our attention with any thing; were constantly crowding to the same window; scrutinizing the sea, and watching with suspicion the movements of the smallest boat: at length, at one in the morning, General Menou came to inform us that Bonaparte was waiting for us on the beach. An hour after we had cleared the port, and at day-break we got under weigh with a north-east wind; which, continuing to blow from this quarter for two days, carried us out of the track of the English cruizers. In order more certainly to avoid falling in with an enemy, we coasted along the arid shores of the ancient Cyrene, struggling against the currents that set into the gulph, which remains even at present unexplored, on account of its dangerous navigation; now was it without much difficulty in this season of light and variable breezes, that we were able to double the Capes of Deré and Doira; in this latitude we were again befriended by an easterly wind, that carried us across the gulph of Cidre; then doubling Cape Bon, we found ourselves at last opposite to the friendly ports of Europe. During the whole of this tedious coasting, we had not descried a single sail, and well convinced that we were under the guidance of no mean star, we indulged our joys in security. Bonaparte as an unconcerned passenger, busied himself about geometry and chemistry, or unbent his mind by sharing in our mirth.

‘We passed before the gulf of Carthage, the harbour of Biserta, and came in sight of Lampedosa, inhabited by a man

who breeds a few sheep and poultry ; hermit and santon at the same time, he receives with equal complacence all who touch at his little domain, the catholics in a chapel, the mus- sulmans in a mosque.

‘ On the next day we saw, at the distance of a league, the overhanging rock of La Pantelerie ; soon after, we discovered the high mountains of Sardinia, and the road of Bonifacio, another station where we might have expected to meet with an enemy ; but here, as before, we saw nothing in the wide horizon to endanger our security ; we carried with us Caesar and his fortune. Corsica at length offered us the first sight of a friendly shore, and a brisk wind brought us to Ajaccio, where we sent in a boat to gain the latest intelligence concerning France, and to enquire whether there were any hostile squadrons on our coasts. While we were lying to for the boat, a sudden squall obliged us to come to anchor in the gulf, in the native country of Bonaparte. He was thought to have been lost, when chance thus brought him home ; nothing could be more touching than the reception that he experienced ; the batteries saluted on all sides ; the whole population rushed to the boats and surrounded our frigates ; the public enthusiasm had ever triumphed over the fear of contagion, and the vessels were immediately boarded by crowds, crying out to Bonaparte : “ It is we who have the plague, and must owe our deliverance to you.” We had already heard of our first defeats in Italy, and now had to learn their fatal consequences ; our stay here was employed in reading in the public papers the melancholy story of our disasters ; all the first of our triumphant campaigns in Italy had been consumed in two battles ; the Russians were upon our frontiers, and disorder, confusion, and dismay, were about to open for them a passage to the heart of France.

‘ The wind becoming favourable, we again got under weigh, and on the second day after, towards evening, urged on by a fresh breeze, and already within sight of the French coast, as we were congratulating ourselves on our good fortune,

we discovered two sail to windward, then five, and afterwards seven: we immediately took in our highest canvas, and the moon at the same time became covered with a thick fog. We could see nothing of the enemy's squadron, but heard in the wind their repeated signal guns, as they formed in a semi-circle between us and the coast. It was now debated whether or not we should return to Corsica while the passage was still open to us: fortunately at this crisis Bonaparte assumed the command, and while, for the first time during the voyage, he expressed his will, gave orders to commit himself to his fortune. We made for the coast of Provence, and at midnight were so near shore as to have no longer any apprehensions of the enemy. If, by following any other advice, we had gone to Corsica, we might have continued there to this very hour. At day-break we saw Frejus, and arrived safe in the same port, from which, eight centuries before, Saint Louis had embarked for his expedition to the same country that we had just quitted.

Never was there a departure conducted with so much secrecy, and yet productive of such interesting events. Bessières, Bonaparte's chief of Brigade, received a sealed note from the Commander in Chief, which he was not to unfold till the 26th of August, and then he was to open it at a certain hour, and upon a specified point of the sea-shore. His orders were to depart for France without revealing the command till he was out at sea, and every thing in train to carry him to Europe. A similar note was conveyed to Kleber, but he was enjoined not to examine its contents till 24 hours after the vessels had put to sea. The import of this letter was appointing him Commander in Chief of the army in the East, and ordering Desaix to prosecute his designs in Upper Egypt, and complete his victories over the Arabs and the Beys.

CHAP. XIX.

RECEPTION BONAPARTE MET WITH IN FRANCE—HIS AD-
RIVAL AT PARIS—CONSPIRES TO OVERTURN THE EX-
ISTING GOVERNMENT—HARANGUES THE COUNCIL OF
ANCIENTS—DISSOLVES THE DIRECTORY—OPPOSED BY
THE JACOBINS—IS NEARLY DEFEATED AND LOST—
SAVED BY HIS BROTHER LUCIEN—THE COUNCIL OF
FIVE HUNDRED EXPELLED BY THE SOLDIERS—A CON-
SULATE FORMED—NAPOLEON APPOINTED A MEMBER.

THE circumstances and views which induced Bonaparte to leave Egypt and return to France, can never be distinctly known, nor separated from those conjectures which unavoidably attend our search. The precarious situation of Egypt might incline him to retire from those scenes of doubtful expectation, and leave the issue of unpromising events to other men, and less distinguished heroes. Perhaps the distracted and declining state of affairs in France might induce him to return, with his powerful hand, to restore the strength, and renew the victories of the nation. Shall we venture to assert, that the whole of those motives did not jointly conspire in producing his return; or, as power feeds by indulgence, and encourages ambition, shall we dare to maintain, that he cherished no hope of seizing the helm in a stormy day, and of becoming at length the sole pilot of the state?

But the much-famed hero was received with acclamations of joy in Corsica, his native island; and when he appeared at Paris, he was so far from being censured for leaving his command in Egypt, that the weakened authorities of the state durst not presume to call in question his conduct, and the dissatisfied multitudes received him, as the joy of the nation

and the confidence of the people. He arrived in France on the eve of the seventh revolution, when the Abbe Syeyes was projecting a new constitution, if such ephemeral appointments as those, which have directed, in succession, the public affairs of France, be worthy of a name so dignified and important. The fiend of discord had pervaded the state, and resistance was threatened in every quarter. The severities of the government but heightened the discontent of the nation, and while the royalists were oppressed, the Jacobin party were also insatiable, and loud in their complaints. The tide of public prosperity had run back, and the national glory had become dim. Sad reverses had happened in Italy; the Russians were pouring down their hostile troops toward France, and the terrible Suwarrow was at hand. The Abbe Syeyes had looked toward Moreau as a powerful and popular leader, who might join him in active measures to overthrow the degraded government, and establish a more vigorous and efficient authority. But that general was cool in his views, and did not frankly coincide with the wish and designs of the artful projector. At this momentous era, Bonaparte arrived at Paris, and in him was readily found the active and ambitious agent whom Syeyes wanted to adopt his schemes.

Immediately on his arrival at Paris, Bonaparte had a private audience of the directory; the courts and all the streets leading to the Luxembourg were crowded with spectators eager to behold him, and he seemed more sensible of these demonstrations of joy than formerly: he shook several soldiers by the hand, who had served with him in Italy, and appeared more open and affable in his manners than usual: he was dressed in a grey riding coat and without uniform, a Turkish sabre hung in a silk scarf over his shoulder, his hair was cut quite short, and without powder; his tawny complexion, acquired by the burning sun of Egypt, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than before he left Europe.

Bonaparte arrived at Paris on the 16th of October, and on the 9th of November the constitution of 1795 was overturned. During this period we must suppose him to have been employed in concerting measures for effecting his grand purpose; accordingly very little is said of him, and he seldom appeared in public. On the 7th of November a great dinner was given by the Directory and the councils to Bonaparte and Moreau in the Church of St. Julpice (then the temple of victory); the company consisted of 750 guests, and was no doubt intended to deceive those who were so shortly to be overthrown, with an appearance of friendship and fraternity. The toast given by the president of the Directory was 'Peace.' and that by the General 'A union of all parties;' nevertheless it was evident that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence; and though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it served only to put them further asunder. Bonaparte quitted the room after a few toasts were given, and none of the company staid long; the whole ceremony did not last three hours, and within three days after, the great explosion which had been long preparing, burst forth; nay, on that very evening the mode of operation was concerted. Syeyes no doubt emitted the first spark, which fell upon Moreau, but was damped by his unambitious temper. The next, however, was more successful, for it lighted on Bonaparte, who instantly took fire, and communicated the flame by degrees to a larger and a larger number, till on the 7th a number of deputies and others in the secret met at the house of Le Mercier, and concerted measures for the grand display, which it was agreed should take place on the 9th; and accordingly the committee of inspectors belonging to the Council of Antients, at five o'clock in the morning of that day, sent messages to an hundred and fifty chosen members of the council (very few of whom were in the secret) to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they were assembled it appeared that the most violent of the

Jacobins, in number about an hundred, were left out. Cornet, reporter of the committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he stated very fully the dangers of the republic and the movements of the factions, and ended with proposing that the Assembly, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution, and for that purpose appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the assemblies and the national guard. This decree was passed by a great majority, and Bonaparte immediately appeared at the bar attended by Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the President of his appointment, he spake as follows:—‘The republic was on the brink of ruin, but your decree has saved it. Woe to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be. I and my brave companions in arms will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present. For nothing in history resembles the present moment. We wish a republic founded on liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. I swear it, and I swear it also in the names of my brave comrades.’ ‘I swear it,’ was immediately returned by the other generals, and the sitting was dissolved amid the cries of ‘Long live the republic.’ The decree of the council was carried to the council of five hundred, who soon after adjourned their deliberations to the next day at St. Cloud. The committees of inspection from the two councils remained in the room belonging to them, to concert measures as the urgency of affairs might require, and Bonaparte assembled his staff at the same place, to give all the requisite orders for the preservation of tranquillity, and the removal of the councils to St. Cloud. The walls of Paris were soon covered with two proclamations, one addressed to the national guard, and the other to the troops of the line, both expressed with Bonaparte’s usual energy. On the first news of the decree of the Council of Ancients he had repaired to

the Thuilleries with ten thousand troops, and guarded every avenue to the palace so effectually that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had formed all his dispositions, and arranged his troops in the great court, while three of the directors and all the rest of Paris were completely ignorant of what was going forward. Syeyes and Roger Ducos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, being both in the secret, waiting in silence the result of the meeting. Syeyes was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos was in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had passed: they repaired immediately to the Thuilleries, and joined the two committees of inspection, the generals, and the rest of the military, in deliberating upon the measures to be taken for putting the decree in execution, and providing for the public tranquillity. Barras knew what had happened long before his colleagues, Gohier* and Moulins†, for he had been required to give in his resignation very early in

* The nomination of *Gohier* to a place in the Directory surprised no one more than himself; and such was his foolish joy on the occasion, that when he was first introduced to the other directors and some of the ministers who were met together, he ran up to his four colleagues and embraced them; and then turning round to Merlin, he asked if he might not do the same to the ministers? Merlin coolly and sneeringly answered him, that he might if he pleased; on which he immediately threw his arms round the minister of justice, Lambrechts, who, not being prepared to expect such a favour, could hardly speak for surprise.

† *Moulins* was a man who, though exalted to the rank of a general and a director, was once literally a *sans culotte*—a man in a complete state of poverty, and almost of nudity. The first thing he did, after he was advanced to his new dignity, was to hire a great fat squab of a woman for his mistress, and to take her an apartment near the Luxembourg, for such was his poverty that he could not afford to give her much money, so he sent her dinner every day from his own table, by two servants in livery, to the great entertainment of all those who saw them conveying the lady her repast.

the morning, and the lady through whom there quest came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require: he at first appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time he became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required some vigorous individual at its head, for it was impossible it could go on with five people who had no confidence in each other; but still he refused to give in his resignation. Gohier, who was that morning to have breakfasted with Bonaparte, was extremely surprised when he got up to find what had passed, but particularly at the decree for transferring the assemblies to St. Cloud: he went, however, into the audience chamber of the Directory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally surprised, came to him immediately; but they were both still more so when they heard that Syeyes was gone to the Thuilleries: they then sent for Ducos, and found he was there also. Barras was summoned next, and he refused to come. Gohier sent immediately for La Garde the secretary general, and ordered him to register a decree which he dictated to him; but La Garde answered, that as two members could not make a majority of the Directory, it was impossible for him to do as he requested. Moulins having now learnt part of what had happened, became extremely agitated, and proposed immediately to send a guard to invest the house of Bonaparte, and keep him a prisoner; but he was told that it would be impossible, for every soldier then in Paris was under Bonaparte's command. General Lefebvre was next summoned, but he confirmed what they had before heard, and said, that as he was under the orders of Bonaparte, he could not march a single man without his permission. They then began to find that it was all over with them, and that nothing remained for them but to retire into the obscurity from whence they had been taken, and submit quietly to their fate. In a few minutes the Luxemburg was invested with a strong guard sent there by Bonaparte.

According to the terms of the constitution, it was requisite that the act for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the Directory: Gohier, therefore, being desirous to resign his power with a good grace, went to the Thuilleries, and, adding his name to those of Syeyes and Ducos, performed the last act of his authority; yet still he seemed unwilling to part with his dignity: he repented of what he had done, and when they came to demand of him the great seal of state which was in his possession, as President, he refused to give it up: as soon as he returned to the Luxembourg, where a strong guard was set over him till the 19th at night, he was told that the powers of the Directory had ceased, and a new government was formed. He asked to see the decree for appointing the Consuls, and after it was shewn him, he retired very quietly to his house at St. Chaumont.

Moulines needed no very long intreaty to give in his resignation, for fear had so completely got possession of him, after he found what had passed, that when a deputation was coming to him for the purpose, he jumped out of a window which looked into his garden, and hid himself among the bushes till he could get quietly away; but nobody went after him, they thought him of so little consequence. A fit man to govern a nation!

After Gohier had signed the decree of translation, Syeyes and Ducos immediately gave in their resignation, and Barras soon after did the same by his secretary Botot, whom he sent to Bonaparte, and remained in his carriage near the Thuilleries till Botot returned with the result of the meeting. Bonaparte was in the apartment of the Inspectors when Botot desired to speak with him. He was introduced by Courtois, and having given in the paper, requested to know if the general had any thing to say to his master. 'Tell him,' said Bonaparte, 'that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I trust I shall ever make the authority respected which is entrusted to me.' Then raising his voice loud enough to be

heard by the grenadiers who were standing at the door, said, 'What have you done with the country which I left you so flourishing? I left you peace, and I have found war. I left you victory, and I have found defeat. I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas, they are no more! This state of things cannot last long; in three years it will end in despotism. But we are for a republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration. If you believe the assertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the republic; we who have strengthened it by our labours, and cemented it by our blood; but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service.' This harangue was highly applauded by all who heard it, and Botot retired in confusion to acquaint his master with what had passed. Barras*

* Barras had rendered the republic many great services, nor does it appear that through his long directoryship his power was signalized by any extraordinary act of violence or despotism. His principles, if he had any, were aristocratical; but his ruling passion was pleasure, and to this he sacrificed every other consideration. None of the Directory, save Rewbell, were more corrupted; but the rage of Barras for money was accompanied by an irresistible impulse of squandering, so that, if he was equally rapacious with his colleague, he was as prodigal as the other was avaricious. The one retired from power covered with riches, the other with debt: Barras was liberal in his donations, and, from his private purse, supported the wants of many of his cast, whose fortunes, together with their titles, had fallen into the yellow leaf; and the general sentiment which attended his fall was that of good-natured contempt, mingled with something like a feeling concern, that his good qualities could not redeem his vices. After the definitive organization of the consular government, he sold his estate, Gros Bois, and retired to Brussels, where he for several years kept up a considerable establishment. In the year 13, (1805) he obtained permission to retire into the south of France. Barras is a large and handsome man; without having a strong understanding; he has abilities, and that kind

determined to go immediately to his country-house, but being alarmed for his personal safety, he requested a party of horse to attend him, which was immediately granted. Syeyes and Ducos, not thinking it prudent to sleep at the Directorial Palace in the Luxemburg, staid all night in the Thuilleries.

The next day, being the 10th of November, in conformity to the decree, the two councils repaired to St. Cloud: the picture gallery was appointed for the Council of Ancients, and the orangery for the Council of Five Hundred. The troops had arrived before them and taken possession of every avenue to the castle, so that the deputies could not pass without shewing their medal, nor any other individual without producing a ticket signed by the committee of Inspection, and these tickets were few. The sitting, which had been appointed for twelve, did not commence till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished. The debates were opened by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety; and it was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried, but as the meeting was very fully attended, the Jacobins gave it a strong and tumultuous opposition: this, in some measure, disconcerted the revolutionary party, and the fault was Bonaparte's; for it had been proposed the night before that no member should be admitted without producing a ticket signed by the Inspectors, by which the Jacobins would have been effectually excluded; but he opposed the measure, not supposing that the Jacobins were so powerful: this had nearly overturned the whole scheme, and gave the victory to the opposite faction. Scarcely had Gaudin finished his motion, when several members of the opposition darted forward into

of genius which depends on the character. His manners are prepossessing: he has more activity than information, but with these qualities he has not the morality necessary for a public man, and without which he cannot command either respect or confidence.

the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of 'Down with the Dictators' became general. Others exclaimed 'The constitution or death; we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post.'

After the first tumult had ceased, the proposition for the renewal of the oath was formally made by Grandmaison, and carried by acclamation, the whole of the members rising and exclaiming '*Vive la constitution!*' No objection, therefore, being made against re-taking of the oath of fidelity to the constitution, those who were initiated in the secret, and had the report in their pockets, the immediate tendency of which was to overthrow it, were compelled to follow the torrent, and mount in their turn the tribune, to commit this act of political perjury. Violations of this oath had, however, been so long enumerated in the list of remissible offences, that no one chose at that moment to hazard the refusal; but it was not difficult to perceive by the tones of the deputies, as they repeated the oath, the degree of sincerity they attached to the ceremony, the Jacobins dwelling with particular emphasis on the words, 'resistance to every kind of tyranny,' while the moderate party, who were now more or less initiated into the secret, rehearsed their parts with marks of contempt or indifference. This ceremony, however, which took up nearly two hours, disconcerted part of the plan. When the swearing was finished, the secretary read a letter from a member who sent in his resignation, and two messages from the council of elders, informing the council of five hundred of their being installed, and of their suspending their deliberations till they received similar information from themselves. A motion was next made and adopted for an address to the French people to inform them of the installation of the council of St. Cloud, as was also another motion, that notice of the same event should be sent to the Directory, notwithstanding the ironical observations made by certain members respecting the difficulty at the moment of finding the Directory.

Hitherto the advantage of debate in the Council of Five Hundred had been on the side of the Jacobin party; the motion for inquiry into the state of the nation, or rather for the overthrow of the constitution, had been set aside by the new oath of fidelity, which had been just taken towards it, those who had been initiated into the mysteries of the projected change not daring to withstand the tumult by which this oath had been to all appearance so unanimously carried. The council of elders had opened their assembly in the palace, and sat as if uncertain what motive had brought them together, when Bonaparte, who was in an adjoining room with the committee of Inspectors, with Syeyes, Ducos, and several officers of rank, presented himself at the bar of the council to press them to accelerate the measures necessary for the safety of the country. He began his speech by interrogations, and alluding to the proceedings in the other council respecting the calumnies against the military, by which several of its members seemed desirous of obstructing the march which the council of elders had begun; asked, If the blood they had shed in so many fields of battle was not a sufficient warrant of their devotedness to the republic? and, If those who were for ever sharpening their poignards against them had given such proofs of attachment to its cause? The most dangerous of the conspiracies of which they talked, he observed, was that of the public misery, which every where surrounded them, and which was continually increasing. Let each examine himself, and say to whom the crime ought to be imputed? Was it wise to let the republic perish amidst so general a disorganization, or see the armies, covered with laurels, melting away by the horrors of famine, or remain a prey to every kind of want? Had not ignorance, folly, and treason, held long enough their extended empire? Had they not committed ravages enough on the country? What class had not been their victims? Had not the French been long enough divided into parties, or rather into battalions hostile to

each other, and become the mutual and persevering oppressors of each other?

Of this picture every one acknowledged the likeness; the same representations had been made previous to the 30th of Praireal, and more abundant and practical proofs of the evils complained of had been furnished since. After this exordium Bonaparte continued: 'The time for putting an end to these disasters is now come. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not betray your confidence. Had I had personal projects, or views of usurpation, I should not have waited till this day in order to realize them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been solicited by the leaders of the respective parties to take possession of the authority. I could make discoveries which would instantly confound the greater part of my calumniators. I have been urged, by those who call themselves exclusive patriots, to destroy the constitution, to purify the councils, and exclude men who sincerely love their country. I have rejected such overtures, because liberty is dear to me, and because it is unworthy of my character to serve any *coterie*, any faction—my services are due to the French people alone. I have made known these projects to several representatives. I have united my sentiments with those of the council of elders. I have accepted the command which they have entrusted to me, only to lay it down when this necessary crisis shall be past. Let us not be divided; associate your wisdom and your firmness to the force that surrounds me. I will be nothing but the devoted arm of the republic.'

Such was the progress, and the substance of Bonaparte's harangue, when a member, anxious to push the general to the full confession of his political faith, and to round the last period, exclaimed, 'and of the constitution!' This was the most inharmonious chord that could have been touched; the word constitution was in perfect disunion with every part of the project and the proceeding.

‘The constitution!’ resumed Bonaparte with vivacity; ‘Does it become you to invoke the constitution? Is it any thing else at present than a ruin? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have ye not trodden it under foot the 18th Fructidor, the 22d Floreal, the 28th Praireal? Is it not in the name of the constitution that ye have organised every kind of tyranny since it has existed? To whom can it serve hereafter as a guarantee? Is not its insufficiency attested by the numerous outrages which have been committed against it, even by those who are pretending at this very moment to swear a mockery of fidelity towards it? The rights of the people have been atrociously violated. and it is in order to re-establish those rights on an immutable basis that we ought to labour instantly to consolidate in France both liberty and the republic.’

Cornudet, in order to stop Bonaparte’s impetuosity, which was hurrying him too far, moved that the council should form itself into a secret committee, but before this motion could be put into execution, Bonaparte, too anxious for the event to heed the means, and too much heated by the opposition of the Council of Five Hundred to notice the precautions by which his friends were desirous of bringing about the *denouement*, addressed the council a second time relative to the conspiracies, and then turned his observations on himself, inviting the friends of liberty to direct their poignards towards his bosom if ever he violated any of its principles. ‘And you, my comrades,’ turning himself to the guard, ‘may the bayonets with which we have triumphed together, if I am ever guilty of such perfidy, be pointed against my own heart; but also, if any person, the stipendiary of foreign powers, dare pronounce against your general, the words *Hors la loi*, may the thunder of war crush him instantly: remember that I march accompanied by the god of war, and the divinity of fortune.’ The latter part of this incautious impromptu, which was received with murmurs, and of which the general, attributing it the novelty of the circumstances in which he was placed,

afterwards publicly regretted the use, did not much advance the project; and heedless of the motion for printing the general's speech as an answer to those who doubted of the conspiracy, several members, who wished to have plainer evidence of the facts, called upon him to name the conspirators. Bonaparte, with the same alacrity as the demand had been made, returned for answer, that 'each had his particular views, his plans, and his coterie. Barras and Moulins had theirs, and had made him propositions.' The general had proceeded thus far, when the cries of the secret committee interrupted him; but the whole had now been said; the conspiracy against the constitution by the Jacobin party on the one hand, and the plan for immediately overturning it by the moderate party on the other, were now openly avowed: the motion therefore for forming the secret committee was negatived after a short discussion, in which it was alleged that further secrecy was useless, and in which reproaches against the commission of Inspectors, for not giving earlier intelligence of the conspiracies, were answered by exculpations of the commission, whose silence had been founded on wise and prudential motives.

The council having determined to continue its sitting, and the general being called on to finish his harangue, continued — 'Since my arrival, every magistrate, and every public functionary with whom I have conversed, have given me the most perfect conviction that the constitution, so often violated, and continually disregarded, is on the brink of ruin; that it offers no guarantee to the French, because it has no diapason. Every faction is persuaded of this truth, and each is disposed to take advantage of the fall of this present government;—all have had recourse to me; all have been anxious to gain me over to their respective interests. I have thought it my duty to join myself to the council of elders alone, the first body of the republic. I repeat, that this council cannot take too speedy measures, if it be desirous to stop the movement which in a moment perhaps may destroy liberty. Recollect

yourselves, citizen representatives ; I have just spoke openly to you truths which no one has ventured to whisper. The means of saving the country are in your hands. If you hesitate to make use of them, if liberty perish, you will be accountable for its destruction towards the world, towards posterity, towards your own families, and towards France.'

Having finished his speech, Bonaparte withdrew, leaving the council to deliberate on what had been said, and who began a debate, since the question was now brought fully forward, respecting the merit and demerit of the constitution. The Council of Five Hundred having finished taking the oath, were discussing with great warmth on the mode of electing a successor to Barras, when Bonaparte presented himself at the door of the assembly, accompanied by a few officers, and soldiers without arms. He advances a few paces into the room, as if wishing to address the council, when he was assailed in an instant, by cries from different parts of the chamber of 'Down with the tyrant ! Out of the law ! Down with the dictator ! Kill him ; kill him !'—The vehemence of the members who uttered these invectives was not confined to words. Several started from their seats, and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, and making use of menacing gesticulations. Bonaparte stood speechless, but the officers and grenadiers who were behind him, imagining him to be in danger, gathered round him, and drew him out of the room, pale and trembling with suffocated passion, into the vestibule. Arena, a Corsican, struck at him with a dagger, and would probably have finished him, had not a grenadier named Thome received the stroke on his arm. By another blow the general was slightly wounded on the cheek. Bonaparte for a moment was lost, and it is said he had fainted when General Lefebvre, with the grenadiers, flew to his defence, surrounded him, and carried him out.

The presence of Bonaparte in the Council of Five Hundred had blown up into a flame the rage which had hitherto been only smothered, nor did his absence tend to allay it. As soon

as he was gone, the president, who was Lucien his brother, was apostrophised in nearly the same language as had been used towards the general. He left the chair, and descending to the tribune, as soon as he could make his voice heard, observed, that, after the services rendered by his brother to the republic, it was abominable to suppose that he had any views hostile to liberty. He urged, that no Frenchman had given greater pledges of his attachment to the republic. He added, that the general came, no doubt, to give some important information relative to the present circumstances, and demanded that he should be called to the bar to give an account of his motives. The tumult drowned his voice; the assembly seemed a chaos; numberless motions succeeded each other; some for breaking the decree of the elders, which named Bonaparte general; others for leaving St. Cloud, and repairing to Paris; others for naming another general to take the command of all the troops, who should be named the Guard of the Councils: some apostrophised the soldiers who remained at the door, others continued their invectives against the president, who, seeing the tumult increase, rather than abate, after attempting in vain to speak, imploring the assembly to hear him, his tears rolling down his cheeks, threw off his robe and put it on the table, declaring that he divested himself of his presidency.

This act served only to raise the Jacobin party to a higher pitch of exasperation; several members of this party had now gathered around him, and some among them presented pistols, as if to force him to resume his robe. It was amidst this last act of disorder, that some grenadiers sent by Bonaparte, who had been informed of the situation of the President, presented themselves at the tribune, and placing him between them, conducted him in safety to the court of the palace. The confusion in the council redoubled at this new incident. The Jacobin party became still more infuriated; motions and speeches the most incongruous succeeded each other with the volubility of lightening. The moderate party, which had hi-

thereto remained in some measure tranquil spectators, waiting the event, judging from the violence of the others, who did not cease crying, 'Out of the law!' and being totally ignorant of what was passing without, concluded that Bonaparte had really been put out of the law, or had been murdered, and that the soldiers had come to arrest the president, in order to do similar execution.

The president found in the court of the palace the general, who had harangued the soldiers, and informed them of his reception, and the attempt which had been made to assassinate him. He added that more than thirty of their factious members had raised their poignards against him, and had threatened to put him out of the law,—him whom the combined kings of Europe had been unable to reach with their armies. The soldiers heard him with interest and attention, all seemed disposed to serve him, but none moved forward to offer themselves as his avengers, nor was it certain that they would have marched against the legislative body, even had the general given the positive orders.* But the presence of the president, Lucien Bonaparte, who had now mounted on horseback, and

* 'Bonaparte's inattention to the form of his thoughts,' says Faber, in his work on the internal state of France, 'had nearly changed the fortune of this day. Being in the court of the building in which the legislators were assembled, Bonaparte would harangue the soldiers, to secure them for himself. 'Soldiers, (he said), you will not abandon your general who has so often led you to victory? You will not lend your arms to the factious who are tearing the republic? You will not uphold those who have occasioned the country to lose the fruit of so many triumphs?' To these apostrophies, and several others, all expressed negatively, the soldiers near him answered by 'No! No! No!' which filled the air. These Nos, repeated by a thousand mouths, spread farther among the ranks; and the distant bodies, supposing that their comrades were expelling by their Nos, propositions against their honour and their liberty, echoed alike their Nos with a tone of disapprobation and refusal. For some moments an hesitation throughout the ranks was becoming a strong opposition, and Bonaparte was near losing the fruit of that day. It was then that his brother Lucien, by his presence of mind, corrected the fault which had been committed

addressed them, increased and legalized in some measure their dispositions in favour of the general. In an animated tone he informed them, that the immense majority of the council was, at the moment he was speaking, under terror from a few representatives armed with poignards, who were besieging the tribune, and threatening their colleagues with death; that these desperate ruffians had put themselves in rebellion against the council of elders, and had dared to menace with outlawry the general who was charged with the execution of their decree. He declared at the same time, that it was those furious men who had virtually put themselves out of the law by their attempts against the liberty of the council; that he confided to the warriors, to whom he spoke, the care of delivering the majority of their representatives from the oppression they were under, in order that they might deliberate peaceably on the destiny of the republic. General, and you soldiers, added the president, elevating his voice, you will acknowledge as legislators of France none but such as shall rally around me; as for those who remain in the Orangery, let force expel them; these ruffians are no longer representatives of the people, but representatives of the poignard. He terminated his harangue with crying, 'Long live the republic!' which was repeated by the soldiers and all the by-standers.

The speech of the president of the council had created stronger emotions and furnished more determined motives to the soldiers than that of the general. In the first case they had some doubts whether they might not have become themselves accomplices in a rebellion; they now found, or seemed to find, from the harangue of the president, that they were called on to suppress a rebellion. The general finding this

by a want of attention to the form of expressing himself. Lucien mounted his horse, passed among the ranks, and addressed to the soldiers the question his brother had asked; but in such a manner as to obtain an unanimous *Yes*. This *Yes* decided that day, and the future greatness of Bonaparte.'

new alacrity, and having received the sanction of the president, ordered a corps of grenadiers to march forward, and he was instantly obeyed. The council was at that moment listening to a motion for the recal of the president to the chair, in order to take some speedy measures, when the voice of the speaker was drowned in the sound of the drums beating the *pas-de-charge*. The spectators instantly rushed out of the doors and windows. The deputies rose up, crying out, the great majority, 'Long live the republic!' others 'Long live the constitution!' The soldiers entered the hall, carrying their arms, and halted. A chief of brigade of cavalry invited the representatives to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their safety. Numbers of deputies instantly yielded to their invitation;—an officer seeing the hesitation of the rest, mounted the tribune and exclaimed, 'Representatives, withdraw—the general has given the order.' The constitutions stood firm, and began to address the soldiers, when another officer called out, 'Grenadiers forward!' The *pas-de-charge* was instantly renewed, and the grenadiers, presenting their bayonets, advanced; the deputies finding further resistance ineffectual, and judging that bayonets and the orders of an exasperated general were not to be trifled with, withdrew from the Orangery into the garden, leaving the military masters of the place.

Why Bonaparte should in this instance have been deserted by his usual resolution and presence of mind, can only be accounted for by the greatness and novelty of the occasion. Valour with the soldier is chiefly mechanical, and he who trembles in the first battle will enter upon the second or third with undaunted bravery; besides, the heat and agitation of an engagement, preclude in a great measure all thought and reflection, and leave no time for the consideration of danger or consequences; so that the same man who will fearlessly advance to a cannon's mouth has often been known to tremble at the rustle of a leaf in the calm, still, dark hour of night. To the noise and danger of battle Bonaparte was well accus-

tomed, and habit had there rendered him inaccessible to fear ; but this was a new occasion, and one on which all the greatness of his future life depended : the risk of a battle was not to be compared to it, and having time for reflection, this thought presented itself fully to his mind and overwhelmed him.

The Council of Ancients, after hearing what had passed in the assembly, proceeded to some resolution and debates of little importance ; but finding that they could not decide any thing effectually, without the initiative from the Council of Five Hundred, determined that all the members of that council who could be brought together should immediately assemble ; and accordingly, about nine o'clock in the evening, a large number being collected, they met in their former apartment under the precedence of Lucien Bonaparte. Their first proceeding was to inform the other council of their having met, and the next, to pass a vote of thanks to the commander in chief, and the officers who had co-operated with him in saving the country from the violence of the anarchists. Chazal then proposed that a secret committee of five members should be appointed to take into consideration the means of forming a new government ; after this was adopted, Lucien Bonaparte quitted the President's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced a most animated and eloquent harangue, on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause, and repeated cries of 'Long live the republic.' Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government : he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, as well as on the defects of the constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power to give solidity to the state and prevent the return of anarchy. The first article of the decree declared, 'That there is no longer a Directory,'

The second, 'That there shall be created provisionally an executive Consulate, to consist of three members, Syeyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte, who shall bear the name of Consuls of the French republic.' The next related to the legislative power, which it left to be settled by the two councils on their meeting at Paris, but appointed two committees in the mean time to draw up the form of a new constitution. The Council of Five Hundred then composed a proclamation addressed to the French people. At one o'clock in the morning the Council of Ancients announced their approbation of the proposed decree. Fregeville then moved that the three Consuls should be invited to the sitting, and take the oath of fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, &c. before which the President addressed the assembly and the Consuls in a suitable speech, and measures were then taken to ensure the tranquillity of Paris, which were in a great measure superfluous, as there had been no disposition shewn to insurrection or tumult, though various, contradictory, and alarming reports had reached the city of what was passing at St. Cloud.

The Consuls returned to Paris about four in the morning on the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions that same day, after taking the refreshment which nature, after so much fatigue of mind and body, required. The first sitting held by the provisional consulate was employed in the nomination of many individuals to places of importance; the seal of the republic was changed, and the newspapers were stopped at the post-office and new ones printed to inform the departments of all that had been transacted, and in the evening an address from the Consuls was read through all Paris by torch-light to the same purport, though Bonaparte had on the night of the 10th addressed one of the same sort to the citizens of St. Cloud.

CHAP. XX.

BONAPARTE OFFERS PEACE TO ENGLAND—ORDERS FOR BURYING THE POPE—HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS LA VENDEE—JOINS HIS ARMY IN ITALY—PASSES OVER THE MOUNTAIN OF ST. BERNARD—CELEBRATES TE DEUM IN MILAN.

THE new Consuls were received at Paris with every testimony of satisfaction and applause, and on the 12th of November they held their first sitting at the Luxemburg, where the inscription 'Directorial Palace' was taken down over the principal gate, and replaced by the following, 'The Palace of the Consuls of the republic.' The two committees held their meetings also in the same place, which they continued till the 15th of December, when the new constitution was proclaimed. In the mean time they repealed some of the most odious and oppressive laws of the Directory, which prepared the people to expect the happiest effects from the operations of the new government.

Bonaparte being nominated Chief Consul, endeavoured by the first act of his authority to acquire popularity, and accordingly he wrote his famous letter to the English government, containing propositions of peace: it was a politic manœuvre; for if it was rejected, as he most probably supposed it would be, it threw the odium of continuing the war upon England, and gave him all the advantages which could arise from that idea prevailing in France. His application proving unsuccessful, the war was continued on both sides with additional vigour, and the English had reason to repent their haughty rejection of his overtures.

Bonaparte's earliest care was to restore peace at home, and he succeeded in smothering hostility. The rebellion in La Vendee had long been an engine in the hands of the English to weaken and divide the efforts of the country, and it had often been successfully employed. Bernadotte was therefore immediately sent into the disturbed departments with a powerful army, though with sufficient authority to effect a reconciliation by the gentler means of lenity and persuasion; but his conduct not having given satisfaction, Brune was sent to supercede him; force was threatened and put in execution against those who continued refractory, and in less than three months the whole of that unhappy country was tranquilized, partly by force and partly by deceit.

All the public acts of Bonaparte's government were intended to inspire confidence by giving a high opinion of his clemency, moderation, and justice, which threw a lustre and a splendor over his conduct sufficient to hide him many single instances of cruelty and oppression; yet while every thing that was generally known was intended to impose upon the public, he could not wholly repress his disposition to tyranny and injustice.

Among other politic acts of the new Consuls was a decree for the burial of the Pope, with a view to gain the affections of the zealous catholics; it was expressed in very pathetic terms, and could not fail to make those who did not know him, believe that Bonaparte had a great respect for the memory of the unfortunate Pontiff, though nothing was farther from his heart.

DECREE FOR BURYING THE POPE.

"The Consuls of the republic considering that, for the last six months, the body of Pius 6th has been deposited in the city of Valence, without giving to it the honours of sepulture.—That though this old man, respectable for his misfortunes, was for a moment the enemy of France, he was only so from being seduced by the councils of those who surrounded him.—That it belongs to the dignity of the French

nation, and is conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to give some marks of consideration to a man who occupied one of the first states on earth.—Decree, 1st, That the minister of the interior take care that the body of Pius 6th be interred with the honours due to his rank. 2d, That there be erected on the place of his sepulture a simple monument, making known the dignity with which he was invested."

One great object of Bonaparte was to have it believed that the revolution was at an end, with all the horrors it had occasioned, and that for this happy period the French were indebted to him alone: in conformity with this idea he passed a decree allowing the return of all the emigrants who had not borne arms against their country. In this measure there was a degree of liberality which is strongly contrasted with the treatment they have experienced from this *benevolent* legislator since their return to France. Another decree to abolish the sanguinary anniversary of the 21st of January gave also a high idea of his moderation and benignity.

While he was endeavouring to make the world believe that his conduct toward La Vendee was dictated by the purest motives of humanity and generosity, he was acting towards individuals with the utmost cruelty and perfidy; for in addition to the means which he publicly used for tranquillizing that part of the country, he pursued the diabolical method of secretly destroying the chiefs of the rebellion, as most likely to dry up its source. The murder of Frotte and many other royalists proves this double policy of conciliation and cruelty.

The unfortunate man just mentioned, though he had submitted to all the conditions required by General Brune, was suspected of having kept up a correspondence with the rebels, and was therefore lured, with three of his companions, to a conference at Alencon with General Chamberlac under the faith of a passport, and then traitorously seized by this worthy agent of Bonaparte, and all sent to Verneuil, where they were tried, condemned, and shot in the space of six hours, during which they behaved with the truest heroism and dig-

nity. The conduct of Bonaparte in this affair has by some men been ascribed not so much to policy as to hatred and resentment. The noble characters of these chiefs, their energy, and the purity of their principles, it is contended, were crimes in his eyes which nothing but their death could atone for; and as it is certain that vice, even triumphant, cannot bear the sight of virtue, probably this may have been his motive in some degree, though it is impossible altogether to exclude the notion of its being partly dictated by policy.

Another act which Bonaparte committed shortly after acquiring power, evinced the tyrannical principles by which he was actuated. Fifty-nine Jacobins were banished, thirty-seven to Guiana, and the rest to the neighbourhood of Oleron, without trial, but merely by an act of power. This infliction of punishment was a manifest violation of liberty, and arbitrary power in the infancy of government which excited a general cry of indignation. The public voice was heard, and the decree of banishment was changed into an arete, placing the obnoxious individuals under the inspection of the minister of police.

The revolution under Bonaparte differed in this respect from every other part of its progress. Under Danton and Robespierre it was openly atrocious, though Barrere attempted to cover their enormities with a species of literary imposture; Barras and Reubell were brutal and rapacious without disguise; but Bonaparte has always endeavoured to conceal the hideous deformity of his own nature, and the government under which he acts, by affecting a regard for popular prejudices, and a respect for the established forms of society: he is more deceitful, and therefore more dangerous, than those who have gone before him; and those whom he has bullied or deceived, have become the instruments of his tyranny.

The first act of Bonaparte towards a more vigorous prosecution of the war, was the formation of the army of reserve at Dijon, composed chiefly of conscripts, and of troops returned from La Vendee, now pacified; it amounted to near 50,000

men, and was commanded by the redoubtable Berthier, a man not more accustomed to the rigours of war, than to all the subtleties of negotiation and intrigue.

Bonaparte having resolved to open the campaign in Italy in person, gave orders to the army of reserve to wait for him at Geneva: on the 12th of June he reviewed the vanguard, under the command of General Lannes, and the next day the whole was in motion for Mount St. Bernard. In passing through Switzerland, he charmed every one by the simplicity, ease, and affability of his manners; it seems, indeed, as if that country, which is remarkable for the grandeur of its scenery, and the simple manners of its inhabitants, inspired him with particular pleasure, and caused him to relax the general severity of his manners, and throw off his gloomy reserve; for, in his former passage through it, we have already related how easily and familiarly he conversed with many of its inhabitants, notwithstanding his general taciturnity; though ambition has rendered him fierce and cruel, he has always shewn himself delighted with the simplicity of nature; and it is somewhat remarkable, that both Danton and Robespierre, in that respect, resembled him. At Geneva, Bonaparte paid a visit to Madame Saussure, the widow of the celebrated mineralogist, and staid near half an hour, conversing with the utmost freedom and affability: at the house of the Prefect also, where he supped, he remained in conversation two hours upon his legs, and amused the company with different anecdotes relating to Egypt, some of which were extremely laughable. His *aids de camp* observed to some of the company, that the conversation must have been much to his taste, to have kept him so long engaged.

M. Dumas has remarked, in his *Precis de Evénemens Militaires*, that the war of the mountains is the poetry of war, and might have said, the epic poetry, for no epic poetry ever contained more wonders than Bonaparte realized in his second conquest of Italy: the passage of his army over the great St. Bernard was almost miraculous. Hannibal was fifteen days

in performing the third part of what Bonaparte performed in five; and Hannibal had no heavy artillery to convey, though he had another difficulty to contend with, not less severe, which was the opposition of the inhabitants, who perpetually assailed his army. But Hannibal and Bonaparte were both men of superior talents, and there is no need to exalt the one by a comparison with the other.

Bonaparte, trusting to the resources of his invincible mind, promised his troops, at Dijon, that in two decades they should be at Milan; and, incredible to relate! he performed his promise, after a series of difficulties, such as were never before, in so short a time, surmounted by human strength. The park of artillery was assembled at St. Pierre, and the mind which had conceived the project of its passage, had also provided the means. The great guns were dismounted; placed in hollow trees, and dragged by a certain number of soldiers, in proportion to their weight; the wheels were carried over men's shoulders, upon poles; the axle-trees and empty waggons were placed upon hurdles, constructed at Auxonne for the purpose; and mules were loaded with the ammunition, put into boxes of fir. Five hundred livres was promised to the men who conveyed each cannon and its waggon, which, when offered to them, they nobly refused; and the rest of the baggage belonging to the army was conveyed by the soldiers. The path across the mountain in many parts was so narrow that there was not room for more than one man to go at once, without the danger of being buried in the snow. Such was the effect of fatigue, that they frequently, when almost exhausted, dipped their biscuit in the snow water, and found it a delicious morsel: on their arrival at the convent of the great St. Bernard, each man received a glass of wine, which proved an excellent refreshment. They had then eighteen miles to descend, till they passed the steepest part of the mountain; and here the greatest difficulty commenced. At every step they met with immense chasms, formed by the snow which had melted. The horses were, with extreme

care, hardly kept from slipping; and the men, notwithstanding all their precautions, could with difficulty hold their feet, so as to preserve themselves and their horses in the path, and prevent their being precipitated together into the gulf beneath. Bonaparte himself sat down on his breech, sliding for about two hundred feet, while his aids-de-camp went before him.

At the top of this immense mountain is situated a convent of Bernardine monks, who have taken their residence there for the purpose of succouring distressed travellers, and a more dismal residence can hardly be conceived; sterility is every where around them, not a tree, not a shrub, not an herb is to be found; the severity of the cold completely destroys all vegetation, and not even a bird is to be seen near their wretched abode; one vast, monotonous, dismal prospect extends itself all around, of ice and rocks; no sound is to be heard but that of hail, wind, and drifting snow, falling in immense masses piled up by the hand of nature, which hang from the rocks in frightful suspense, and when they fall, overwhelm every thing beneath to the extent of many acres: it is on this savage spot, eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, that the holy fathers have chosen to fix their abode for the purpose of doing good; the motives which impels them to do so is a blessing to mankind and to themselves, for they can have no other enjoyment: if they have a summer of three months, and that for only three hours in the day, they esteem themselves fortunate. When in winter the wind and snow has blocked up the path, the guides, who are accustomed to the country, come with their mules to find it out again, and pass and repass till they have beaten it down; this operation frequently employs them two or three days, and during this time, if it freezes like a Russian winter, they take the opportunity of provisioning the convent.

The strong fortress of Bard, situated in the midst of rocks and precipices, yet remained to impede the progress of the army; but Bonaparte, to whom nothing seems impossible,

determined upon taking it, and, after immense difficulty and fatigue on the part of the assailants, the fortress at length surrendered: the general himself was at one time so worn out, that he laid down upon the ground and slept for two hours, and the troops filed past him, making as little noise as possible lest they should disturb his repose.

The second entry of Bonaparte into Milan was hardly less brilliant than the first, notwithstanding all that had passed since that period, for a conqueror will be always well received; and the Austrians had not, in the mean time, taken pains to make themselves popular. All those who had been thrown into prison, or robbed of their possessions, for their attachment to the French, had their liberty and their property restored. Bonaparte in all things professed a deceitful moderation; and, the more effectually to delude the people, he attended at the Te Deum which was celebrated for their deliverance from the Austrian yoke. Conscious, however, of the derision to which this must expose him, from those who knew his total want of religious principle, he says, when writing to the two consuls, 'Notwithstanding what the atheists of Paris may say, I shall to-morrow attend the Te Deum to be performed in the metropolitan church here.'

CHAP. XXI.

BATTLE OF MARENGO—BONAPARTE'S ACTIVITY AND BRAVERY—HIS TALENTS QUESTIONED—ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY HIM—HE SUSPENDS THE TRIAL BY JURY—GRADUALLY PROCEEDS TO DESTROY THE REMAINS OF LIBERTY—ATTEMPTS TO PATRONIZE THE SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.

THE evening before the battle of Marengo, Bonaparte went alone and surveyed attentively the plain on which it was to be fought; he had been on horseback the whole of the day, and at night returned to the camp completely drenched with wet; his legs were so benumbed with the cold and rain that when he dismounted he could hardly walk; they brought a few faggots, and he dried himself by a miserable fire in a miserable hut. At day-break on the 14th of June the troops were awoke by the sound of cannon at a distance, and in a few minutes, after a slight repast, the whole army was in the field. About eleven o'clock it was found that the Austrians had attacked the outposts of the French: Bonaparte immediately mounted his charger, and hastened to the scene of action. The enemy's line extended above six miles: for though it was interrupted by the Bormida, that river was fordable in many places. The object of the Austrians was to gain Voghera, and to cut off the retreat of the French: they charged with incredible violence, and though not above two-thirds of the whole French army was engaged, the combat was terrible. Orders were given for the troops stationed in the rear to advance, but the division of Desaix was still at a great distance. The French had not expected the battle to

commence so early, and were therefore in some measure unprepared. The left wing under General Victor first began to give way, the infantry retreated, and the cavalry were sharply repulsed: on the right wing also the enemy gained ground, and followed up their advantage with rapidity. Bonaparte advanced in front to prevent a retreat; his body guard of horse no longer kept his place near him, but took an active part in the combat. The consular guard of infantry, amounting to five hundred, without the aid of cavalry or artillery, sustained a most tremendous attack of the enemy, and though compelled to yield, they retreated with as much order as if they were on the parade; yet all these efforts were ineffectual; the retreat now became general, the centre gave way, and the enemy turned both the wings of the French. Bonaparte used incredible activity to animate the remainder of the troops who defended the road and a defile through which they were passing, inclosed on one side by a thicket, and on the other by a large and lofty vineyard. The village of Marengo flanked the left of this place so cruelly memorable. Eighty pieces of cannon well served, thundered upon the French, cutting in pieces both men and trees, while the falling branches of the latter finished those who were only wounded at first. At four o'clock in the afternoon, within a radius of six miles, there were not above six thousand infantry with their standards, a thousand horses, and six pieces of cannon fit for service. In short, all that remained together of the army were employed in defending the defile already mentioned. At this terrible moment, when all around him the earth was strewn with the dead and the dying, and cannon balls were tearing up the ground under his horse's feet, Bonaparte appeared to brave death, and gave his orders with all his usual coolness: he saw the tempest without seeming to regard it; he never changed countenance, nor looked for a minute unusually agitated. While endeavouring to rally his troops, 'Recollect,' said he, 'that it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle;' the reproof had the desired effect, and many

of them returned to their duty, animated with fresh ardour. Victory and fortune, which seemed now to have forsaken their favourite son, appeared again on his side. The Austrians were unable to force the defile which was so nobly defended, and the reinforcements of the French began to come up. The divisions of Monnier and Desaix arrived, and, notwithstanding a forced march of thirty miles, and though they met the army flying and dispersed in all quarters, nothing could retard their haste; they looked to the commander, and he inspired them with an ardour sufficient to brave every danger, and think only of victory. Melas finding so many difficulties in his centre, from the obstinate resistance of the French, imagined that by extending his wings he could surround them entirely, and so cut off their retreat, by which means he was unable to perceive all that was passing, and was therefore ignorant of the reinforcement they had received. Bonaparte, ever on the watch, availed himself of this error, formed the army into close columns, and poured his whole force upon the enemy with an ardour which nothing could resist; in a moment the defile was cleared, and the enemy repulsed at every point; the French bore down all before them; the division of Desaix leaped over hedges, ditches, and mounds, while that of Victor on the right carried the village of Marengo, and flew towards the Bormida. The intrepid Desaix, falling upon the village of St. Stephano, entirely cut off the Austrian left wing; but at the moment of his triumph, he received a wound from a musket-ball, which put an end to his valuable life: he felt lamented by his country, and pitied even by his enemies; for he was a man possessed of all the milder virtues, united to the true valour of a soldier. His last words were worthy of his life—‘Tell the First Consul,’ said he to the young Le Brun, who stood beside him, ‘that I only regret I have not lived long enough to be known to posterity.’ When Bonaparte heard that he had fallen, he exclaimed in the heat of the engagement, ‘Why is it not permitted me to weep!’ The battle lasted

not long after his death, for the troops, inflamed with resentment at the loss of their beloved commander, charged with redoubled ardour, and soon put an end to the combat, the Austrians fled in every direction; and night closing upon their defeat, alone saved them from being utterly destroyed.

The French boast of having wounded, killed, and taken prisoners, 15,000 men; the victory was signal on their part, but their loss was not less than that of the army they had to combat. As far as glory belongs to actions of this kind, history will record this battle as equally honourable to both parties. It were endless to enumerate the particular traits of heroism which marked this day, for ever to be celebrated.

Thus ended the fatal battle of Marengo, which had it established the liberty as it has done the slavery of France, might have been considered the most fortunate event in history. Bonaparte on that memorable day wore a grey great coat, as in his first campaign in Italy; he was every where in the hottest of the fire and came out unhurt, as well as all those who attended him, which some one remarking, he replied, 'My fortune preserved them, no doubt.'

By those who are so much prejudiced against Bonaparte as to deny him talents, because he is without virtue, the success of his last campaign in Italy has been ascribed merely to an oversight of his opponent: for they say, that had not Melas too much despised his strength, and even disbelieved his having entered Italy at the time he did, he would have opposed him much earlier, and prevented his concentrating his forces so as to meet the Austrians on the fatal day of Marengo: but they who talk thus, pay a compliment to the talents of Bonaparte which they are hardly aware of; for they allow him to have performed things incredible; they allow that he assembled, and brought over the Alps, an army which it was thought could have hardly been formed; they allow him to have exceeded all that could be supposed of him, even by those who were able to estimate his talents; and by thus attempting to depreciate his merits, they speak most highly in his

praise. The honour of the battle of Marengo has been also wrested from him, and attributed wholly to Desaix; but even supposing Bonaparte to have committed a fault by suffering Desaix's division to have been so far behind, a circumstance he could not avoid, as the Austrians attacked him so early; yet is it not the highest proof of talents, to retrieve an error once committed, and to take advantage of the errors committed by others? which was the case when Bonaparte availed himself of Melas's mistake, in extending his wings, and thus weakening his main force; with such blind or such prejudiced reasoners as those, who deny the mighty talents of Bonaparte, it is almost useless to argue, for they seem determined not to be convinced. The fact is not less singular than true, that the Austrians would not believe that he was in Italy; they said, that some fellow resembling him had taken his name, and collected together a parcel of brigands; but that it was impossible he could have passed the Alps with an army, when he was only a few days before in France; and even Melas himself, in an intercepted letter written to his mistress at Pavia, observes, 'They say, in Lombardy, that a French army has entered Italy; but don't be afraid; and on no account leave Pavia.' In twelve hours after, the French were in that very city.

The victory of Marengo restored to the French all the conquests in Italy which they had lost under the Directory: yet even this did not dispose the Emperor seriously to think of peace; but the successes of Moreau rendered it impossible to be any longer deferred; it was therefore signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801; and thus the ascendancy of France, on the continent, was completely established.

The French ministry, which since the consulship of Bonaparte had been less subject to vacillation than under former administrations, underwent at this period a partial change; by the removal of Carnot from the superintendence of the war-office, and of Lucien Bonaparte from that of the interior. By the skill, and particularly the probity with which

Carnot had conducted this vast machine, he had not only redeemed his reputation, sullied by his association with the members of the committee of public safety under the reign of terror, but had acquired so much the confidence of the nation, and of the army, that his removal was considered as a public calamity; nor was this sentiment alleviated from the nomination of his successor Berthier, who had no such claims to general respect. But if public opinion on this occasion did not justify this act of consular power, it sanctioned loudly that which was manifested in the removal of Lucien Bonaparte, who, though he had discovered, at periods of difficulty and danger, much courage, ability, and strength of character, had nevertheless during his ministry, and particularly near the close, indulged dispositions of dissipation and rapacity almost beyond any of his predecessors. His mal-administration became at length so notorious, that the consul caused his dismissal to be signified to him; but desirous of saving him from open disgrace, sent him on an embassy to the Spanish court.

While Bonaparte was triumphant abroad, and the French arms were about to complete the subjugation of Europe, a conspiracy at home had nearly put an end to his career; it was composed of Jacobins, Royalists, and Moderates, men of ruined fortunes and disappointed ambition, who united in one common project of anarchy for the sake of pillage or promotion; they were animated with no patriotic desire to free their country from slavery, for Bonaparte had not proved himself a tyrant: but though the scheme failed, it gave him a pretence to assume an authority inconsistent with liberty, and his flattering professions on the 10th of November. The instrument intended for his destruction was a curious machine, which, by some mismanagement, exploded too late, and suffered him to pass by, on his road to the opera, unhurt. Some intimation of this plot had been given to the minister of police, on the day before it happened, and he informed Bonaparte of it the next morning; he replied with apparent indif-

ference, 'That's your affair, not mine.' 'Will you go to the opera then?' said the minister. 'Without doubt,' returned the Consul.

This nefarious attempt was attributed at first to the royalist party: but as this party had of late, and especially since the pacification of La Vendee, been much in favour at the Thuilleries, it was soon determined that none were capable of conceiving or putting it into execution but the Jacobins. An exemplary punishment was therefore deemed necessary, and those who first expiated this crime were two individuals in whose possession was found a barrel of powder, and some fire-work machinery; and of these not being able to give, as it was asserted, a satisfactory account, they were sentenced to be shot, and underwent that punishment. The further researches of the prefect of police of Paris discovered that this conspiracy had other ramifications, and that it was decidedly a Jacobin conspiracy: in consequence of which information, the government caused the remaining leaders and principal agents of the late Jacobin faction to be arrested, to the amount of one hundred and thirty-two. Against these individuals there was no specific charge; but it was presumed, from the opinion of some, and the conduct of others during the revolution, that they alone could have been the contrivers of this infernal machine. As there were no proofs, however, it was impossible to convict them by a regular trial: the government had recourse, therefore, to what was called an act of extraordinary high police. This act of police was the banishment of those individuals beyond the seas; but the government not possessing this authority, had recourse to the senate, who, by an act called *senatus consultum*, and as guardians of the constitution, gave by their decree the force of a law to what the government had recommended by an act of its council of state.

Of the general criminality and atrocious conduct of most of those who were now huddled into banishment there was no doubt; but the latitude which the government had given

to its resentment on the present occasion, and the obsequiousness of the senate in being its instrument, gave alarm to almost every party; since every party might become the victim in its turn. This opinion acquired new force a short time after, when, by the diligence of the minister of general police, whose opinion had been just invariable on the subject, it was discovered that the real authors of this atrocious attempt were of the royalist faction. The confession of two who committed the deed, and who after a legal trial suffered, put the matter beyond a doubt; but this discovery did not prevent the execution of the sentence of the senate, and the Jacobins were punished for what the royalists had really committed. The four individuals, Arena and his accomplices, who had some months previous formed a conspiracy against the consul, were all executed. This attempt had the tendency which all unsuccessful attempts of this kind generally produce—that of considerably strengthening the hands of the government it meant to overthrow. Addresser of the most flattering nature poured in from all parts, *Te Deums* were sung in the churches, and something like miraculous interposition was hinted at in the public prints, which were immediately under the influence of the government.

The next circumstance which testified the disposition of Bonaparte to dispense with the constitution, and to govern by his own will, was a law which he got passed in the two legislative councils, by a very small majority, for the creation of a special criminal tribunal, suspending the trial by jury, and enabling the judges to pronounce summarily on all offences affecting the safety of the state, or in any measure violating the social compact, a latitude of expression which put the life of every man in danger: the judges were partly civil and partly military, and were permitted to decide merely on written evidence. The precedent of such an attack on the constitution was fatal; wherever there are certain principles established as the guarantee of liberty, they should be guard-

ed with the utmost jealousy, for the first inroad may be considered as breaking down the whole.

Bonaparte's advance to supreme power, with all the state and dignity which attended it, were slow and regular; the tricks and trappings of state were assumed first to see how they would be received; the etiquette of a court, the establishment of a levee, of drawing-rooms, and all the pompous ceremonials of monarchy, were seemingly well relished by the Parisians, who had not yet lost all their affection for royalty; the appellation of female citizen, was abolished, and the ancient feudal title of Madame was restored; and though the name of citizen, as founded on political equality, could not easily be dispensed with by a people who had not entirely forgot the late revolution, yet the term of Monsieur was allowed to be used at pleasure; all these things seemed to indicate pretty strongly, that the first Consul wished to banish the remembrance of that revolution which had given him his place, and to be thought to possess an authority long established. His attacks upon liberty corresponded with his approach to empire; and almost every day produced some new violation of that sacred right for which the French had suffered so much calamity. The increase of the consular guard took place about the same time with the peevish dismissal of the councils; and the re-establishment of religion had not long preceded either.

Bonaparte always affected to be the patron of science and literature. Tyrants do well to purchase the praises of men of letters, that they may make a decent figure with posterity; but all the writers in the pay of Bonaparte will not be able to smother the recital of his enormities, nor to varnish over the hideous blemishes of his character. The paltry pension of a hundred a year, granted by the government to the virtuous St. Lambert, ruined by the revolution, and eighty years of age, was a poor recompence for his philosophy and poetry; yet when governments plead poverty in such cases, as the

minister Lucien did in his letter to the aged Marquis, they mean it as an excuse for their profligacy and neglect of merit.

Among many other schemes to entrap the confidence of the nation, and make them believe that Bonaparte was sincerely interested in the public welfare, was the method adopted by the minister of the interior to extend the boundaries of knowledge and promote the improvement of the country; for this purpose he commenced a correspondence with the different Prefects of departments, with the school of medicine, the society of Agriculture, and the class of sciences belonging to the public Institute, for the sake of obtaining a statistical account of the country; all this had the effect of imposing upon the public, but it produced little good, and was soon abandoned; the man who adopted it had neither steadiness of disposition, strength of mind, nor virtuous principle sufficient to pursue such an undertaking, and bring it to maturity; he is a man of lively talents, but not possessed of solidity necessary for so great a purpose, and neither he nor the great Consul himself were hearty in the cause; they had both adopted the cant of philosophy, without embracing its principles; and their only object was, to delude the people with an idea of their being actuated by patriotic motives, which they neither felt nor understood; this will be a sufficient key to all Bonaparte's schemes of public good, for he neither possessed the desire nor the means of promoting general improvement; he knew this to be an age in which men talked much about it, and some actually intended it, but he had no further view himself than to fall in with the temper of the times, in order to gain himself just so much popularity as may be requisite for the support of his power.

CHAP. XXII.

BONAPARTE PROCURES THE FORMATION OF A NEW CIVIL CODE—HIS DISPLEASURE AT THE LEGISLATURE—EXCLUDES THE PATRIOTIC MEMBERS—ATTENDS THE ITALIAN CONSULTA AT LYONS—TAKES UPON HIMSELF THE PRESIDENCY—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ITALIAN CONSTITUTION—ANNEXATION OF PIEDMONT AND PARMA TO FRANCE.

A CIVIL code was one of the greatest wants of France : for, after a revolution which had subverted all old institutions, even the laws which regulate the conduct of men towards each other, so as to secure the persons and property of individuals, it was requisite that these articles of the first necessity, should be placed on some solid basis, and preserved from the effects of passion and private interest, which are too apt to influence the conduct of mankind. Bonaparte, therefore, in order to provide for these pressing wants of the people, which cannot remain unsatisfied without the danger of the whole social fabric coming to pieces, charged the minister of justice to appoint a committee, for the purpose of enquiring into the nature of the different civil codes now existing, to decide upon that which it would be most proper to adopt, and to discuss the principal basis of legislation in civil affairs. The minister named Portalis, Tronchet, Bigot, Preameneau, and Maleville, who, some time after, published the project of a civil code, prefaced by a long and able introduction, explaining the principles on which they had proceeded, derived from the established laws and customs of society, and applicable to the present times. The result of their studies was

also officially communicated to the tribunal of cessation, and to the tribunals of appeal, who returned it to the minister of justice, with their remarks, which were also published. After this project had been the subject of public and private discussion for six months, it was revised and drawn up afresh, in the council of state, by the section of legislation, and then presented to the legislative body, and by them to the tribunate, where several of its obnoxious articles underwent a severe examination, and were finally rejected. The chief Consul had himself attended to the particulars of this code, during the whole time it was before the council of state; his vanity was piqued that any of it should be rejected, and his pride was irritated to find any opposition to his will; he, therefore, withdrew in pet the remaining articles by a message, which stated, that the time was not yet come when such great discussions could be conducted with temper. The code was, however, revised, and submitted to a more complying set of judges, for several of the refractory members were excluded by the new elections, and several of its articles went peaceably through the assemblies, though not entirely without opposition, yet none of them were rejected; and it must be admitted, that this code combined much just policy, humanity, and knowledge of human nature.

Bonaparte, in revenge for the liberty taken by the legislative bodies, procured his principal opponents to be rejected by the vote of the senate. This rejection of some of the most respectable patriots who had appeared in the course of the revolution, was no favourable omen for the liberties of France. The same mode was pursued with respect to the legislative body, and every thing foreboded the extinction of freedom, even to the very name and form—a consummation which was not long after accomplished.

By the treaty of Luneville the independence of the Cisalpine republic was acknowledged, and it was not therefore expected that it would have been united under the same sovereign authority. It however was a bad presage of the

future liberties of the Italians that the consulta which was to determine on the form of this government was within the territories of the French republic, and that Bonaparte was to preside in person at the assembly. The consulta, assembled at Lyons, consisted of 450 members, convoked under the authority of the existing government, and said to be chosen from among the most respectable citizens of the Cisalpine republic; though, considering the purposes for which it was convened, we may reasonably suppose that the choice was not uninfluenced by particular motives.

The first consul left Paris on the 8th, and arrived at Lyons on the 11th Jan. 1802. He was received, as might be expected, with triumphal arches, and every demonstration of servile adulation. A guard was assigned him, consisting of a corps of volunteers, composed of the sons of the first merchants and manufacturers, and clothed and accoutred at their own expence. The political arrangements had all been, it appears, previously determined; and they were made, it must be confessed, with consummate address, and the deepest policy.

Whatever care and attention had been bestowed on the selection of the deputies of the consulta, it was still considered as unsafe to trust them, and indeed they seem to have been at last taken by surprise. In the midst of a foreign country, and surrounded by foreign troops, resistance seemed to be in vain, and they were under the necessity of adopting whatever was presented to them.

To prevent effectually, however, the difficulties of opposition, and the embarrassment of debate, a committee of thirty members was appointed to prepare the business for the general assembly. By the 24th of January they had prepared their report. With respect to what passed in the consulta on its presentation we are left in ignorance: by several of the members it certainly was not received with approbation; but it was accepted, and that was enough. It was presented, on

the following day, to the first consul, sanctioned by the signatures of the president and secretary.

Under the plea that it was necessary to obtain the recognition of the Cisalpine republic from the governments of Europe, the main object of this report was to vest the chief magistracy in the hands of Bonaparte. At the same time it intimated, 'that the French troops could not yet completely evacuate the Cisalpine territory.'

Thus the principal difficulty having been surmounted, the first consul repaired to the consulta on the 26th. He was met by a numerous deputation, who conducted him into the hall, in the midst of a general, but perhaps an involuntary, applause. He was seated in regal state, under a canopy, and addressed the assembly in the Italian language. His speech consisted of a display of the services which he had rendered to the republic, 'as the man who had contributed to its foundation.' He mentioned, 'that the appointment which he had made to fill all the first magistracies were divested of any local or party spirit;' and adds, in a most extraordinary strain, 'with respect to that of president, I have found *among you no person*, who, at present, has sufficient claims on the public opinion; who is independent enough of local attachment, or has *rendered his country such important services as to merit* having it conferred upon him;' and therefore acquaints them, that agreeably to the plan of the committee of thirty, he *accepted it himself*.

The speech of Bonaparte was succeeded by reading the constitution; but, when the title was announced, a general movement of the assembly indicated a wish to substitute for the name of Cisalpine, that of the Italian republic, and the chief consul most graciously complied with the general desire. The constitution which was adopted on this occasion declares the catholic religion, apostolic, and Roman, to be the religion of the state. With the same absurdity which disgraces the constitution of all the pretended republics instituted under the tyranny of Bonaparte, it pronounces the so-

verignty to reside in the whole of the citizens ! The territory of the republic is divided into districts, departments, and communes.

This constitution was evidently borrowed from that so hastily devised for France by the abbe Sieyes, on the usurpation of Bonaparte, but with still more glaring absurdities, and the establishment of a more open tyranny. It was impossible to say that the people had gained a single right or advantage by this institution which they did not possess under their ancient governments, with an increased expence, with the confiscation of the property of the church, and the ruin of their most illustrious families. The people were, indeed, not vested with a single privilege above the subjects of the most arbitrary states. They had gained neither a representative government, nor the trial by jury ; neither freedom from arbitrary arrests and imprisonment, nor the liberty of the press. A sort of mock election was, indeed, instituted ; but an election to what ?—to no share in the government or legislature.

The *whole* of the executive government was vested in the president and the officers appointed by him ; a deposit of arbitrary authority scarcely possessed by the government they had so wantonly destroyed. The president and vice-president are also exempted from responsibility ; an exemption which the French revolutionists had denied to their constitutional sovereign. The ministers, indeed, were said to be responsible, but it was not stated to whom : they were consequently only responsible to the president himself. Could any arbitrary government of Europe claim more than this ? Even in Russia the senate possesses a better shadow of authority than did the representatives of the Italian *republic*.

If any vestige of republicanism could be found in such a constitution, we must confess ourselves ignorant of what is meant by a republic ; and even our masters, the ancients, were equally ignorant. Nothing like it can be found in ancient or modern history, not even in the old constitution of Venice : indeed there is scarcely an arbitrary government in

Europe possessed of a greater latitude of power. The old government of France, the object of a mighty revolution, which has overflowed Europe with blood, and been the parent of atrocities on which it is painful even to meditate, was not so despotic.

While the personal authority of Bonaparte was thus augmented, and while a new satellite was ordained to move round in the vast vortex of the French republic, the primary planet itself received a vast accession of territory, by the annexation of the happy and fertile country of Piedmont, and the duchy of Parma, as integral departments of France. The reader of history will shed a tear over the fate of the descendant of a race of heroes, who, banished from his paternal dominions, to a little dependent isle, still retained the empty title of king of Sardinia, without the means of supporting the dignity or splendour of a crown.

CHAP. XXIII.

BONAPARTE INSTITUTES A LEGION OF HONOUR—RE-ESTABLISHES THE ROMAN FAITH—EFFECTS OF THE CONCORDAT—PEACE OF AMIENS—REJOICINGS AT PARIS—THE FIRST CONSUL REFUSES A STATUE—SENDS A LARGE FORCE TO SUBDUE ST. DÓMINGO—CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF TOUSSAINT—INJUSTICE AND PERFIDY OF BONAPARTE.

AMONG the preparatory steps to the system of arbitrary power projected by the first consul, was one which was calculated to attach the military entirely to his service, and to found a new aristocracy, which, emanating from him alone, it was supposed would supercede the old nobility, and remain more firmly attached to his person and authority. The insti-

tution to which we allude, was a *legion of honour*, in which every man to be enrolled was to have attained a certain rank in the army, or to have performed some eminent military service. The plan for this association was long in agitation, but it was not accomplished till a subsequent period.

Bonaparte, who was now, notwithstanding his professions in Egypt, become a *good catholic*, applied himself with diligence to the reformation and re-establishment of the church. A plan was concerted with the pope, who, it will be recollected, was too much obliged to Bonaparte for the share he had in his elevation to dispute any part of his will. The first measure necessary was, however, to obtain the formal resignation of the ancient bishops. An official paper to this effect had been issued by the holy see towards the close of the preceding year, and transmitted to the expatriated prelates of France. It offered them a *chance* of a re-appointment in case of their compliance, or a small pension from the French government should they not be called to fill any ecclesiastical station; but, in case of disobedience, they were to be subjected to the censure of their superior, and to be left without compensation for the deprivation they had suffered. The invitation was complied with by the majority. To some it afforded an excuse for their return to their native country, with the hope of preferment under a new dynasty, with diminished revenues indeed, but without their station or dignity being materially impaired in other respects. Some, we may charitably suppose, might conscientiously comply, in conformity with the lofty notions they had entertained of the supremacy and infallible authority of the Roman see. A small, but high-minded minority, who reasoned on more enlarged principles, dared to question the infallibility of their holy father while in a state of thralldom and coercion; or conceived that the dictates of their conscience, and their faith pledged to an amiable monarch, whom real catholics must regard as a martyr to their cause, were obligations not to be superseded by any human authority whatever, though sanc-

tioned by the custom of ages, the decrees of councils, and the institutions of the church. The free air of Britain might have inspired these sentiments; or the security which they enjoyed there, above what they could hope in a catholic community, emboldened them to give them vent; for most of these gloriously-refractory ecclesiastics had their residence in this country; and this may be enumerated among the causes which contributed to the dislike and hostility afterwards manifested by Bonaparte towards Great Britain.

The resignations took place in the beginning of the year; but it was not till the month of March that definitive arrangements could be made with the courts of Europe. When the concordat was signed and ratified, an extraordinary session of the legislative body, purified by the expulsion of the refractory members, and the election of the new fifth, was convoked for the 5th of April. On that day the new form of ecclesiastical regimen was submitted to that assembly. It partook of the nature of all the political arrangements made by Bonaparte. In this code it will be perceived that the first consul is *every thing*, and all other authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, *nothing*. It was presented by Portalis, who may be considered as the minister for ecclesiastical affairs.

It was consistent with the volatile and unsettled character of the French nation, that the concordat was received at first with universal acclamation. The churches were crowded; and the re-establishment of the ceremonies seemed to proclaim the re-establishment of the principles of religion. A new order seemed about to commence, and the reign of justice and morality was restored. But the shock which religious principle had received was not so easily to be recovered. The proclamation that "Death was an eternal sleep," was not to be at once forgotten. The state or at least the rulers, had conceived it their province to modify religion as they pleased. They had abolished it, and again set it up. The conclusion, therefore, was not a forced one, that they regarded it as a mere engine of policy, and therefore the people were

authorised to think of it as they pleased. The relaxation, too, in moral principle and conduct, which had characterised the early stages of the revolution, was not to be surmounted.

The consequence was such as might be expected. The zeal of the people, which had rekindled on the return of religion, was as suddenly extinguished. It was the fervour of a few weeks, and was succeeded by total indifference. The churches were soon deserted again, and the returned ministers found, to their utter mortification, that they were recalled to the exercise of obsolete and useless functions; to preach where there were no auditors; and to administer spiritual consolation, if to any, to none but the lowest and most miserable of their parishioners. The consul, in assigning them pensions from the confiscated property, had calculated beyond his means: that property had been mortgaged or dissipated by the expenses of war, or the rapacity of public depredators. They had to encounter not only irreligion in their flock, but poverty in their own persons. The greater part were supported by the charity of such of their hearers as still retained some sentiments of religion: that to which they had a legal claim, was inhumanly withheld; and such is the wretched administration of justice in France, especially where the government is concerned, that they were destitute of every legal means of enforcing their demand. The effect of this new establishment of religion has been felt and confessed, with bitter tears of lamentation, by the zealous catholics; for such is the general indifference to popery, now that the emoluments and power of the churches are diminished, and persecution has ceased, that the bishops of several dioceses have complained of there not being a sufficient number of candidates for the sacred ministry, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the deaths of the clergy, and they have, therefore, publicly exhorted the youth of their different dioceses to shew a warmer zeal for the welfare of religion, and their own spiritual interest. No project could have been less successful than that which was adopted by Bonaparte. In making

his people externally catholics, he certainly did not make them Christians. No further advantage resulted from the concordat than a little temporary popularity to the first consul; and that indeed was probably the extent of his expectations or wishes.*

While Bonaparte was thus undermining and destroying the rights of Frenchmen, and the laws of nations, the negotiation for peace with England was slowly proceeding to a close, and the treaty was signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802. It was, however, concluded under sinister omens. The British cabinet expected that the adjustment of the preliminaries would take a wider range, and extend to all the real and positive interests of the two nations, but the French avoided any allusion to an union of interests.

The mystery may perhaps be solved in the vacillating politics of the court of the Thuilleries; in the scope and latitude which the first consul allowed to his ambition, which, like Proteus, was destined to change its shape, and adapt itself to future situations and circumstances. When the preliminaries were ratified by the first consul, his ambition was

* Holcroft relates the following anecdote of Bonaparte: — ‘Volney had believed in his virtue, had been his friend, and admitted to his familiarity, and, being a sincere friend of freedom himself, continued its defender. He was one day endeavouring to convince the chief consul of the mischief he would do to mankind, by again conferring power on the priesthood, and burthening people who were of a different creed, with a general and unjust tax. Bonaparte replied—“Why do you mention the people? I do but act in this business according to their desire; a large majority of the people wish for the re-establishment of the church.” Volney answered—“were you to act according to the will of the majority, you must immediately cede your power; the majority of the people would vote the return of the Bourbons.” Mr. Holcroft observes, the rage of the chief consul was ungovernable. The common report was, that he instantly struck Volney, and ordered him from his presence; and that he never again entered the palace of the Thuilleries.’

possibly satisfied for the moment by his vast acquisitions, or was engaged by the pursuit of a new object in his designs upon Italy. But in the interval that occurred between that period and the negotiation at Amiens, new prospects opened to tempt his ambition. He had accomplished an object which before might seem pregnant with difficulty—the possession of Italy. This was of itself a vast accession of power, and afforded the means, and probably the inclination, to increase it.

If we might judge of the sincerity of the government, from the splendour with which the ratification of the treaty was celebrated at Paris, it would have been sufficient to remove every doubt from the minds of Englishmen. The ceremony on this occasion was combined with that of the restoration of religion; and both were celebrated on Easter Sunday, 18th April, with superior pomp. The first consul, the ministers of state, and constituted authorities, attended divine service at the church of Notre Dame, which was exceedingly crowded.* The first consul came to the church in regal state, and was seated under a canopy of crimson velvet, very richly embroidered. The religious ceremonies were performed, it is said, with great solemnity. The sermon was preached by the archbishop of Aix. But, among the blasphemies of the day, was the consecration of the sword of Bonaparte, which sparkled with the royal jewels. Bonaparte's whole family were present, and had his moral worth been equal to his civil exalta-

* "He was so closely surrounded, (says Holcroft, who was present), that it was difficult to get a peep, except over their shoulders. The proofs are continual of the dread in which he lives, and the caution with which he appears in public. He descended the aisle, surrounded by attendants, with his hat off. It was the only time I saw him. The sallowness of his complexion was overpowered by the emotions of his thought; there was colour in his face; a gentle inclination to smile rendered his mouth pleasant; his aspect was gracious; his forehead large and open; his soul was in tune. I never beheld a physiognomy more apparently capable of all the grandeur of benignity."

tion, it would have been a gratifying spectacle for his uncle and his mother; but if they knew his heart, they must have been inwardly depressed when they compared it with the eminence to which he was raised, and sighed to think how much that eminence had cost humanity, and how dearly it was yet to be preserved.

The council general of the department of the Seine, with the servility of a Roman senate in the times of the empire, proposed to erect a monument to Bonaparte, which he refused with great appearance of modest dignity, but he had higher things in view, and it was no great proof of self-denial in a man who has always despised popular applause; his answer, however, was well conceived, and well expressed—
‘The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to their country is honourable to nations? I accept your offer, let the place be marked out, but leave to future ages the care of constructing the statue, if they confirm the good opinion which you entertain of me.’ Nero said almost the same thing when the senate returned him their servile thanks; for his answer was, ‘*Quum meruero*,’ and Nero began his reign somewhat like Bonaparte.

The cessation of hostilities with Great Britain left the seas once more open to the marine of France, and the first consul embraced the opportunity to restore the West India colonies to tranquillity and order. The design was laudable, but the means pursued were wicked, ferocious, and cruel, and therefore a happy event was scarcely to be expected. The person who particularly excited the enmity of Bonaparte was the negro General Toussaint L’Ouverture. His early successes, not less than his subsequent misfortunes, have consecrated his name to posterity. He perhaps died at the most favourable period for his fame; and though it now stands fair to posterity, might have corrupted him equally with his European competitor. Had the race of Bonaparte concluded with his first conquest of Italy, posterity would have venerated him as a hero, perhaps as a patriot. In an evil hour for his reputation,

he was raised to the seat of empire ; he was subjected to the severest of trials,—success ; and, like another usurper, who yet rises in such a comparison, he stands ‘damned to everlasting fame.’

The virtues and the talents of Toussaint have, from the circumstances to which we have alluded, been perhaps over-rated. He was an African by birth, and at an early period of life was sold as a domestic slave. Under such disadvantageous circumstances he had not acquired the common rudiments of education ; and it has been said, but on doubtful authority, that he could neither write nor read. That he possessed good natural parts, there is, however, some reason to suppose, from the influence which he acquired among those of his own nation and colour on the commencement of the troubles of St. Domingo. A character for humanity had probably recommended him as a fit instrument to some of the white inhabitants of the island : by their influence, secretly exerted, he was raised to the chief command ; and he repaid their kindness by his charitable exertions to rescue their persecuted race from the calamities to which they had been subjected. His principal councillors were two white persons, a priest and a military officer ; and of their abilities the fairest testimony is the conduct of their pupil. In our former volumes we noted the services which were rendered by this black general to his adopted country. He composed the jarring factions by which it was distracted ; he defeated or conciliated an invading enemy ; and he mitigated, if he could not eradicate, the ferocity of his own countrymen. From his general conduct, and the official papers sanctioned by his name, there is reason to believe him actuated by a religious spirit ; and religion was the grand instrument in his hands for tempering the violence of the savage tribe whom he commanded.

From such a character, if properly treated, much good might have resulted by the gentle means of persuasion and negociation. But there is reason to believe that Bonaparte regarded him from the first with an eye of suspicion, if not

of envy. He considered him as a rival to his fame. Reports had been repeatedly circulated that his aim was to render St. Domingo independent of France, and to establish there an hereditary sovereignty in his own family; but the deficiency of proof upon these accusations ranks them at present only as calumnies. The unfortunate are easily convicted; and where evidence is only admitted on one side, there is room for believing that the culprit might have exculpated himself, had he been favoured with the advantages of an impartial trial.

The employment of force was more agreeable to the temper and habits of Bonaparte than methods of conciliation. A fleet of twenty-six ships of war was collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, in the latter months of the year 1801, and put to sea the 14th December. On board the fleet, and the transports which accompanied it, an army of 25,000 men, the flower of the French soldiery, and completely equipped, was embarked. A Spanish squadron accompanied the fleet, conveying troops, and a new governor to the Havannah; and a fleet was fitted out in the Texel, also for St. Domingo, which sailed on the 16th. The commander in chief was general Leclerc, the brother-in-law to the first consul, accompanied by some of the best and most experienced commanders that France could produce for such a service. Admiral Villaret commanded the Brest fleet. From that period to the latter end of March, single ships and small squadrons continued to sail, loaded with troops: so that the whole that composed this first division, as it may be termed, must be estimated at nearly 40,000 men.

To assume the appearance of moderation and humanity, Bonaparte, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and a letter to Toussaint, in which he invites the former to adhere to their allegiance, and the latter to accept the office of lieutenant under Leclerc, whom he appointed captain and governor general of the island.

Two things are remarkable in this proclamation; its deceitful professions, and its affected language. Bonaparte, in addressing the natives of different countries, generally attempts to adapt his style to theirs, but the sentiments are always his own; fierce, terrific, and arbitrary. To Toussaint he speaks the language of flattery, but at the same time that of authority; he reminds him of his former services, and intreats him not to depart from the allegiance he owes to France; and in order to ensure his obedience, if possible, he sent two of his sons, who had been educated in the mother country, on condition that they were to remain with him if he put himself into the power of Leclerc; but if not, they were to be retained as hostages for his future submission. The French fleet arrived at the Cape on the 2d of February, 1802: the general dispatched an officer on shore to inform Christophe, the commandant of the place, that he was sent by the first consul to take possession of the island, and to receive the submission of the inhabitants; he sent him the proclamation of Bonaparte, and his own, also telling him that he expected no opposition would be given to the landing the troops: To this, Christophe, no doubt by the orders of Toussaint, replied, that he would not acknowledge the authority of France, nor suffer a man to land. After much interchange of messengers, and the final refusal of Christophe, the French general landed his whole army in different parts of the island, and thus commenced the most desperate and horrid war that history can produce, for the French set the example of giving no quarter. The account of the meeting between Toussaint and his sons is related by Coisson, their tutor, in a letter to the minister of the marine; and though it is evidently written to convey an unfavourable impression of the black general, yet it bears a strong testimony to his affectionate disposition and high-minded generosity. The crafty perceptor, when he saw the father and his sons melted in tears, hanging upon each others' necks, judged it a favourable opportunity to touch him on his fidelity—'Is it,' said he, 'Toussaint, the friend of France,

whom I am about to embrace?' 'Can you doubt it?' replied the general: his son Isaac then related all that he had been told by Bonaparte and the captain-general. Toussaint listened with the most profound silence. I then presented to him the box containing Bonaparte's letter, which he read, and appeared satisfied. I entreated him to declare that he had no knowledge of the cruelties which had been committed at the Cape, and pressed him to surrender himself to the captain-general. Thus far the narrative of the tutor; but he omits to add, that this great man, after hesitating and almost yielding to his proposal, suddenly replied, 'No, I cannot betray my brethren and my God, take back my children since it must be so.' The next day Toussaint wrote to Leclerc, and the correspondence was continued for some time, but neither party being satisfied with the other, hostilities recommenced with greater violence than ever. It has been asserted, that Leclerc finding himself sure of victory, published an order, by which all the blacks were delivered to the former power of their masters; but this has never been sufficiently proved, for though Bonaparte's professions, in his state of the republic for the year 10, are no proof to the contrary, yet even his treachery should never be believed without evidence.

Several battles and severe skirmishes took place between the contending parties; but many of the negro generals were persuaded to surrender, and to abandon the cause of liberty. The army of Toussaint being thus weakened *by desertion*, is represented by the French as flying precipitately from one fastness to another. Yet the natural impracticability of the situation, the constitution of the negroes injured to the climate, the desultory mode of warfare which they practised, were resources which still remained, and which might have ultimately baffled all the efforts of their enemies. Thus situated, the unfortunate Toussaint was destined to fall the victim, not of a well-fought battle, but of a treacherous negotiation; and he who might have been victorious in the field, was fated to end his days in a prison. It is by no means clear that Tous-

saint had ever meditated a total separation from France: the arbitrary disposition of Bonaparte required an unqualified surrender; and the African chief might consider himself and his partisans entitled to conditions, which might be necessary to their own future safety and the welfare of the colony, while the first consul flattered himself that an abject submission must be the necessary consequence of the immense force which he dispatched against the island. The disunion of his party, and his want of success, might, at this period, dispose the negro general to listen to terms which before he had conceived degrading and unjust. As it was not his view to disunite the countries, the effusion of blood might properly be spared; and even the gaining of more liberal terms might scarcely appear an object worthy of such a contention.

Under these circumstances a negotiation, as stated by the French, was commenced between the generals; but, before it was concluded, further successes occurred to give a greater preponderance to the cause of the mother country. Dessalines was defeated, the mulatto general Christophe submitted, and shortly after Paul L'Ouverture, the brother of Toussaint, surrendered with all the negroes under his command. These disasters hastened the conclusion of the negotiations; the children of Toussaint were restored to him, and he retired to his estate at Gonaïve.

But though Bonaparte knew how to conquer, he proved that he was incapable of making a proper use of victory and success. A series of perfidy and cruelty, which is, perhaps, without example, laid the foundation of fresh calamities to the French army in St. Domingo. The French general no sooner perceived the negro chief in his power, and the tranquillity of the colony apparently re-established, than he meditated the basest act of treachery that ever disgraced a government. The abdicated general was accused of a conspiracy, though it was evident that there was not time, from his submission to his seizure, even to meditate, much less to organise, such a measure; and, on the 12th of May, Toussaint,

with his *whole family*, were put on board a frigate, and contrary to the most solemn treaty, shipped off for France. The cruelty, the malignity, of this proceeding, justly excited the indignation of Europe. Had the negro general been guilty of such a crime, some evidence of it, at least, ought to have been offered to the public; but we have not a shadow of proof for the alleged offence, but the simple assertion of General Leclerc, the near relation of the first consul; or, had the crime of Toussaint even been substantiated by the most satisfactory evidence, where was the justice, where the liberality or humanity, of involving his *infant* children in his punishment?

The fate of this unfortunate man was similar to that of others who have placed a mistaken confidence in Bonaparte, and he was dispatched in a manner the best suited to the vengeance of the tyrant. The consequences of this wretched and illiberal system of policy are also well known. The negroes of St. Domingo perceived themselves to be betrayed and deceived: they were promised freedom—they were again publicly sold as slaves. Christophe and Dessalines, who justly feared that they were destined to partake in the miserable fate of their deluded colleague, saved themselves by flight. The whole island revolted. The climate came in aid of these avengers of tyranny and falsehood: the miserable instrument of Bonaparte's cruelty, fell himself the victim of the climate. After a series of horrors and atrocities, even worse than those which blacken the memories of Robespierre, Marat, and Carrere, and which will, to future ages, remain a lasting stain on the French character, the republic had to regret the loss of 60,000 of her best troops, in a vain attempt to recover a colony, which might, with temper and humanity, have been reconciliated; and the foundation was irrecoverably laid of a negro empire among the islands of the west. An act of treachery so abhorrent to the custom of civilized nations, as that now related, could only have been perpetrated by any other man on the coast of Africa or the wilds of America; but

Bonaparte's ambition and love of power have rendered him a savage at the most civilized period of society. When the negroes are calumniated as cruel, stupid, and incapable of civilization, let the character of Toussaint be contrasted with that of Bonaparte, and then let it be said which reflects most honour or most disgrace on human nature.

It was consistent with the base, the selfish, and unenlightened policy of Bonaparte's government, that no benefit should spring out of all the sufferings and calamities which the French revolution had caused; that human nature should derive no advantage, in any single point, from all that French valour had enacted; but that every ancient abuse should be restored, even in a worse form than it existed before. It was not, indeed, to be expected that Bonaparte, while he rivetted the fetters of slavery in the mother country, should be more indulgent to the colonies. By a law passed by the legislative body, therefore, on the 17th of May, *slavery* was re-established in all the French colonies on the same footing on which it existed previous to the year 1789; and the slave-trade, and importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed with all the encouragement and advantages which had been extended to that detestable traffic during the ancient regimen.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE SWISS REJECT THEIR NEW CONSTITUTION—BONAPARTE'S PROCLAMATION TO THAT PEOPLE—PROGRESS OF DESPOTISM IN FRANCE—PROPOSAL FOR ELECTING BONAPARTE FOR TEN ADDITIONAL YEARS—FOR ELECTING HIM FOR LIFE—MANLY CONDUCT OF CARNOT—LEGION OF HONOUR.

THE imperious nature of Bonaparte was again displayed in the constitution which he dictated to Switzerland at the point of the sword; that unfortunate country, which was once the abode of peace, happiness, and virtue, was the last to feel the tyranny of the French, after they had departed from the original principles of the revolution, and determined to new-model the government of every country within their reach, and plunder others after they had exhausted their own. Switzerland had been compelled to adopt every successive whim of the French constitution-makers, and to suit themselves to the fickle variations of their taste: but not relishing entirely the last constitutional dish that was hashed up for them by the high seasoned cookery of despotism, they determined to resist the French mandates by force; for a while they held out against their oppressors with a spirit worthy of those who supported William Tell, but French gold and French intrigues having divided their councils and their forces, they were no longer able to oppose the French arms; the diet of Schweitz, the head-quarters of insurrection, dissolved itself, and thus was sealed the doom of Switzerland as an independent country, though it seemed good to the supreme will of Bonaparte, to accommodate the constitution he

gave them, in some degree, to their ancient habits and prejudices, and to rule them with a rod of iron not quite so heavy as formerly.

The proclamation which he addressed to the Swiss, in order to allay the confusion he and his predecessors had caused among that unhappy people, is the *ne plus ultra* of his insolence, arrogance, deceit, blasphemy, and perfidy: when tyrants talk of patriotism and public happiness, it is the lion in the skin of the lamb, the crocodile alluring to destroy, the wolf in the sheep's garment—and such is Bonaparte.

'THE FIRST CONSUL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, AND PRESIDENT OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC, TO THE EIGHTEEN CANTONS OF THE HELVETIC REPUBLIC.

' St. Cloud, 8th Vendémiaire, 10th year.

'Inhabitants of Helvetia,—For the last two years you have presented an afflicting spectacle to the world. Opposite factions have successively possessed themselves of power, and they have each marked their short-lived ascendancy by a system of partiality which proves their weakness and want of ability. In the course of the year 10, your government was desirous that the few French troops in Helvetia should be withdrawn, the French government embraced the opportunity to shew how much they respected your independence, but soon the different factions recommenced their agitations with redoubled violence, and the blood of the Swiss flowed by the hands of each other. You have been disputing for three years, without coming to any mutual understanding; and, if left to yourselves, you may do so for three years longer. Your history proves that your intestine differences could never be settled without the intervention of France. It is true I had determined not to meddle with your affairs, and I have constantly seen your different governments ask my advice without following it, and sometimes make an improper use of my name, just as it suited their passions or their interest. But I neither can, nor ought to remain any longer insensible to your present misery. I recal my determination, I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be effectual, and such as becomes the great nation in whose name I speak to you. Five days after this proclamation shall be published, the senate shall assemble at Berne. All public functionaries who have been nominated at Berne since the last capitulation, shall be dismissed, and cease to ex-

ercise any authority. The prefects shall repair to their posts. The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades shall form the garrison of Berne. The troops which were in pay six months ago shall alone remain embodied; and all individuals dismissed from the belligerent forces, and who are now armed, shall deposit their arms with the municipality of the commune in which they were born. The senate shall send three deputies to Paris, and each canton shall send one. All the citizens who for the last three years have been landmanns, senators, or occupied places of public authority, may repair to Paris, to offer their sentiments on the means of restoring union and tranquillity. On my part, I have a right to expect that no town, commune, or public body, will desire to do any thing contrary to the intentions which I have just now manifested. People of Helvetia, awake to hope!!! Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be saved, and all honest men will second this generous intention. But if, which I can hardly think, there should be among you any individuals of so little virtue as to refuse to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of their country, then alas! O people of Helvetia, you will have degenerated from your ancestors!!! There is no sensible man that does not see that the mediation which I take upon me, is, for Helvetia, a blessing sent from that Providence which has never ceased to watch over the existence and independence of your country, and that that mediation is the only means which remains to save both the one and the other. It is time for you to consider, that if the union and patriotism of your ancestor founded your republic, the deadly spirit of your factions, if it continues, will infallibly destroy it, and it will be painful to think, that at a period when new republics are rising up around you, fate should have fixed the end of one of the most ancient.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

The time was now approaching when Bonaparte was no longer to keep any terms with republicans, or profess any further respect for those principles which brought him into power; to discerning eyes he had long shewn a contempt for every thing connected with a republic, and given indisputable proofs of his attachment to monarchy not theoretically as a form of government which he preferred, but as relating to his own person, and affording the utmost means of gratifying his ambition. Among many other things apparently trifling, which seemed to shew his predilection for royalty, was the word 'subjects,' which crept, not unintentionally, into the

treaty of peace between France and Russia; for when the word subjects is used, as applied to the people, all idea of a republic is abandoned; the term gave alarm to the few zealous republicans who remained in the tribunate, and an explanation was required of the government, but the explanation, far from doing away the force of the word, evinced more strongly the intention with which it had been applied. The line drawn for presentations at the court of Bonaparte shewed also his design to take his seat among the legal monarchs of Europe, and every opportunity which arose was eagerly embraced to display the same disposition; in his letter to the unfortunate Toussaint, when he speaks of himself, he uses the word *We*, which is the appropriate distinction of sovereigns, and it was afterwards used not very unfrequently, nor unintentionally.

Among the many means which Bonaparte employed to pave the way to his assumption of supreme hereditary power, the press was an engine too powerful to be neglected; and, to the disgrace of literature and the scandal of France, he found men of talents who were willing to serve in the base office of pioneers to his ambition, and hirelings in the cause of despotism, the press was completely enslaved, no publication was permitted which had not the sanction of government, and even the English prints were of too free a complexion to be admitted into a country which was in a state of preparation for slavery; Bonaparte not only said what the people should not read, but what they should read, for he left them nothing but the venal effusions of men completely in his pay, and hired to degrade the public mind by their mean and abject sentiments. The little liberty which remained in England became the object of their perpetual indignation; the freedom of election, which is not very great for a people who boast of their political privileges, was attempted to be proved rather a detriment than a blessing; in short, a regular system of depreciation was commenced against every thing which could tend to revive the cause of

the people in France, and every thing was said to enforce the necessity of returning to the principles and practices of arbitrary monarchy ; such men as Roederer, Fievez, and Portalis, who had formerly been the zealous advocates of liberty, now lent themselves to forward the views of a crafty tyrant, who was sapping the fundamentals of every thing great and valuable in the human mind, in order to prepare his subjects, as he had already dared to call them, for the most depressing slavery. The unbounded incitements to luxury and dissipation which were constantly held out to all ranks, by opening houses for balls, gaming, and lotteries, were no doubt intended to corrupt and degrade the public mind, and make the people more ready to receive the yoke of despotism, while Bonaparte, to suit his purpose in another quarter, was preaching morality to the Institute, and religion to the clergy.

The first blaze of the great fire which was to consume the very vitals of liberty in France burst out on the 6th of May, 1802, by an unexpected and audacious proposal in the Tribunate, to decree some striking mark of national gratitude to Bonaparte. What had he done which they had not overpaid in a ten-fold proportion ? The soldier who fights bravely the battles of his country, is paid for his services, and performs only the duty he had undertaken. The general who gains victories, gains fame for himself, and is enriched by the spoils. But on Bonaparte the French nation had conferred much more ; they had given him all they could, and much more than they ought,—they had given him, or rather permitted him to usurp, the sovereignty : they had raised a private citizen to the rank of a mighty potentate. What had Bonaparte deserved more than Moreau or Massena ?—more than the ill-treated Pichegru ? a man who was sacrificed to the base ambition of an artful rival, and to the caprice of a nation with whom public ingratitude seems to have been regarded as the first of virtues. Yet on this man, to whom they had given a throne, on whom they had lavished a revenue greater than that enjoyed by any of the lawful sovereigns of Europe,

this man, who reveled in the palaces of an ancient race of illustrious kings ; on this man, truly, they were called to bestow some further mark of respect ! Oh ! degraded nation ! who banished all your first heroes and deliverers, and have made an absolute monarch of an upstart, who founded his fame and his achievements on their antecedent labours !

It was easy to perceive in what quarter the proposal originated, and it would not have been difficult to divine in what this mark of national respect was to consist ; but, if any doubt had been entertained, the French people were not left long in suspense. The resolution was ordered, on the same day in which it was proposed, to be transmitted to the conservative senate, the legislative body, and the government. The senate found no difficulty in deciphering the intent and object of the message they had received ; and, on the 8th, they decreed that "the mark of national gratitude conferred on Bonaparte, ought to be his re-election for another ten years, succeeding those for which he had been already elected."

The new dignity was received by Bonaparte with that solemnity of grimace with which ambitious men receive that of which they have been most anxiously desirous : he told them "that, according to *his own inclinations*, his *public life* would have terminated the moment the peace of the world was proclaimed ; but that every attention to the glory and happiness of a citizen should cease, when the interests of the state or the public kindness called upon him." He, however, declined accepting the title until it should be sanctioned by the public voice. To this end, it was decreed that registers should be opened in the different departments, for inscribing the votes of the citizens on the subject. The project, it must be confessed, was well-timed ; for the nation, had their suffrages even been free, would scarcely have rejected any request which might have gratified the man whom they regarded as the author of the blessing of peace. It was, however, not likely to meet with any objection : the military were too strong, and the people too weak, to admit of any

THE LIFE OF

lience or hesitation as to the commands of their super-

the vanity and ambition of Bonaparte were not as easily d as even his abject flatterers supposed : before the rs were opened, therefore, to receive the suffrages of ion, the question was changed, and, in the new form, l—" Shall Bonaparte be elected consul for life ?" In ect circumstances of the French nation, and under the iate coercion of a large military force, negative suf- were not to be expected. At a time when the author igedy in which some sentiments of liberty were intro- was banished in Guiana, and when some of the most table of the generals were put under arrest, to have op- the wishes of the consul would have been to seal the f the daring individual ; it would have been immediate or death under a more lingering form, in the dungeons Temple, or the deserts of Cayenne. Those whose ences, or whose pride, would not allow them to pay o the government, remained silent ; while the positive es, however few they might have been, were under- as a sufficient sanction in this farcical representation of ir election. The example was set to the people by the n office,—the tribunate, the legislature, &c. One dis- g voice only was found in the former,—that of the cé- d Carnot. Immediately after his signature he wrote, ve signed my own proscription.' His friends exerted nfluence with him in vain ; but their ingenuity devised pedient at once to save his honour and protect his per- a new register was procured, in which the signature of t was totally omitted. This example of Roman firm- as followed by only one official person, and that solitary ce was a petty clerk in the treasury.

success which attended the ambition of Bonaparte in progressive step, seemed only to encourage him to still r exertions and more formidable strides. He left the no time to cool or to deliberate, if to Frenchmen defi-

beration could have been of service : rapidly as each of the measures for securing the permanence of his power had been hurried through the constituted authorities, they followed in such quick succession that they actually overtook each other ; and, before the registers could be forwarded, for the reception of signatures, to the different departments, they were charged with ‘ a further striking mark of the national gratitude,’ expressed in the modest question, on which also the suffrages of the nation were to be collected, ‘ Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor.’

It required, however, either a degree of assurance of which even the first consul did not find himself possessed, or it was apprehended that the source whence the first proposal originated might be laid too publicly open ; or some kind of opposition was feared, should this happy after-thought of the consul, or his family, be brought forward through the medium of the tribunate, the senate, or the legislative body. A new and ingenious device was, therefore, adopted ; not strictly legal, it is true ; but what is illegal in France ? Some of the inferior agents of the government were instructed to add to their signatures the desire that Bonaparte might choose his successor. On the strength of this circumstance, the mayor of Paris, on his *own suggestion* doubtless, transmitted to the prefects of the other communes the additional question which we have stated above. Without the least inquiry into the authority by which the people of France were cited to decide on a subject of importance, the question was entered on the registers, and the votes received as if the measure had been sanctioned by legislative authority.

In the mean time addresses poured in to the government in approbation of the measure, in that truly burlesque strain of which only the French nation is capable. The citizens of Soissons, by their organ, the municipal officers, earnestly entreated to be excused from the *tedious* process of giving their votes on the question ; they requested to be led into the Champ

de Mars to give their assent by general acclamation; and another address, from the soldiers of Paris, transmitted by General Junot, added to the wish of a long life to the great consul—that he would indeed live long, if all those who love him could, with their signature, add a portion of their own lives to prolong his!’ The language of addresses, however, does not always speak the sentiments of the people. The citizens, even of Paris, appeared backward or negligent to give their signatures; and it was affirmed on good authority, that, at one of the notaries, (with whom the registers were deposited), in one of the most frequented districts of Paris, the signatures on the sixth day did not exceed nine, only four of which expressed the wish that Bonaparte should name a successor. While the registers continued open, a scarcity of bread happened at Paris; and this was believed, or represented by the government, to be an artifice of the disaffected, to interrupt the loyalty of the people, and to prevent it from displaying itself in the mock-election.

The slowness, however, with which the suffrages were collected, appears, at length, to have awakened the apprehensions of the government; and, in all the departments, every engine and instrument was at length employed to compel the lower orders to sign the registers. It was the 29th of July—that is, nearly two months from the time the registers were opened—before a communication was made by the government to the senate of the result. The registers were submitted to the inspection of this body: they were referred by them to a select committee; and, on the 2d of August, a *senatus consultum* was issued, declaring, what may be termed the state of the poll. The report justified what was observed above: out of a population of upwards of 25,000,000, only 3,577,259 could be prevailed upon, by all the exertions of the government, to inscribe their names; of these, however, 3,568,185 voted for the question—that is, that Bonaparte should be consul for life.

The act of the senate was presented to the first consul on the following day : and Barthelemy, the president, disgraced a respectable character by being the organ of a gross piece of flattery to a man who had been the decided enemy of liberty. The first consul replied, with his usual hypocrisy,—‘ The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French people wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them—I obey their will !’ He obscurely, however, hinted something like a divine right to this station, and observed, that ‘ he was called by HIM from whom all things emanate to restore upon earth justice, order, and equality.’ The event was celebrated with the highest magnificence in Paris ; and, on the evening of the 4th of August, the palace of the conservative senate was superbly illuminated. Addresses of congratulation were presented from the different courts of the continent of Europe ; and even the Emperor of Germany was humbled so far as to join in complimenting the enemy of his family and throne.

The project for instituting a *legion of honour* was not accomplished, while the other still more important transaction, which we have been relating, was in agitation. The court of the Tuilleries might not consider it as the most politic step to complete the measure, and to fill up the lists, while the hopes of those who aspired to become members of this new order of nobility might be turned so much to the advantage of the consular views, and when the resentment of unsuccessful candidates might have caused an opposition which might have proved fatal to them. The project was, however, introduced to the legislative body, on the 16th of May, by Roederer, one of the counsellors of state. He recommended it as a means of preserving the grandeur of the French republic, and protecting its territory. Notwithstanding peace had been so lately concluded, he reminded them of the probability that it might be speedily violated ; and it is remarkable that both he and Sabire, another of the consular orators, pointed directly in terms which could not be misunderstood, to a rupture with

Great Britain: much was said of 'the jealousy of a *rival nation*, which formerly armed against France the whole earth'—and 'let us not dissemble,' continued Sahire: 'the wounds of self-love are sometimes healed, but the scars still remain.'

The project (and projects in the dumb legislature of France, are laws, since they cannot be modified or altered) expressed, that 'the legion was to be composed of a grand council of administration, and of fifteen cohorts. There shall be assigned to each cohort national property bringing an annual produce of 200,000 francs (about 5000*l.* sterling). The first consul is, by right, chief of the legion, and chief of the grand council of administration. Each cohort shall be composed of seven grand officers, 20 commandants, 30 officers, and 850 legionaries: the members of the legions are for life. The pay of each grand officer shall be 5000 francs (about 40*l.* sterling), and of each legionary 250 francs (about 10*l.* sterling). These sums shall be taken from the property assigned to each cohort. Each individual admitted into the legion shall swear, on his honour, that he will devote himself to the service of the republic, the preservation of the integrity of its territory, the defence of its government, and of the laws and property they have consecrated. All military men who have received arms of honour, are members of the legion. Those also who have rendered eminent services to the state in the war of liberty!!! and citizens who, by their knowledge, talents, and virtues, have contributed to establish or defend the principles of the republic, or caused justice and the public administration to be respected, may be nominated members.'

After this, it appears that the government conceived the task of putting the order into execution to devolve upon itself; for, on the 12th of July, by an arret dated from the *palace* of the government, the first consul decreed to the following effect: '1st, The great officers, chiefs of cohorts of the legion of honour, shall, in conjunction with the councils of administration of their cohort, manage the whole of the property appropriated to the legion, of whatever kind it may be, which

shall be found within the departments of the district belonging to the cohort. 2dly, All the members of the cohort shall be paid every three months, by the treasurer of the cohort, agreeably to the lists made out by the inspectors, and upon seeing the certificates of their being alive, which shall have been previously inspected by the chancellor of the cohort. 3dly, The treasurers of the cohort shall, every ten days, inform the treasurer-general of the state of their finances, as well as the wants of the cohort, agreeably to the lists of inspection. 4thly, The treasurer-general of the legion shall, every three months, make known the want of each cohort, shall propose the means of providing for them, and give in an account of any alterations that may happen in the funds in consequence of excess or deficiency in the receipts of each cohort. 5thly, In order to carry the above articles into execution, the director-general of the national domains shall give a detailed account of the total produce of all the national property belonging to the legion of honour, in the department and district of the cohort. This statement shall be transmitted to the grand council of the legion on 1st Vendémiaire. 6thly, In estimating the revenues arising from estates belonging to the cohort, the estimated value of buildings destined for the use of the establishment, shall not be comprehended. All the estates belonging to the cohort shall be farmed. 7thly, The present leases shall be in force till they are all expired; and the money from them shall be added to the treasury of the cohort. 8thly, The leases shall be renewed, in the country, one year, at least, before their expiration; and in towns, six months before their expiration. 9thly, The lots shall be announced a month before, by bills posted up in the usual places. The time and place of sale shall be pointed out. It shall be conducted publicly before the council of administration of the cohort; and the persons appointed to regulate the domains, and the registering of the same, shall postpone the sale till a future day, if disputes among the bidders shall render it ne-

cessary. 10thly, The act shall be drawn up by a notary, in the usual form, before the council of administration. The expence of the double expeditions shall be defrayed by the former. 11thly, The council of administration shall impose on the purchasers, as much as possible, such conditions as it shall deem most advantageous. It shall require a sufficient security. It shall divide the lots in the most advantageous manner. 12thly, When the reparation required, either relative to the chief place and the hospital, or the different buildings employed for the use of the cohort, shall exceed 300 francs, an estate shall be drawn up, and it shall be preceded by an adjudication in the usual form. Such repairs shall be always authorised by the grand council, and a report shall be made of them by the chancellor of the legion. 13thly, The treasurer who shall have paid the amount of the reparations, shall be bound to report the estimates and the receipts of the workmen, when they have been performed by contract: with regard to those made in conformity with the terms of sale, he shall report, beside the receipts of the auctioneer, the account of the particulars of the sale, and another of the acceptance of the terms. 14thly, The treasurer of the cohort shall, at every sale, duly pay the value of the lots. 15thly, All the judicial proceedings shall be authorised by the grand council, and carried on in the name of the grand officer, chief of the cohort, and sanctioned by the chancellor of the cohort. 16thly, The persons chosen for the administration of the domains, shall deliver to the chancellor, to be deposited in the archives of the administration of the cohort, the current lots, as all the titles they may have relative to property belonging to the cohort: there shall be an attestation to the same, containing the date, and the different nature of the titles. 17thly, The ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

This decree was followed by an extract from the registry of the deliberative sittings of the council of state, dated the

13th of July, which expressed, that, 'after the convocation of the consuls, the council of state met, at noon, under the presidency of the second consul; the third consul was present.* The council proceeded to the election of the grand officers. After the nominal appeal and scrutiny had been gone through, the choice fell on citizen Joseph Bonaparte, who had twenty-eight votes. The second consul announced that citizen Joseph Bonaparte was elected grand officer, member of the grand council of administration of the legion of honour, and charged the secretary-general of the council to submit to citizen Joseph Bonaparte the extract of the *process verbal* of his nomination.'

Thus the consular throne was not only made permanent, but an order of nobility was created for its protection; and at the head of that order was placed the nearest relation of the consul. Yet the usurper (for it is no abuse of language to employ such a term) could not, it appears, regard his authority as safe and consolidated, while a *chance* of liberty existed, or while any power was left in the state which did not immediately emanate from himself. He who boasted that 'he was called by heaven to restore, upon earth, justice, order, and equality,' not satisfied with a constitution which invested him with the power of arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary banishment; which destroyed the press, and gave a military government a host of spies at its disposal, a police more severe than those under the most tyrannical of the monarchs, and judges dependent on his pleasure for their places: not satisfied, while a vestige of power remained in any other hands

* The second and third consuls were now artfully thrown into the shade; for Bonaparte was too crafty even for Sieyès. Shortly after the formation of the consulate, Sieyès was tempted, by several offers congenial to his ruling passions, and accepted a pension which disgraced him in the eyes of the nation, and rendered his influence and power contemptible. Cambacères was confined to judicial affairs. His services have been rewarded by a high office in the legion of honour. He has also been decorated with the black eagle and the red eagle of Prussia.

at his own, or a trace of independence in any class of the people, he procured a new constitution to be formed, still more suitable to his views, and as if intentionally to shew the mockery of the late appeal to the people in the strongest light, he caused the new constitution to be passed through the conservative Senate with only one day's deliberation, and promulgated in the form of a law the day after, with great public solemnity.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE FIRST CONSUL NEW-MODELS THE GERMAN EMPIRE—
RECALLS THE FORMS OF MONARCHY—LIMITS THE OB-
JECTS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE—HIS JEALOUSY OF
ENGLAND—CONVERSATION WITH LORD WHITWORTH—
RUPTURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

WHILE Bonaparte was thus successful at home in establishing arbitrary power, he was not less so abroad, in new-modeling the German empire, and teaching the other powers of Europe a lesson of subjection to his will. The arrangement of the indemnities having proceeded with German slowness, little suited to his hasty, imperious temper, he prevailed on the Emperor of Russia, by false professions and promises never fulfilled, to join with him in the office of mediator for settling the different claims of the various parties, whose jarring interests were not likely to be soon adjusted by the slow medium of discussion; accordingly these two potentates agreed upon a settlement, which was submitted to the German Diet; and, with some slight variations, accepted as the conclusion of this tedious affair. By this arrangement bishops were unfrocked, cities were disfranchised, and new electors created, men were transferred from one master to another like cattle

in a market, towns and principalities were bargained for and sold like herds of sheep and oxen, and civil communities conveyed like goods and chattels at a sale or an auction; all this was the blessed result of Bonaparte's conquests in Italy, or, properly speaking, the result of the first coalition against French liberty. A passage in the *Mercur de France* speaks the sentiments of Bonaparte on this subject in a language not to be misconceived:— 'Protectress of Italy, arbitress of Germany, and the terror of other nations, France has elevated her friends, humbled her enemies, and established order in a country, which the treaty of Luneville seemed to have delivered from external war only to give her up to an intestine war of secularizations and indemnities. Bonaparte has realized the wishes of Henry IV. and the schemes of Cardinal Richlieu; their projects are accomplished, and France is avenged of the degradation which she had suffered by a departure from the route which they had traced out.'

To banish completely the simplicity of the republican regime, and to recal the forms of monarchy, in order to prepare for the essence, Bonaparte decreed, that the dresses of all the public functionaries of justice should be nearly such as they were under the old government, wishing, if possible, to obliterate entirely the republican axiom of estimating every man by his merit, and by no other standard. The best friends of monarchy, who are also friends to the gradual melioration of mankind, have long since acknowledged the folly and inutility of many forms which in times of barbarous ignorance were requisite to keep the people in awe, by attaching a degree of super-human veneration to public functionaries and officers of authority. Some sort of distinction is certainly requisite to point out the persons of those who are invested with any superior power, but further than that, all peculiarities of dress, subject them to the ridicule of those who are at all above the vulgar. In England this is certainly the case, and were these things once abolished it would be impossible to bring them back again: the bushy wig and black patch of a

judge do not procure him one atom more respect than the simple dress of a justice of peace ; and the dissenting minister who performs his duty in a plain black coat is as much revered by his congregation as a doctor of divinity with a scarlet hood and a white surplice ; in all these cases, it is the man that must make the office regarded.

A yet stronger proof remains than any hitherto produced of Bonaparte's intention to establish despotism, in the manner in which he new-modelled the National Institute.— This society was originally composed of three classes, and each class divided into sections ; he formed it into four classes, in which many of the former sections are united, one new class added, and two sections exalted into classes. The first class was formerly that of 'Physical and mathematical science,' it remains the same ; but the section of geography, which before was improperly in the class of moral and political science, is added, and the section of physics is entitled general instead of experimental physics. The second class, which was formerly entitled 'Moral and political science,' is entirely banished, because, says the *Mercure de France*, they have only taught men to reason falsely or to talk nonsense on the most important questions of legislation, politics, and government ; instead of this class is substituted another, entitled that of 'The French language and literature.' History, which was only a section in the class of moral and political science, now forms the third class, united to ancient literature. The third class formerly was 'Literature and the fine arts ;' the latter now composes the fourth class ; and thus has Bonaparte bounded the researches of human intellect in France to mere physical and ornamental pursuits, and prescribed, as far as in him lies, those higher subjects of enquiry which conduce to the moral improvement of individuals and of society ; and in so doing he is consistent with himself, for nothing can be so destructive to the interest of tyrants as those studies which lead their subjects to examine into the foundation and origin of power, the

rights and duties of men to each other, and the means by which political knowledge may be propagated and preserved. Why the section of political economy should be banished with those sciences which may be suspected of leading to dangerous results, it is not easy to perceive: Bonaparte has always pretended to have at heart the improvement and extension of French commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, and to raise them above all other nations; why then should the studies of active and contemplative men on these important subjects be proscribed or cease to be rewarded with the prizes of honour which are bestowed on other researches not more useful? Such an omission, which is certainly not unintentional, can only be supposed to originate in his aversion to all kinds of learning beyond what is merely ornamental, or to mathematical and physical sciences, which are wholly unconnected with the conduct of mankind; for these studies are thoroughly compatible with a state of despotism, and indeed have been found to flourish most in despotic governments, while those moral and political enquiries which tend to the improvement of man can only prosper in a state of civil and political liberty. Let it be remembered, that had Montesquieu, Adam Smith, and David Stewart now lived in France, they would have been excluded from the Institute.

The sentiments contained in the *Mercure de France* coincide in every particular with the views of Bonaparte in bringing the nation back to its old prejudices, and proscribing every new opinion which might tend to question his right to govern; it is evidently his intention to overlook the sanction of the people, and to rest his claim upon some pretended right, derived from his talents and exertions. The great object of the writers in the miscellany above-mentioned, is to bring morals back to mere sentiment, and government to divine right, conferred in the first instance upon superior merit, and handed down to posterity by an hereditary title; great pains are taken to find out a resemblance between Bonaparte and

Charlemagne, particularly in that point of view where the latter is considered as the founder of an empire.

To say that Bonaparte had done nothing well, would be blindness and prejudice, and to conceal it would be something worse; his talents for the civil administration of a country cannot be doubted when we look into the National Almanack and the Civil Code, for though neither of these may have been entirely the result of his own wisdom, yet they are both greatly indebted to him; and what a man approves in others, he deserves the next praise for to that of having invented himself. The division of the nation into departments was the work of the Constituent Assembly, but the administration of those departments, by civil and criminal tribunals, and by the establishment of Prefects, &c. is admirably calculated to ensure the execution of the laws and the connection of the government with every part of the empire, and were they entrusted to honest agents, might tend to preserve the happiness and comfort of the people; but here, as in all other cases, the passions of Bonaparte overcome the effects of his wisdom, and turn every institution within his power to the misery rather than the happiness of mankind.

Bonaparte having nearly succeeded in subjugating France to his will, and reducing the other powers on the continent to a compliance with his terms of friendship or submission, nothing remained for him but by force or by fraud to prevent the opposition of England to his schemes of universal dominion; England alone excited his jealousy by her commerce, by her liberty, and her weight in the affairs of Europe; to ruin the first he endeavoured to shut her out from all communication with the continent, to destroy the second he attempted to silence the freedom of her press, and to reduce the third he began to sound the temper of our government, by laying down, in his official publications, a new system of policy for the different states of Europe, by which Great Britain, on account of her insular situation, was supposed to be excluded from all continental alliances, was declared to be unequal to contend

single-handed with France, and therefore to be reduced either to slavery or insignificance. Had our ministers been such traitors to their country as to subscribe to this doctrine, and meanly to accept the share of importance which was allotted her by the lion-like justice of Bonaparte, his dominion had then been complete, and England, even at this moment, might have been a department or a dependent of France. Their refusal to submit to this arrangement produced the full display of Bonaparte's character; and leaves him stripped to the world in all his naked deformity, he has thrown off completely his whole disguise with all the violence and impatience of an assassin who is reduced to defend himself by force when his intentions are found out.

But the ambitious views and over-bearing disposition of Bonaparte will be best elucidated by a recital of what passed, at a private interview, between him and Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador.

Bonaparte received his lordship in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality; and, after talking a few minutes on different subjects, told him, that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between him and M. de Talleyrand, that he should in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to him, in order to their being communicated to his Britannic majesty; and he conceived that would be more effectually done by himself, than through any medium whatever. He said it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

The first consul then enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by the treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce;

and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite France against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coast of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this he told Lord Whitworth that two men had, within a few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were then on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the bishop of Arras, by the baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world. He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily; because every wind (as he expressed it) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

The first consul then reverted to Egypt, and told his lordship that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month before, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he should gain, since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by*

the falling to pieces of the Turkish Empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had gained by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greater part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the existing discussion, and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, for to that amount it was, he said, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England, with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years.

Two such countries, by a *proper understanding*, might govern the world; but by strife might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate—participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was then come to a point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be ful-

filled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and restricted to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description), must be withdrawn. If war, it was only necessary to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty.

He then made the tour of Europe, to prove that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France; consequently, it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when the circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country, or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers; but hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

Lord Whitworth, in his account of this conference with the first consul, transmitted to the British government, makes this general remark:—‘His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.’ With regard to the mistrust and jealousy, which, he said, constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, his lordship observed, that it must be admitted we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against us, and was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he was interrupted by Bonaparte, who said, ‘I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; *ces sont des bagatelles*;

and it must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending ; *vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure.* His lordship then alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his majesty's subjects. Bonaparte asked, in what respect ? Lord Whitworth replied, that since the signing of the treaty not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description in England had been satisfied within one month after that period ; and since he had been in Paris, and he could say as much of his predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which they had been under the necessity of making, in favour of the British subjects, and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice. Such an order of things, his lordship added, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. The first consul rejoined—this must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right ; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right.

With regard to the pensions which were granted to French and Swiss individuals, his lordship observed that they were given as a reward for *past* services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his majesty might have obtained, he could take upon himself to assure the first consul, that his majesty's ambition led him *rather to preserve than to acquire.* And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity ; but that if his majesty were so de-

sirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies ; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase and energy to our own exertions.

Lord Whitworth concluded his note on this occasion, to the British government, with the remark that the first consul did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission *to commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens.

On the Sunday following the transaction, at the court which was held at the Thuilleries, Bonaparte accosted Lord Whitworth evidently under considerable agitation, and proceeded with great heat, in the midst of the assembly, to abuse and threaten the British government. Lord Whitworth shewed great coolness, which exhibited more strongly the great want of dignity and decency in the conduct of the first consul. His lordship left Paris on the 10th of May, and on the 18th a declaration of the causes of complaint which the British government had to allege against France was published, which was soon after followed by the issuing of letters of marque and reprisals.

CHAP. XXV.

DETENTION OF THE ENGLISH—PROPOSAL OF BONAPARTE TO LOUIS XVIII.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST BONAPARTE'S GOVERNMENT—ARRESTATION OF MOREAU, GEORGES, AND PICHEGRU—DEFENCE OF GENERAL MOREAU—DEATH OF PICHEGRU—SEIZURE, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

BONAPARTE's first measure of violence, after the declaration of hostilities, was the detention of the English, who, under the general protection of the laws of hospitality, had gone to visit the land of wonders, which the short interval of peace had rendered accessible to their curiosity, and had remained there under the special promise of security. So extravagant a violation of all the rights of nations, and the laws of civilized war, is not to be found in the annals of modern history, and was a dreadful specimen of the manner in which the contest was to be conducted on the part of France; but in the heat of his vengeance nothing was too horrid for him to execute, and after such an act, nothing in his conduct, however extravagant, could excite wonder.

The great object of Bonaparte, it is easy to perceive, after he had reduced the continent to a state of submission, was to bring England to the same; and now that he is compelled to attempt that openly, which he expected to have obtained by fraud, his resentment is without bounds; for he neither supposed the British ministry capable of penetrating, nor resisting his designs, nor did he think the spirit of the British people could be roused to such a pitch of unanimity and vigour.

✓ The animosity which subsists between this country and France, though violent, is not so deeply rooted as it was under the old government ; it is now merely kept alive by the ambition of one individual, for the people of both countries are weary of war ; but with that individual we never can make peace while there is a chance of continuing the war with success ; and for this purpose we must strain every nerve and sinew of our strength ; the truth must be told ; every exertion must be used rather than surrender our liberty, our commerce, or our comfort, to his diabolical artifice or open hostility ; and should any man repine at the sacrifices he must make, let him remember that it is his misfortune to live in the same age with Bonaparte. } The resistance which we oppose to him is that of a moral as well as a physical force ; we are strong not only in our resources, but in the justice of our cause, in our patriotism, and in the consciousness of supporting social order against arbitrary violence ; and though success is not always the test of merit, yet if reason be the test of truth, it cannot be doubted, even though we should not, that we ought to succeed. Let us then neither slacken our endeavours nor our spirit—let us cheerfully bear our burthens, however great for the time—let us contend with one heart, one might, and one purse ; and even should our efforts to overthrow the tyrant prove finally unsuccessful, and we should judge it expedient to submit to a compromise, we should not trust ourselves alone with him, but require the other powers on the continent to guarantee such a peace as may secure the future tranquillity and independence of Europe, and to this they may be more willing to accede than to join us in the war. Should we then come out of the contest with our resources unimpaired, and our spirit unabated, he may probably be convinced that we are equal to contend with him single-handed, and be content to let us enjoy the rank and share in society which we so justly deserve. A solid peace is undoubtedly for the interest of both parties, but most so for Bonaparte, for should the war become a mere trial of strength,

a government like his can hardly stand out against one long established ; a peace which will leave us all our colonies and foreign possessions may be submitted to, even should Bonaparte retain all his present power in France and Italy ; but Malta, the great source of contention, must never be surrendered without our receiving the Cape of Good Hope, or some such equivalent as an indemnity.

The French revolution, though intended to produce the most extensive good to mankind, has hitherto produced misery and crimes nearly sufficient to overbalance its advantages, and soiled the character of almost every man concerned in it. The Constituent Assembly did all that ought to have been done, but the virtuous error of the Brissotines overturned the fair fabric, and prepared for their country a series of crimes and sufferings to which they themselves fell the first sacrifice ; for when they wished to establish a republic, they erred against experience, and were severely punished for their fault. Hereditary monarchy, though not the most reasonable, is the most practicable government in the present state of the world, and therefore the French must be content with the only thing now within their reach, and, abandoning all their visionary schemes of unlimited improvement, be satisfied with what experience offers in the first instance, and leave to future ages more exalted hopes and enjoyment.

The following transaction is perhaps one of the most extraordinary which history can produce ; it does as much honour to one party, as it redounds to the eternal disgrace of the other : it cannot degrade the character of Bonaparte, but it places that of the monarch who condescended to be his agent, in the most odious light. When kings so far forget what belongs to their high rank as to become the tools of successful villainy, and insult virtue in distress, they lose that respect by which alone their station becomes useful, and sink themselves beneath the level of their worst subjects in meanness and depravity. On Friday the 25th of February, 1804, the Abbe Edgeworth informed Louis XVIII. that M. Presi-

dent de Meyer, who had just arrived from Berlin, was charged by the Prussian monarch with a mission of importance to his majesty. He received him the next morning, when the President explained himself; and proposed to him in strong but respectful terms, to renounce all claim to the monarchy of France, and that in reward for this sacrifice Bonaparte would allot him a sufficient indemnity. His majesty immediately answered him, by rejecting the proposal; and in two days after wrote to him in the following terms :—

‘ I am far from confounding Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and his military talents; neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people shall always be dear to my heart. I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the Almighty respecting my race and myself; but I am well apprized of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I will continue to fulfil these obligations to my latest breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I will endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity. As a successor of Francis I. I will at least aspire to say with him, “ We have lost every thing but our honour.”

The princes of the blood, as soon as this answer was communicated to them, signed their adhesion to it in a lofty tone of sentiment suited to their rank and birth. Bonaparte finding himself thus foiled in his attempts to get his title to a crown indisputably fixed by the removal of those who had at least as good pretensions to it as himself; finding also his great scheme of invasion impracticable; his bloody measures in Hispaniola produce an effect directly opposite to what he intended; finding his intrigues and menaces, in some of the courts of Europe, beginning to lose their influence; his own subjects growing weary of his tyranny, and forming plots against his life, he grew more violent than ever; he increased all his measures of rigour throughout the republic; he redoubled the number of his spies, and caused daily executions in secret, which transpired by degrees, and excited greater

horror than even the public massacres of Robespierre ; and the prisons were fuller than at any former period.

The *Chambre d'Enfer*, or Chamber of Hell, so called by those who have visited this gloomy abode, is a long, dark, damp room, ten feet under ground, into which all those who had been arrested on suspicion were thrust with indiscriminate barbarity, and kept on bread and water for forty-eight or ninety-six hours, till it was supposed their bodies and their minds were so exhausted as to make them confess or sign anything they might be required. From this chamber they were conducted through another, profusely lighted, displaying all the instruments and evidences of torture, to be examined by Fouche or Real, and Bonaparte himself generally attended in an adjoining closet, where he could hear all that passed. If these wretched prisoners had nothing to confess, or would confess nothing, they were remanded to their former abode to wait a second examination, and, in the mean time, were put to the experiment of the rack : they who confessed were seldom more heard of ; and they who were supposed innocent, only procured their acquittal by large sums of money, and by signing a testimony to the honesty and humanity of the government, which was kept in the hands of the police. All these measures of severity and precaution, so far from increasing the security of the tyrant, served only to make him more detested, and increase the general wish for the restoration of monarchy.

At the close of the session of the legislative body, Fourcroy the orator of government accused the British government of employing its ministers at Hamburgh, at Stutgard, and at Munich, as agents for the prosecution of a conspiracy ; and, in the language of revolutionary violence, he represented the illustrious fugitives, who found in this country an asylum from French persecution, as deeply implicated in crimes and plots against the government established in France. Death is the punishment which he denounced against them, if they dared to pollute with their presence the seal of

the republic. We may safely pronounce, that few conspiracies have been framed against a government, whose vigilance pervades every part of the French territory through the medium of an organized system of espionage, more likely to be exposed to immediate detection, than that to which Fourcroy alludes, and in which Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, and about sixty accomplices, are stated to have been implicated. According to the report made to the government by Regnier, the grand judge, it appears that several landings of the persons said to be engaged in the conspiracy were clandestinely effected at a place between Dieppe and Trefort, where men were found and paid to receive them, and conduct them during the night from fixed stations, which had been previously agreed on, in order to convey them ultimately to Paris. Besides these persons, their accomplices at Paris, where the greater part of them were arrested, are reported by the grand judge to amount to thirty-seven, among whom, the most conspicuous individual was General Moreau. He was arrested at Paris on the 14th of February, on the road from his country house to Paris; and it is said that when General Moncey, at the head of fifty gens d'armes, ordered the coachman to stop, Moreau coolly put his head out of the window, and told him to drive to the Abbey; to which the man with honest warmth replied, 'No, general, they may take you there that will, not I;' on which he dismounted from the box, and one of the soldiers, by order of General Moncey, took his place.—General Pichegru was taken on the 17th. Georges was arrested on the 9th of March. He was in a cabriolet. He shot the peace-officer who stopped his horse, and, with a dagger, wounded the officer who attempted to seize him. The Moniteur states that he had about him very considerable sums in bills of the bank of France, and in bills of exchange drawn from London; and that every thing induced a presumption he was on the point of attempting to escape, by availing himself of the darkness of the night to pass the walls. Very shortly after the arrestation of the generals Moreau

and Pichegru, an extraordinarily severe law was passed, in order to accelerate the discovery of all their supposed accomplices. The law condemned to death every individual who should conceal Georges or his accomplices. Deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, waited on the first consul with addresses of felicitation on the discovery of the conspiracy. He replied to them in terms, which, if personal ambition were not the predominant principle which prompts and directs all his actions, would claim some credit for disinterested greatness of soul. 'Since I have attained the supreme magistracy,' he replied, 'a great many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded, as important, dangers which give me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this last plot had succeeded; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people, that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hopes of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existing without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object.'

The trials of the parties concerned in the plot took place at Paris, in the month of July. Georges and seventeen others were condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment. To Armand Polignac, M. de Riviere, Lajolais, and M. de Lozier, a pardon was extended. On the 25th of July, Georges and eleven others were guillotined at the *Place de Greve*. They died with the most undaunted firmness.

The popularity enjoyed by Moreau was probably inferior only of that of the first consul. As a general, his reputation was even more exalted. His talents as a statesman were untried; but the known moderation of his character, and the soundness of his judgment, naturally produced very strong impressions in his favour. The jealousy of his rival appears to have consigned him to a life of retirement, in order to prevent his popularity from deriving any accession from an able execution of public duties. Even had the guilt of which he was accused been fully substantiated, the sacrifice of so great a favourite of the public might have deprived the first consul of the ensigns of imperial dignity.

When the counsellors of state read to the tribunate the report of the grand judge, Moreau, in terms of the strongest fraternal emotion, vindicated the innocence of his brother, and even declared that every thing which had been said was an infamous calumny. How far General Moreau was implicated in the plot, it is impossible to determine, since, for various reasons to which we have just alluded, it was deemed expedient not to give him an opportunity of defending himself before any of the public tribunals. It may, however, be collected from his exculpatory letter to the first consul, that he was both dissatisfied with the actual government, and that he was not altogether ignorant of the existence of designs formed for its subversion. The ground of the suspicion of his implication he states to have probably arisen from the connection which, with fluctuating degrees of intimacy, had long subsisted between General Pichegru and himself. He acknowledges that distant overtures had been made to him to enter into correspondence with the French princes; but to these proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he affirms that he returned no answer. With respect to the actual conspiracy, he asserts that he was far from having the least share in it; and that whatever proposition was made to him, he rejected from a conviction of its extreme folly. He admits it

had been represented to him, that the chances of the invasion of England were favourable to a change of government ; but he declares that he always replied, the senate was the authority round which all Frenchmen, in case of troubles, would unite, and he would be the first to obey its orders. The part of giving information to government was repugnant to his character ; it was an office which is always judged of severely ; but it becomes odious, and is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it to the injury of those persons to whom his gratitude is due, and with whom he has long cultivated habits of friendship. Duty, he proceeds to observe, may sometimes yield to the voice of public opinion.

Such is General Moreau's exculpation, which we have given nearly in his own words. That this is a feeble defence of innocence, is too strikingly manifest. If he were unconscious of all guilt, he should have assumed a manly and heroic tone of self-vindication. He should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. Even the uplifted sword of tyranny would not have dared to strike. But instead of pursuing this glorious course, he acknowledges that he has been imprudent, but not guilty, and, in an inauspicious moment, cancels a part of his fair fame, and courts life, liberty, and service, by throwing himself at the mercy of the first consul, by weakly and extravagantly accusing England of having prepared this snare for his destruction, and vainly asserting that Great Britain may judge of the evil he is capable of doing her, by what he has already performed.

The truth appears to be, that Moreau was not unaware of the conspiracy ; but that he ever had any active share in it, not the least evidence seems to have been produced. Thus fell one of the most celebrated generals of the republic. At a moment when the remembrance of the important services

he had performed, together with the universal esteem in which his many public and private virtues were held, contributed to secure to him perhaps a greater share of general love and admiration than was enjoyed by his dazzling competitor for fame,—one single act, to speak of it in the mildest terms of civil imprudence, precipitated him from the glorious height to which he had raised himself, and laid him at the feet of his rival, a humble and degraded suppliant.

Much as the public were concerned at the fate of General Moreau, their interest in his misfortunes was for a time suspended by the melancholy event of the death of General Pichegru. A very circumstantial account of his death was published in the *Moniteur*, in order, without doubt, to remove from the government every suspicion of having murdered an old and much-beloved general of the republic. We shall concisely state the singular circumstances attending his death, as detailed in the official journal of the French government. In the juridical report of the suicide which he is said to have committed, the surgeons appointed by the criminal tribunal to inspect the body of General Pichegru, in order to ascertain the immediate cause of his death, unanimously declare that he died of strangulation. They state that they found a black silk handkerchief about his neck, through which was passed a small stick forty-five centimetres long, and from four to five centimetres in circumference. This stick, forming a tourniquet of the cravat, was stopped by the left jaw, on which he lay, with one end of the stick underneath. This is stated to have produced a degree of strangulation sufficient to occasion his death. They then remark, that this stick had rested by one of its ends on the left cheek, and that, by moving round irregularly, it had produced a transversal scratch of about six centimetres. The face was discoloured, the jaw locked, and the tongue pressed betwixt the teeth. The discoloration extended over the whole body. The extremities were cold. The muscles and fingers of the hand were strongly contracted. From all these circumstances

their opinion was, that General Pichegru had committed suicide.

The evidence of various persons then follows, to prove that no one had entered General Pichegru's chamber, during the night, in order to make any attempt against his life. One of the *gen d'armes* stationed near his chamber heard a considerable degree of struggling and noise; but supposing the general laboured under such difficulty of breathing, he did not imagine any particular assistance was required. Another person, near the same place, awoke about four o'clock, but did not hear any particular noise. The principal door-keeper of the hall of justice in the Temple went on the 6th of April, about half past seven in the morning, into General Pichegru's chamber to light his fire; but not hearing him either speak or stir, he dreaded that some accident had happened to him. The colonel of the *gen d'armes* and the accuser-general were immediately informed of it, and medical assistance was instantly sent for. The chamber-keeper also states, that on the preceding evening he had taken away with him the key of General Pichegru's apartment, and had kept it in his pocket till the time he went to light the fire in the morning.

Notwithstanding this report respecting the mode in which General Pichegru is represented to have destroyed himself, and the evidence of the several persons stationed near his chamber, there are many very strong grounds of suspicion that he was clandestinely sacrificed. In the first place, there appears every reason to doubt the possible accomplishment of so singular a mode of self destruction. Ordinary suicides are perpetrated by a single determination of the will. The acts of shooting, hanging, drowning, and the like, deprive the unhappy individuals determined upon the commission of suicide, of the power of attempting the recovery of life. Nor, when the act is once perpetrated, have they any farther power to prosecute the accomplishment of their rash resolution. The commission of suicide, therefore, is in the first instance a voluntary act; but the continued execution of the means of

self-destruction requires, afterwards, no effort of the will. The loss of life must involuntarily and necessarily follow. But in the case of General Pichegru, a continued effort of the will was necessary to complete the suicide. It must have been continued until strangulation was completely effected; for, until the strangulation was complete, the involuntary effort of nature to retain life would still preserve, however difficult it might be, some degree of respiration. Even admitting the continued exercise of the will under such circumstances, which may reasonably be doubted, the question, with respect to the capability of executing this mode of suicide, will be reduced to these terms :—Which will be the most powerful, supposing a certain degree of strangulation to be produced, the involuntary efforts of nature to preserve life, or the physical strength necessary to execute the determination of the will? To us it appears that no doubt can arise on the subject.

With regard to the other grounds of suspicion, it may be observed, that the very parade of the French government in publishing to the world a minutely circumstantial account of General Pichegru's death, together with a mass of collateral evidence, discovers a strong degree of apprehension that the world would naturally suspect that cruel and unjustifiable violence had been resorted to, in order to gratify personal revenge, or to obviate the consequence of a public trial, and a public execution. It was very commonly believed in Paris, that General Pichegru had been privately murdered. To prevent the circulation of reports to that effect, Murat, the governor of Paris, shortly after this event, issued general orders, in which he recommended all the military in Paris to enlighten the citizens upon, what he termed, the false reports circulated on the subject.

But one of the strongest confirmations that General Pichegru did not commit suicide is to be found in the character of the individual. Upon this point, our personal knowledge of him gives us the highest degree of confidence. Religion,

fortitude, and courage, would banish from his mind the remotest idea of such an act of impiety and cowardice. The truth is, the French government dreaded the publicity of his trial, and execution. They knew with what dignity he would have defended himself; with what firmness he would publicly have reproached the people of France for their servile submission to an abject and degrading tyranny; with what heroic resolution he would have fallen under the sword of despotism, uttering with his last breath a pious hope for the liberation of his country. These, together with the other circumstances which we have stated, give a great degree of probability to the conclusion, that General Pichegru was put to death by the order of the French government.

With respect to his conduct in conspiring against the existence of an established government, it must be justified, or condemned, according to the motives by which he was actuated. If selfish views of personal interest, or the desire of promoting the interests of a mere faction, induced him to attempt the subversion of the French government, his conduct merits the severest reprobation; but if the liberation of his country from the iron dominion of barbarous tyranny was the sole motive which influenced and directed his proceedings, none but the bigoted enemy to the happiness of mankind can censure his exertions for their amelioration.

A short time before the death of General Pichegru, the consular government committed an act of the most sanguinary atrocity. Under the pretence that the Duke d'Enghien was implicated both in the conspiracy which we have related, and in that of which Mehee de la Touche pretended to undertake the direction, the French minister for foreign affairs transmitted to Baron Edelsheim, minister of the elector of Baden, a requisition to arrest him at Ettenheim. For this purpose, the first consul ordered two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize the duke, and some emigrants of distinction. General Caulincourt, one of the aides-de-camp of the first consul, was charg-

ed with the execution of these orders. The troops under his command crossed the Rhine during the night of the 14th of March, and proceeded through Kehl to Offenburgh. At both of these places several emigrants were arrested. On the same night another column crossed the Rhine, and directed their march to Ettenheim, where they arrested several persons, among whom was the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince of Conde. This gallant Prince was immediately conveyed to Paris, under an escort of a party of gen d'armes. He arrived there on the evening of the 20th, and was carried to the Temple, whence he was conducted without delay to the castle of Vincennes.

On the following day, a special military commission was appointed, in virtue of a decree of the French government passed only on the preceding day, expressly for this important trial. It consisted of seven members, all of whom were named by Murat, brother-in-law of Bonaparte, general in chief, governor of Paris, and commandant of the first military division. By the orders of Murat, the commission was opened at the castle of Vincennes, in the house of the commander of the place, for the purpose of proceeding in the trial of Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien. The commission being opened, the president ordered the officer appointed to conduct the accusation, to read all the papers which went either to the crimination or the acquittal of the Duke d'Enghien. *After* the reading of these papers was finished, the duke was introduced by the guard, free and unfettered, before the commission. He was interrogated by the president respecting the points contained in the accusation. The Duke d'Enghien is then stated to have entered upon his defence. But in what state, and before whom? Harassed and fatigued by the great length of the journey, performed without an interval of rest, from Ettenheim to Paris, and dragged almost immediately after his arrival before a military tribunal, specially appointed under the direct orders and influence of the government, in conformity to a new law passed

the preceding day with a view to arm that government with more extended power, and render the members of the commission the abject and submissive instruments of its sanguinary determination, this amiable prince was put upon his trial for life; and, when so much exhausted as scarcely to be able to keep his eyes open, was required to defend himself before his predetermined judges. Having concluded his defence, the members of the commission were asked by the president, if they had any further observations to make. They all replied in the negative. The Duke d'Enghien was then ordered to be taken out of court, and reconducted to prison. The officer who had conducted the prosecution, and the auditors, were ordered by the president to withdraw. The court having deliberated for some time, with closed doors, on the respective charges, the president put the question on each of the charges separately. The members delivered their opinion in succession; the president was the last in delivering his judgment. The result was, that the court expressed their unanimous opinion that the Duke d'Enghien was guilty of all the charges. The question relative to the punishment to be inflicted was afterwards put in the same manner; when this special military commission unanimously pronounced upon him sentence of death, on the ground of his being guilty of acting as a spy, of correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and of conspiracy against the external and internal security of the state. The sentence was pronounced in conformity to the letter of the existing laws; and orders were given to the officer who had conducted the prosecution, to read this sentence to the Duke d'Enghien, in presence of the guard drawn up under arms.

Such were the inauspicious circumstances under which this illustrious but ill-fated prince was tried and condemned. It was not even permitted to conduct this mock-trial, for such it must in truth be denominated, where its publicity might possibly have excited a feeling of sympathy and regret. By conducting the prosecution at the castle of Vincennes, all

publicity was in reality precluded. The choice of the place of trial, the arbitrary appointment of the members of the commission, the barbarous precipitance with which the prosecution was conducted, all concur to corroborate and confirm the suspicion of his pre-determined execution. That he was not guilty of some of the charges exhibited against him, sufficiently appears from the letter which, on the 15th of February, precisely a month before his arrestation, he addressed, through general Ecquevilly, to the British minister at Vienna. This letter, it must be admitted, substantiates one of the charges in the accusation; but, at the same time, it supplies the strongest evidence, that the Duke d'Enghien had no sort of connection with any individuals, of whatever description, who were engaged in contemptible and impotent plots against the government of France. He requested to be employed in open warfare against the enemy of his family and of this country; and if taken in arms would have merited the clemency of a generous foe. In this letter, he declares that the absolute nullity in which he vegetates, whilst the path of honour is open to so many others, becomes every day to him more insupportable; and he wishes to give to the British government, whose generosity he has experienced, proofs of gratitude and of zeal. He expresses a hope that the English will deem him worthy of combating by their side, and will permit him to share their perils and participate of their glory. Entirely devoid of all private interest relative to his cause, his request, he says, has no other object than to obtain an honourable commission in the British army. That it is his sacred duty to serve till death his legitimate sovereign, and his cause, he acknowledges in the most explicit terms; but he also feels it to be a dear and pressing duty to serve his benefactors, and to prove that his gratitude is as deep as it is disinterested.

No testimony can furnish a more complete acquittal from any share in secret conspiracies against the government of France, than this description of the inactivity in which the duke was living at Ettenheim. The testimony is the more

satisfactory, as it is derived from a private confidential letter, of which the sincerity of the terms can no way be suspected. Who can blame the loyal prince for the martial zeal which impelled him, in defence of the cause of his unhappy expatriated family, or in order to serve the country in which they had found an hospitable asylum, to seek an occasion to oppose their common enemy? A life of inglorious inaction was incompatible with the spirit and bravery with which he was animated. Against whom then was he to enter the field? Surely against him who had stripped his family of regal honours, and prosecuted war against the nation in which they received protection and support. That he would have gloriously distinguished himself in arms, is sufficiently attested by the heroic and magnanimous fortitude which he displayed in the last moments of his existence. The sanguinary precipitancy of the French government conducted him from the theatre of his insulting trial to the wood of Vincennes, where, at midnight and by torch-light, the sentence of the court was executed. It has been said, and in all probability with truth, that the first consul was afraid to entrust the execution of the sentence to Frenchmen. Italians were therefore employed to perform an act, at which the French soldiery, under a possible impression of sympathy, might have revolted. In the presence of several republican generals, he met his fate with the most undaunted and heroic firmness. This melancholy event excited among all the faithful adherents to the unfortunate race of the Bourbons, the most deep and generous interest; and the august and mournful ceremony of a solemn mass was performed in the chapel of St. Patrick, where a funeral oration upon the many virtues of this gallant and amiable prince closed the impressive and awful scene.

CHAP. XXVI.

PROPOSAL TO CREATE BONAPARTE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH—ORGANIC SENATUS CONSULTUM—PROTEST OF LOUIS XVIII.—SPEECH OF THE EMPEROR PREVIOUSLY TO THE CORONATION—CEREMONY OF THE CORONATION AND INAUGURATION.

NEITHER internal conspiracies, nor external war, appear to have in the least diverted the mind of the first consul from the prosecution of his schemes of inordinate ambition.—The chief magistracy was conferred on him, in the first instance, for ten years. To secure the permanent exercise of sovereign power, he afterwards obtained an extension of this supreme authority for life. The executive power, although in reality centred in himself, was apparently divided with two individuals, who held in common with him the title of consul, qualified with a slight distinctive denomination of subordinate rank. The title of first consul was, besides, too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised by fortuitous circumstances combined with his own exertions. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he aspired to imperial distinction. Thus, a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual serving in the armies of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest military rank, and, after having usurped the supreme authority of the state, was invested with the title of emperor of the French !

The conferring on Nopoleon Bonaparte the rank and title of ‘Emperor of the French,’ and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was first

agitated on the 1st of May, in the tribunate. Curee submitted a proposition to this effect. Carnot, with singular courage, maintaining an unshaken adherence to republican principles, opposed the motion made by Curee. He ascended the tribune, and began by declaring that, in opposing the motion, he should endeavour to preserve the same moderation in delivering his opinion, which had been exhibited by other tribunes in supporting it. He referred those who might be disposed to put a bad construction on his sentiments, to the conduct which he had pursued since the commencement of the French revolution. With respect to the question of conferring on Bonaparte the dignity of emperor for life, and making it hereditary in his family, he asked if it was to grant the first consul a reward for his services to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? He demanded, whether it was not to destroy Bonaparte's own work, to make France his private patrimony? He had voted against the consulate for life, and he would not that day follow a different course. He was determined to pursue consistency of conduct; but the moment that the order of things which was proposed should be established, he would be the first to conform to it, and to yield to the new authority proofs of his deference. He wished all the members of the community might follow his example.

He then proceeded to examine the form of government proposed to be established. He cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew as an inference from them, that a government by one individual was not in the smallest degree a sure pledge of its stability or its tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions, and civil discords, had so often existed under the government of weak or unworthy princes. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, he asserted, had the choice of confirming the republic, or of establishing a monarchy; but he had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him her guardian. It was now proposed to make of that power a property,

of which, at present, only the administration is possessed. The Romans were most jealous of their liberty. Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, saved the republic by relinquishing, after having rescued the state, the power with which they had been intrusted. But when Cæsar usurped absolute power, the liberty of Rome perished. Citing the example of the United States, it was reserved, he said, for the New World to shew to the Old the practicability of national liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people.

He then asked, whether the opinion of the public functionaries would be the free wish of the whole nation, and whether no inconveniences would attend the expression of an opposite sentiment? He demanded if the liberty of the press would be so much restrained and degraded, that it would be impossible, in the public prints, to make the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Considering the question in another point of view, he asked if the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involved the necessity of a new dynasty; if the establishment of that dynasty would not place obstacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognised by foreign powers; and if, in case of a refusal to recognise it, arms would necessarily be resorted to, and, for an empty title, the security of the French nation endangered? The existing government, he observed, had other means of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation, in his opinion, consisted in adherence to justice. By this remark, he had no intention to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. 'Is liberty, then,' he exclaimed, disclosed to man, only that it may never be enjoyed? No! I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimera; for my heart tells me that its government is easy. I am ready to sacrifice my personal opinion to the interests of my country. My respect for the law will remain unalterable." He concluded by voting against the motion, expressing at the same time, in the language of invective, a

false accusation against this country, which he charged with meditating universal oppression.

A number of tribunes supported the motion ; but their speeches have not been given at sufficient length to furnish materials for any particular observations. The course of argument which they generally adopted was, that a monarchical government was the original wish of the French nation at the period of the existence of the constituent assembly ; that the republican revolutionary governments had been productive of nothing but public calamities ; and that permanent tranquillity could only be effectually secured by intrusting the reins of government to an individual, whose merits and services entitled him to the dignity of supreme ruler of the French nation. Among those who supported the motion, Fayard appears to have employed several arguments of considerable strength, blended with no small portion of that fulsome adulation which characterized all the speeches on this subject, with the exception, however, of that delivered by Carnot.

Fayard commenced his speech by declaring that he knew the first consul, the august head of the government, had the wishes of the French people. The pens of the eloquent, he said, are employed in celebrating his glory, and posterity, the judge of great men, will only re-echo the language of the age in which he lived. He also knew all the rights which his eminent services gave him to the dignity of emperor, and to retain it hereditarily in his family. It is in the nature of things, he asserted, that a country of vast extent, whose security is not guaranteed by its physical position, and whose relations with its neighbours incessantly menace its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at its birth, had kings, because the states which surrounded were governed by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings, and created consuls. When her power exceeded the limits of her territories ; when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of liberty could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and

emperors were elevated to the throne. The tribune then remarked, that Rome would have been happy if the first of their emperors had, as was in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood, the wars which desolated that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of the history of these masters of the world. But one great error led to dreadful abuses. On the ruins of a monarch destroyed, an attempt was made to raise a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of Bonaparte had not created the consulship, to precede, for a few years, the creation of the imperial dignity. He is called to this elevated post by the unanimous wish of the French nation. It is in the nature of things, that if empires prosper under a great man, the moment which deprives them of his services, menaces some dreadful explosion, if the same moment does not substitute in his place him who is to be his successor. It is then that ambition becomes inflamed, and long before, ambition prepares in secret the means of supplanting rivals. Long disputes, succeeded by civil wars, agitate the minds of men, disturb for ages the union of citizens, and the people are often unable to see who, among the rival candidates, is most worthy of the sceptre of which death has bereaved the object of their regret. What then, he asked, can prevent these orders? A constitutional law which fixes the line of succession, and which gives to the family of the chief a new dynasty. This, he said, was the object of the motion under discussion; and he assented to it, under the persuasion, that if the empire is the price of the virtues of the great man who is called to the imperial dignity, the succession to it by the family guarantees to France ages of glory and repose.

On the third of May the tribunate passed a decree conferring the imperial title on Bonaparte, and on the following day laid it before the conservative senate, who immediately coincided in the measure. On the 18th of May the senate, un-

der the presidency of Cambacères, the second consul, decreed the organic *senatus consultum*, which conferred the title of emperor on the first consul, and established the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. After the close of the sitting, the members, accompanied by several bodies of troops, proceeded to St. Cloud, to present the organic *senatus consultum* to the emperor. Upon their arrival, they were immediately admitted to an audience of the emperor, when the consul Cambacères presented to him the organic *senatus consultum*, and addressed him in a speech prepared for the occasion. He concluded his address by stating, that the senate entreats his imperial majesty to consent that the organic disposition, should be immediately carried into effect, and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon might be immediately proclaimed 'Emperor of the French.'

To this address the emperor replied in the following terms: 'Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded my family with honours. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation.'

The senate was afterwards admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress; upon which the consul Cambacères addressed her majesty, on the part of the senate, in a speech conveying the homage of its respect, in terms of flattering congratulation.

The organic *senatus consultum* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector his imperial highness prince Joseph Bonaparte; to that of constable his imperial highness prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire the consul Cambacères; and to that of arch-treasurer the consul

Lebrun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers, the secretary of state, and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took the oaths before the emperor. On the 20th of May the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. He also decreed the title of marshals of the empire to be given to the following senators: — Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serrurier.

Shortly after the rank and dignity of emperor of the French had been conferred upon Bonaparte, Louis XVIII. issued a protest against his assumption of the imperial title. This protest was dated from Warsaw; and it may be justly regarded as a singular instance of the audacity of Bonaparte's government, that, apparently with a view to an exhibition of defiance, it caused it immediately to be inserted in the *Moniteur*. It was through this medium that the protest was first communicated to the public. His majesty declares, that, in assuming the title of emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot, his majesty says, weaken his rights; but being accountable for his conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than his own, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish—accountable to France, to his family, and to his own honour, he should consider himself as betraying the common cause, were he to preserve silence on this occasion. His majesty then declares, in the presence of all the sovereigns of Europe, after having renewed his protestations against all the illegal acts, which, from the opening of the states general of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved, that, far from acknowledging the imperial title that Bonaparte has received from a body which has no legal exis-

tence, he protests as well against that title as all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

On the 9th of July, Bonaparte issued an imperial decree for the taking of the oath, the coronation, and the accessory ceremonies, in the *Champ de Mars*. The 18th of Brumaire (6th of November) was the day appointed for this purpose. It will be recollected that it was on this day Bonaparte formerly subverted the directorial power, and established upon its ruins the consular form of government. On this day also, the signing of the preliminaries of peace with Great Britain was celebrated with public rejoicings. In order to give greater solemnity to the coronation, the pope, notwithstanding his advanced age and his infirmities, was commanded at the commencement of the winter to pass the Alps, in order to perform the ceremony of consecration. It has been generally reported, that his holiness manifested, on this occasion, a great degree of reluctance. Compulsion, in the shape of the alternative either of retirement or of consent, was resorted to. The pope submitted. In the early part of November he left the Vatican, and proceeded on his journey with a splendid retinue. He was escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty French hussars were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory. The cardinal archbishop of Paris directed prayers to be offered up in all the churches for the prosperous journey of pope Pius VII.

Previously to the pope's departure from Rome, he addressed an allocution to a secret consistory. The object of the allocution was to state to the venerable brethren of whom it was composed, that his holiness had made provision for the administration, during his absence, of the duties of the papal office. There are many passages in this address, which, without forced construction, may be considered as strongly indicating the reluctance of the pope to undertake the journey, and the presentiment which he entertained that he should never return to Rome. The interests of religion, and sentiments of

attitude to Bonaparte for the re-establishment of the catholic religion, by the concordat, are represented to be the just and momentous causes of the journey. 'We have also,' his illness says, 'formed great hope, that, having undertaken by his invitation, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves having perfected the work of our most holy religion.'

Circumstances had arisen which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early in the morning of the first of December, the senate proceeded in a body to the Thuilleries, where they were presented to Bonaparte by Joseph Bonaparte the grand elector. To use the language of the French account of this ceremony, which, indeed, it may be proper for us to preserve throughout, the president Neufchateau addressed his majesty in a long complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied in the following terms :

'I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them ; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps, they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of the social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. I ever the props and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire.'

The tribunate, on the same day, complimented his majesty; and the senate, the tribunate, and the council of state, delivered congratulatory addresses to the pope.

The ceremony of the coronation of Bonaparte was performed on Sunday, the 2d of December, 1804*. The military de-

* This ceremony which placed a new dynasty on the throne of France is thus described by the accurate and learned Mr Pinkerton, who was then at Paris:—‘The weather was remarkably favourable, considering the time of the year; but Bonaparte is proverbially happy in this respect, and, after long rains, he has only to appear on the parade, according to the good people of Paris, to restore sunshine. It was said with exquisite beauty of an ancient hero.

*O nimium dilecte Deo ! cui militat aether,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !*

The roaring of the cannon at the Invalids set all Paris agog at an early hour, yet the streets were not so crowded as was to have been expected from the Parisian love of any thing like a show, many having apprehensions of suffering in the press, and, in their eyes, the ghosts of those who had perished on a similar grand occasion under the monarchy, seemed to hover around. Yet there were empty windows even on the quays; and a goldsmith said that he could have placed eight more persons in his first floor. The streets were lined with soldiers, leaving room for a depth of three or four persons, behind their ranks. The ends of the streets, entering into those of the procession, were secured by cavalry, behind whom appeared groups mounted on tables and ladders. Some of the houses towards Notre Dame were hung with tapestry, or festoons of artificial flowers. The grand western gate of the cathedral was decorated with some taste, and a sort of harmony preserved with the rest of that gothic fabric. Under a temporary arcade were paintings in cameo of the chief cities of France. A long festoon of green leaves, perhaps laurel, was rather frivolous; but, above, an object, simple enough in itself, impressed ideas of majesty. For from the battlement between the two towers, that is precisely over the grand gate, was suspended a crimson gonfalon with the eagle of gold, which sometimes reposed, and sometimes gently unfolded its length before the wind. As the form of this standard is ancient, it was in strict concordance with the venerable edifice, and its form recalled the days of chival-

putations assembled at six o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries, invited by the emperor, met at the Palace of Justice at

ry, in which military power was predominant, as on the present occasion.

'The great modern general, always thinking, with Othello, of the tented field, seems to prefer the appearance of a tent to any other. Hence the portico at Malmaison is in the form of a tent, supported with spears, and his favourite room resembles the inside of a tent, hung with painted trophies of the arms of various nations. On this solemn occasion a large and high tent was erected at the door of the archbishop's palace, under which the emperor alighted with his train. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on a platform erected in the middle of the church, was very splendid, and accompanied with excellent music. The streets through which the procession passed and returned were covered with sand; but the garden of the Thuilleries, which had already suffered considerably by the procession to the Invalids, in order to distribute the badges of the legion of honour, was greatly injured on this occasion; the gravel walks being torn up by the numerous carriages and cavalry. The order was very exact, and I did not hear of any accident. The emperor's coach was not greatly admired, being in the light modern style, while the imperial crown on the top was extremely heavy; it was drawn by eight fawn-coloured horses from Hanover, decked out with feathers and bunches of ribbons; and the traces must have been more ornamental than solid, for it was said that in the street St. Dennis one of them having broken, the procession was obliged to stop half an hour before it could be repaired. All the other coaches were simply painted green, with brown mantles on the doors. [But Bonaparte, though a great character, has some failings which rather belong to a little mind, such as an avarice of ambition, a covetousness of power that will permit no splendour but his own; and knows not how much greater it is to give than to enjoy.] In short, here, as upon other occasions, there was the emperor and his train.

'I forgot to mention, that when the pope left the Thuilleries, he was preceded by an ecclesiastic mounted on a mule, and bearing a rich crosier. This part of papal ceremony had far better have been omitted in such a laughing city as Paris,, for the poor priest, who bore in his countenance and face no small marks of imbecility, was besides so daunted and overawed by the excessive splendour of the military pomp,

seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, and the tribunate. Each of these bodies was escorted by a body of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Thuilleries at nine o'clock, attended by his retinue, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery.

that all the soldiery, who stood four deep, burst into one torrent of laughter, which roared from the Thuilleries to Notre Dame, to the great discomfiture of his Holiness, who must have intensely felt that Paris was not the shrine of papal veneration. There being soon after at the theatre de Vaudeville a piece represented, in which strange and fantastic animals appeared, a loud cry arose, "The pope's mule! the pope's mule!"

That part of the Boulevards, through which the procession passed, was illuminated with yew trees and oranges, that is triangular and round frames of lamps. The return to the palace was the most splendid period of the procession, the garden being suddenly illuminated in a new and most brilliant manner. Four arcades of wood, about forty feet in height, had been disposed in such a manner, as with the back front of the palace to form a square of illumination, like a magical castle in a fairy tale; and, besides the novelty of other parts, festoons of coloured lamps were suspended between the trees of the great avenue. The illumination of the houses was penurious, being confined to those occupied by placemen. This is generally the case at Paris, where the inhabitants do not put candles in their windows as in London, but place little earthen saucers of oil or grease on their balconies, or projecting ledges of their houses. In Paris it is an illumination of palaces, bridges, and public edifices; in London an illumination by the people: and never can be observed, at the French capital, that universal blaze which tinges the very clouds with flame. What are called Bengal fires, in the direction of the master of the ceremonies, were, I believe, vessels so disposed as to emit vivid flames at certain intervals; but though I looked every where I could not perceive their effect. I heard no acclamations; and I was told that none were perceivable except upon one of the quays. It would have been better to have bought them; but Bonaparte has learned to entertain a supreme contempt for the popular voice. Who can blame him? Has not this popular voice been dishonoured with acclamations to Marat and Robespierre?

The pope and the emperor, instead of going directly to the church of Notre Dame, repaired to the archiepiscopal palace ; where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion ; Marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the mantle of the empress ; Marshal Murat, with the empress's crown ; the empress, with the imperial mantle, supported by the princesses ; Marshal Kellerman, carrying the crown of Charlemagne ; Marshal Perignon, the sceptre of Charlemagne ; Marshal Bernadotte, the collar of the emperor ; General Beauharnois, his majesty's ring ; Marshal Berthier, the imperial globe ; and the grand chamberlain, the basket to receive the mantle of the emperor. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame, with the crown previously placed on his head by himself. It has been said that in this he imitated Charlemagne. But this is not accurately stated ; for, according to Gibbon, after the celebration of the holy mysteries, pope Leo the third suddenly placed a precious crown on the head of the emperor, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people : ' Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans !'

The imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church of Notre Dame. On the imperial throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments. The empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm-chair. The princesses were on her right hand. On the left hand of the emperor, but two steps lower, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated was raised near the altar. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and, advancing to the altar, sung *Veni Creator*. The emperor and empress

then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time, the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments; which, with all the other insignia were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and on the empress;—one on the head, the other two on the hands. After having received the unctions, they were reconducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, and over the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. When these imperial ornaments were consecrated, the emperor put them on again; and afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. After this, the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to his throne; where, after pronouncing a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, ‘*Vivent imperator in eternum!*’ and the audience exclaimed, ‘*Vive l'empereur! vive l'imperatrice!*’ The pope was then reconducted to the altar by the master of the ceremonies. At the elevation of the host, the grand elector again took the crown off the head of the emperor.

At the *agnus Dei*, the grand almoner received the kiss of peace from his holiness, and carried it to their imperial majesties. The emperor then, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the coronation oath in a firm tone of voice. The chief herald at arms then loudly

proclaimed:—‘The most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the emperor.’ The audience again exclaimed, *Vive l’empereur ! vive l’impératrice !* A discharge of cannon announced the coronation and enthroning of their majesties.

The oath was presented by the president of the senate, attended by the president of the legislative body and of the tribunals. Their majesties left the church with the same pomp and state, and returned to the archiepiscopal palace. When they had arrived, the pope was reconducted by his clergy, and the procession returned in nearly the preceding order.

On the following day, the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets of the city, and distributed a great quantity of medals of different sizes, destined to commemorate the coronation; on one side of the medals, the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Gauls, with this legend: *Napoleon, Empereur*; on the reverse was the inscription, *Le sénat et le peuple*; with an allegorical presentation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and of a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

If the continued support of the army can be obtained, the new dynasty may be established; but, as has justly been observed, if they have not address nor interest enough to manage this point, the return of the Bourbons is secured. It will be completely a struggle between two opposite forces, and it is difficult to say which will prevail; for as to the preference of royalty to republicanism, that is already settled; it is only whether monarchy shall be administered by an old family, or a new one. The prejudices in favour of royalty are chiefly derived from its antiquity; whatever seems to lose itself in the obscurity of past times, derives a degree of respect from that single circumstance; a coin, a marble, a house, a tree, or a castle, though insignificant in themselves, become venerable from the length of time which they are supposed to have on.

The monarchies of the old world claimed their origin

from heaven, in order to reconcile men to their novelty on earth; and there is hardly a royal family in Europe whose ancestors cannot be traced back through fifty or sixty generations; for their progenitors, if not royal, were noble, and had been so from remote antiquity. A band of robbers, sprung from the lowest of society, who should call themselves kings and princes, might be feared, laughed at, and worshipped, but they could never be respected. On the other hand, the claims of merit, added to official rank, can never be despised for want of noble origin, they derive their respect from their evident utility, sanctioned by the reason and not by the folly of mankind. How ridiculous must a set of self-created kings and princes appear who claim a title chiefly supported by prejudices, without having any of those prejudices in their favor; they may be feared, but fear is a treacherous guardian of security: if they wish to be loved, they must seek for it in their virtues, real, and not pretended. The newly-assumed dignity of Bonaparte and his family has two difficulties to contend with, the want of prejudice, and the want of virtue; and these, time alone can overcome. If it passes quietly from the first possessor to another, it may take root and flourish; but if it cannot bear the first transmission, it will fall never again to be raised.

CHAP. XXVII.

BONAPARTE CHOSEN KING OF ITALY—CEREMONY OF HIS CORONATION AT MILAN—UNITES GENOA TO FRANCE—HIS PROPOSAL OF PEACE MADE TO BRITAIN—TREATY OF CONCERT BETWEEN THE COURTS OF LONDON, PETERSBURG, AND STOCKHOLM—ACCEDED TO BY THE CABINET OF VIENNA—GRAND CELEBRATION OF BONAPARTE'S BIRTH-DAY BY THE FRENCH ARMIES—HIS PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

BONAPARTE, whose authority was now almost unbounded, who, from a fortunate concurrence of events, seconded by his own extraordinary vigour and address, had attained the imperial dignity, was not disposed to remain satisfied with the tranquil enjoyment of power. He was still influenced by the same restless and enterprising spirit which had marked every step in his singular career. His ambition was not of an ordinary character. The contemplation of his force, the recollection of what he had already achieved, led him to aim at something much beyond the scope of common minds. He was desirous, it is said, of being distinguished among the great names of history, as a conqueror and a legislator; as one who had determined the destinies of Europe, and imprinted a new form and character upon the nations of which it is composed. Nothing was allowed to interfere with the prosecution of this great object. He pursued his march with the most inflexible perseverance, equally regardless of the principles of justice, the obligation of treaties, and the interests and repose of the people, whom the inscrutable decrees of Providence had submitted to his sway. Unfortunately for the happiness and tranquillity of the world, his power and the talents by which

it was directed were correspondent to the magnitude of his designs. The cabinets of Europe observed with indignation and alarm the system which prevailed in his councils; but they were kept in awe by the contemplation of his force, and by the recollection of former disasters. He observed and profited from this general supineness and timidity, and advanced from one act of usurpation to another, without opposition, and almost without complaint.

The establishment of the new empire of the French, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial dignity, was followed by a correspondent alteration in the government of the Italian republic. Several considerations contributed to this change. It might, perhaps, be supposed, that the humble office of president was degrading to the majesty of the emperor. The administration of a monarchy was more simple, and required less delicacy of management than a republic, in which, however modelled, a striking inconsistency must for ever appear between the forms of popular proceedings and the absolute authority of the chief. But above all, it was a part of the policy and the ambition of Bonaparte, not merely to possess, but to be enabled to transmit his power; and the establishment of the principle of hereditary succession, which seemed involved in the very idea of monarchy, was with difficulty reconcilable to a republic.

In order to prepare the way for the accomplishment of this object, it was observed that the constitution established at Lyons was a mere temporary arrangement, and designed only to answer an immediate exigency; that it had always been intended that the system should be revised as soon as the situation of Europe and of Italy would permit. That period had at length arrived, and it was proper to take immediate measures for the accomplishment of this important object. The vice-president of the Italian republic, Melzi, the members of the consulta of state, and the deputies of the colleges, and the constituted bodies, had repaired to Paris for the purpose of attending at the imperial coronation. Bonaparte af-

lected to consider this embassy as the legal representative and organ of the Italian republic. He therefore ordered the members to assemble for the purpose of considering the state of their government and laws, and directed them to suggest such alterations and improvements as the situation of the country might appear to require. After a decent interval of deliberation, it was determined, that the republican form of government was ill-calculated for the interest and happiness of the people of Italy; that it became requisite, therefore, as a preliminary measure, that it should give place to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and that Bonaparte should be entreated to accept the sovereignty.

The members of the deputation requested to be admitted to a public audience, and this application was immediately granted. Upon the appointed day, Bonaparte, seated upon the imperial throne, and attended, according to the ceremonial of the new empire, gave orders for the admission of the Italian deputies. They were introduced by the grand master of the ceremonies; and the result of their labours was communicated in a studied oration by the vice-president Melzi. The topics were sufficiently obvious. The constitution of Lyons was merely provincial, and a change had become necessary in order to insure the repose and the happiness of Italy. The subject had been maturely and anxiously considered. The superior advantages of a constitutional monarchy were established, as well by experience as by the deductions of reason. The sovereign himself was designated by every sentiment of gratitude, of confidence, and affection. 'Deign then, sire,' said the orator, 'deign to perfect the wish of the assembly, over which I have the honour to preside. The interpreter of all the sentiments which animate the hearts of the Italian citizens, brings to you in this wish the most sincere homage. It will report to them with joy, that in accepting it you will have doubled the strength of the ties which bind you to the preservation, the defence, and the prosperity of the Italian empire. Yes, sire, you wished that the Italian re-

public should exist, and it has existed. *Wish that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it shall be so.* Bonaparte was easily prevailed upon to yield to the wishes and entreaties of the citizens of Italy. After a short pause, he replied to the address of the vice-president. He reminded the deputies that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of its independence; and he expatiated upon the interest which he had always taken in the welfare of the republic. *When at Lyons,* he added, *you deemed it for your interest that we should be at the head of your government; and still persevering in the same opinion, you now will that we should be the first of your kings. The separation of the crowns of France and Italy, which might be advantageous to the independence of your posterity, should at the present moment be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I shall keep this crown, but only so long as your interest shall require it; and I shall with pleasure see the moment arrive when I can place it on the head of a younger person, animated by my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your security and happiness.* The joint resolutions of the consuls, the deputies of the colleges, and the constituted bodies were thereupon read by Murat, and adopted by Bonaparte. It was stipulated that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted; to the perpetual exclusion of females and their issue; and that the right of adoption should not extend to any other persons than a prince of the French empire, or of the republic of Italy: that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor, and that none of his successors should be allowed to reign in Italy unless they resided upon the territories of the Italian republic; that Bonaparte should have the right of giving himself, during his life, a successor among his legitimate male children, whether begotten or adopted; but that he could not exercise this right without endangering the security of the state as long as the French troops continued to

occupy the kingdom of Naples, as long as the Russian armies retained possession of Corfu, as long as the British forces held Malta, and the peninsula of Italy was every instant in danger of becoming the theatre of war between the greatest powers of Europe.

It must be evident that this solemn farce was prepared, and the parts assigned to the several performers under the immediate direction of the French government. The whole proceeding is too much in the stile of coarse and vulgar policy to impose even upon the most careless observer. It would appear, indeed, as if Bonaparte had scarcely condescended to attempt concealing the real nature of the transaction. The motives also which led to the limitations in the descent of the crown, and to the hope which was held out that Bonaparte might, at some future period, be induced to resign the sceptre, are sufficiently clear and intelligible. The separation of the two governments had been stipulated at the pacification of Luneville, and it was a part of the policy of the French cabinet to profess upon all occasions a religious respect for the obligation of treaties. The continuance of the war, however, afforded a pretext for the temporary union of the two crowns; Europe, in the mean time, would become gradually accustomed to the state of things; and before the termination of the contest some other excuse, equally satisfactory and valid, might be found to justify the permanent establishment of the system. Bonaparte had also an opportunity of making a signal display of his moderation, in declining to accept in its full extent the offer made by the Italian deputies; and a specious answer was furnished, by the terms of this settlement, to those who might object, that by placing the crown upon his head, Italy would become a mere province of France and her national independence be for ever annihilated.

Bonaparte soon after made a journey to Italy, to assume, with the requisite solemnities, the crown of his new kingdom. The ceremony was performed on the 26th of May, in

the cathedral church of Milan, by Cardinal Caprara the archbishop of that city, who was authorised by the pope to preside upon this occasion. In the preparations for this grand spectacle, a suitable and prudent attention had been paid to the influence of external splendour, and to the weight derived from the authority of religion, and the veneration paid to ancient and established forms. Bonaparte, wearing the two diadems of France and Italy, bearing the sceptre and the hand of justice, and clothed with the royal mantle, proceeded in the midst of a magnificent and solemn procession from the palace to the cathedral. He was met at the entrance of the church by the cardinal and the clergy, and the air was perfumed with the incense which was burnt in the presence of their new sovereign. 'Sire,' said the cardinal, addressing Bonaparte, 'deign to accept in this sacred temple, chosen by your majesty for the solemn ceremony of your coronation, the homage of the clergy and people of Milan; and look with the eyes of a tender father upon the assembly of cardinal, bishops, and clergy, who this day unite with me to celebrate that august event, and to implore the Author of all good to shower down upon your imperial and royal person an abundance of all heavenly blessings.' Bonaparte was then introduced to the sanctuary, and conducted to a throne which was decorated with the insignia of the French empire and of the kingdom of Italy. The insignia of Charlemagne were placed at the entrance of the sanctuary in front of the altar. Upon this altar the royal ornaments were then deposited, and the cardinal pronounced over them his solemn benediction. Bonaparte, advancing from his throne, received from the hand of the cardinal the ring, and other ensigns of royalty. He then ascended the steps of the altar, and taking in his hands the crown of iron, the ancient crown of the kings of Lombardy, he placed it with a determined air upon his head, pronouncing at the same time with a firm voice these emphatical words, '*Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche.*' He then returned it to the altar; and taking the crown of Italy, placed

it in like manner, amidst the acclamations of the spectators, upon his head. From the sanctuary Bonaparte, proceeding to the body of the church, ascended the throne which had been raised for this occasion, attended by the great officers of state, and surrounded by all the ensigns of power, and with every circumstance of studied magnificence and pomp. The grand almoner upon his knee presented the volume of the gospels, and the oath of coronation was delivered by the president of the councils. Bonaparte having pronounced the oath, a herald immediately proclaimed in a loud voice, 'Napoleon, emperor of the French, and king of Italy, is crowned and enthroned.—Long live the emperor and king!' in the same instant all the attendants repeated, 'Long live the emperor and king!' and the church resounded with the shouts and applause of the multitude. The ceremony was concluded with a *Te Deum*, and the procession returned to the palace.

While Bonaparte was employed at Milan in settling the constitution and civil code of his new kingdom, his agents were actively engaged in another quarter in preparing the way for a fresh act of usurpation. The republic of Genoa, notwithstanding the narrow limits of its territory, had occupied a distinguished place in the history of modern Europe. It was indebted for this celebrity partly to accidental causes, and partly to the advantages of its situation and the enterprising spirit of its people. The various revolutions of this republic, its alternate state of freedom and of subjection to foreign influence, are familiarly known. The period, however, had at length arrived when even the forms of national independence were to terminate; and the republic was destined to be absorbed and lost in the immense and overwhelming mass of the French empire. The disastrous events which resulted from this revolution, the war of which it appears to have been the immediate occasion, and the fatal issue of that war, not merely to the greatness of the house of Austria, but

to the general liberties of Europe, will render it an event for ever memorable in the history of mankind.

The foundations of this measure were laid several months before Bonaparte's journey to Italy. Under pretence that the Genoese were incapable of protecting themselves from the depredations of the Barbary powers, a treaty was concluded on the 20th of Oct. 1804, between that republic and Salicetti, the French minister, upon the part and in the name of his government. By this treaty Bonaparte engaged either to procure for the Genoese a peace with the corsairs of Africa, or to allow them to make use of the French flag for the security of their commerce. It was stipulated also, that upon payment of a small duty the importation of all Genoese commodities should be permitted into Piedmont and the territories of Parma and Placentia. As an equivalent for these advantages, Genoa engaged to furnish 6000 seamen to France during the war. By another article she ceded to that power her harbours, together with the arsenal, galley-harbour, dock-yard, and basin, and engaged at her own expence to enlarge the latter, so as to render it capable of receiving the ten ships of the line, which she undertook to build for France.

At the time when this convention was signed, a ship of the line, a frigate, and two corvettes recently finished, were lying in the dock of Genoa. It was further agreed that these vessels should be placed at the disposal of the French government. By the provisions of this treaty, which were evidently dictated by Bonaparte himself, he acquired complete possession of all the naval means and resources of the Genoese republic.

But this arrangement was from its nature merely temporary. Bonaparte was resolved that it should assume a more permanent character,—he was resolved to possess the form as well as the substance of power, and he determined therefore upon the permanent annexion of the republic to the French empire. The particular situation of the Genoese territories seems to have been a principal motive to this measure. That

republic, extending along the gulf to which it has given its name, was interposed between Piedmont and the Mediterranean; and as this latter country had been united to France, the incorporation of Genoa became necessary in order to complete the arrangement.

The line of policy to be pursued upon this occasion was extremely simple. It was convenient that some decent attention should be paid to the form of the proceedings, and that at least some appearance of moderation should be assumed. It was accordingly determined that the proposal for the union should originate with the senate and the people of Genoa, and that Bonaparte should seem to accede to the general wishes and entreaties of the republic. Accordingly the requisite precautions having been adopted, and the minds of the people sufficiently prepared for the event, the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to Bonaparte, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire. This address was signed not only by the members of the senate, but by many individuals who had been either overawed or gained to the French interest; and it was ordered that an embassy consisting of the doge and the deputies of the senate and people should proceed to Milan for the purpose of presenting it to the emperor. Upon their arrival in that city they publicly unfolded the object of their mission. Bonaparte was not inexorable. He listened with attention and with favour; and afterwards addressed the doge and the deputies in a laboured speech, in which he enlarged with becoming gravity upon the importance and the necessity of this union to the republic of Genoa. After adverting to the depredations committed upon the trade of the republic by the Barbary powers, and to the maritime tyranny exercised by Great Britain, he observed that 'when a commercial nation could no longer maintain its naval independence, it became necessary to resort to the protection of a more powerful flag. 'I will,' added he, 'realize your expectations. I will unite

you to my great people. I shall thereby acquire additional means of rendering that protection more powerful, which I have been always so well disposed to extend to you. My people will with pleasure receive you. The signatures of all your citizens subscribed to the request which you now make to me dispel every objection which I might have had to urge. They constitute the only right which I consider as legitimate. In causing that law to be respected, I shall only establish the independence which I have promised you.'

While Bonaparte was thus proceeding from one act of usurpation to another, the different courts of Europe were neither inattentive nor indifferent to his conduct ; though the art and insolence of both were employed to deceive or overawe them. One of the first measures he adopted after his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit overtures to the British government. It had been a part of his regular system of policy, from the moment when he was first invested with the supreme power, to make the warmest professions of his love for peace. In the midst of the most unjustifiable aggressions, when trampling upon the rights of independent states, he constantly affected to deplore the miseries of war, and reprobated the ambitious conduct and views of his enemies. The event of his pacific declarations and proposals he contemplated with carelessness and indifference. Whether in peace or war, he aimed at the same objects, and pursued them with the same eagerness of ambition. The means alone were different ; the end was uniform and constant. When this new communication was made to the king of Great Britain, it was possible, from the posture of affairs, that a new confederacy might be formed, and war again kindled on the continent of Europe ; and as in all governments, even the most arbitrary, public opinion has some weight, it was of importance to persuade the people of France, that the continuance of hostilities was to be ascribed entirely to the ambition of England. In the event of a new coalition, they would be disposed to co-operate more cordially with the state,

and to submit with greater cheerfulness to the sacrifices which would be required of them, if they were satisfied of the moderate views and pacific spirit of their own government, and were led to believe, that instead of provoking war, it had been compelled to defend itself against the injustice and aggression of foreign powers.

The overtures of the French government were conveyed in the form of a letter, addressed by Bonaparte to his Britannic majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of first consul, was chosen from an affectation of extraordinary frankness and candour, and from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets, and the perplexities and delays of form. After adverting to his recent elevation to the throne of France, he observed that the war was without an object, and that it was therefore impossible to foresee its termination. 'Peace,' he continued, 'is the wish of my heart; but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that satisfaction to your children: for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence every passion, and to listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts shall not have been able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity: What can it hope from war? To form a coalition among some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles?—The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances?—Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies?—The colonies are to France only a secondary

object ; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve ? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself !—Alas ! what a melancholy prospect, that two nations should fight, merely for the sake of fighting.—The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing when the wish for reconciliation exists upon both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one that is dear to my heart.—I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it.’

There appeared no adequate reason to induce the British government to depart, upon this occasion, from the usual mode of communicating with foreign powers. It was evident, indeed, that the establishment of such a precedent might lead to much inconvenience. It had always been a part of the European system, and was founded upon just ideas of decorum, and of the importance of maintaining the dignity of the crown, that the sovereign should never communicate with foreign powers except through the medium of his ministers. Thus the individual honour of the prince was never pledged ; and he was preserved from all personal recrimination and contest, the effect of which might have been to degrade the majesty of the throne in the opinion and esteem of the multitude. The answer to the overtures of Bonaparte was accordingly transmitted, by the British cabinet, through the secretary of state, Lord Mulgrave, to the French minister for foreign affairs. It stated ‘ that there was no object which his majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of peace, founded upon such a basis as might not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His majesty was persuaded that that end could only be attained by arrangements which might at the

same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it was involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty felt that it was impossible for him to answer more particularly the overture which had been made to him, till he had time to communicate with the powers of the continent, with whom he was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who had given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he was animated, and the lively interest which he took in the safety and independence of the continent.'

A great coolness existed at this time between Bonaparte and the court of Russia. This change arose from a variety of circumstances. Count Markoff, the Russian ambassador, being a man of elegant manners, and great knowledge of the world; was, it appears, extremely disgusted with Bonaparte's insolence to Lord Whitworth, when he publicly affronted him in the midst of the diplomatic circle, and he was the only one of the whole number who dared to shew his displeasure at the Consul's rudeness: smiling at him with infinite contempt, he immediately went up to his lordship, and said some civil things to him on the disagreeable situation in which Bonaparte's indecent warmth had placed him. From that time he seemed to have excited the consul's most hatred. He was never after invited to any of the diplomatic dinners, and was seldom spoken to at the levees. Being soon after completely disgusted with the conduct of Talleyrand, with Bonaparte, and the whole train of his sycophants, he determined to solicit his recall, and till he received his answer, went to drink the waters of Bareges, where he was constantly beset with the spies of Bonaparte. On his return from thence, at his first conference with Talleyrand, that crafty agent of despotism more than insinuated that the offer of mediation tendered by the court of Russia was purchased by England; to which he replied with great warmth and dig-

nity, that he should immediately dispatch a messenger to his sovereign to inform him how he had been insulted. A few days after, he was sent for by Bonaparte, who attacked him with all the violence of an angry female, and, in language resembling the fish-market of Billingsgate or Paris, abused both the emperor and his ambassador, and finished his harangue by threatening to send the latter to the Temple. From that time M. Markoff never again appeared either at the Thuilleries or St. Cloud, till the time of his departure, when he complied with the ceremony of taking leave of the court.

The murder of the Duke d'Enghien, which happened shortly after, was not passed over in silence by the patriotic Emperor of Russia, who protested against it in the German diet, as Duke of Courland, and declared it to be an attack on the peace and safety of the empire; the Swedish monarch did the same, as Duke of Pomerania, and they both ordered their ministers to wear mourning at the court of the first consul. The emperor of Russia transmitted to Paris a note to the same purport, to which Talleyrand returned the most insulting and evasive answer, he avoided replying to the point in question, and most indecently reproached the emperor with inconsistency, in requiring satisfaction for the murder of the Duke d'Enghieu, while the murderers of his father remained unpunished. In further revenge for their spirited conduct, these two sovereigns were insulted by two separate paragraphs in the *Moniteur*, in terms the most gross and extravagant; the first was reproached for his partiality to England, and his power to injure France defied; the latter for proposing a statue in honour of the Archduke Charles, a compliment which, though undeserved, most certainly excited the Corsican's jealousy: but the most atrocious part of the libel was the attempt to alienate the affections of his people, and separate their cause from his, by throwing the odium of a war solely upon him, because he had dared to offend a foreign tyrant.

The conduct of Bonaparte, in these instances, is in conformity with his usual policy ; for in all his attacks upon his enemies, he has availed himself of the leading propensity of the times ; and in this age of paper, when we have a paper war, paper constitutions, and paper money, he has fired his paper cannon against those states and princes which have given him offence. A kingdom has sometimes been overturned by a manifesto or a paragraph, and whole towns and principalities had their government changed by a dash of the pen ; his agents of sedition have scattered their combustibles among those who were intended to be subdued by his arms ; and the war of the pen has ever preceded that of the sword.

But the resentment and hostility of the emperor Alexander were increased by the subsequent measures of Bonaparte's government, and it became necessary to make every exertion to reduce a power which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered so formidable, and which, from the system with which it was administered, was productive of such monstrous abuses. Influenced by these dispositions, he entered, towards the close of the last year, into active negotiations with Great Britain, and every effort was made to induce the court of Vienna to co-operate with these powers for the attainment of the same object. It would be unjust to the character of the emperor Alexander, to assert that he was not sincerely anxious to provide some adequate security for the independence and tranquillity of Europe ; it would be unjust to suppose that he would not have been willing to make great sacrifices, in the pursuit of so important and honourable a purpose : but as the motives of human action are seldom wholly unmixed ; as the emperor had been insulted in the person of his ambassador ; as these insults had been wantonly repeated, through the medium of the official paper of the French government ;—we may presume that his activity was quickened and his zeal stimulated upon this occasion by feelings of offended pride, and personal irritation and resentment.

The spirited conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, the young king of Sweden, had directed much of the public attention towards that country. Provoked at the indecent and insolent language of the government of France, he had recalled his minister, and had suspended all diplomatic intercourse with that country, before the emperor of Russia had resorted to the same measure. The resources however of Sweden were too inconsiderable to render her enmity formidable to France. The character of the people was indeed sufficiently warlike, and they were attached to the person of their sovereign; but the nation was poor, and had been little accustomed to the payment of burthensome impositions. Gustavus, however, was resolved not to remain inactive. He entered into negotiations both with Great Britain and Russia, and declared himself ready and eager to concur to the extent of his means in decisive measures of hostility against France. Accordingly, on the 3d of December in 1804, a preliminary and secret convention was concluded with Great Britain, in which it was agreed that a depot for Hanoverian troops should be assigned in Swedish Pomerania, and that the British government should advance 60,000*l.* in order to enable Sweden to provide more effectually for the defence of Stralsund.

The emperor of Austria, from the very commencement of the negotiation, had been solicited to become a party to this concert. Equally interested, and equally anxious, either with Russia or Great Britain, to restrain the power of that country, he yet foresaw the difficulties with which, in the present situation of Europe, such an attempt would be attended. He recollected (it was indeed impossible that he should forget) the fatal issue of the two last wars; it was evident, that at the commencement of hostilities Austria would be obliged to rely solely upon her own resources; and if the arms and the efforts of the allies should eventually prove unsuccessful, her territories would become a prey to the ambition and rapacity of France; while the other confederates, from the advan-

tages of their situation, would sustain but little comparative injury. He felt, too, that neither the armies nor the finances of his empire were in such a condition as to enable him to make exertions correspondent to the greatness and importance of the contest. It is impossible to condemn the anxiety and caution displayed by the emperor in the progress of this negociation. It is difficult indeed not to feel surprised that he should ever have been induced to depart from those pacific counsels, which the situation of his dominions at that period seemed to render not only prudent but necessary. However, the policy pursued by Bonaparte promoted the views and objects of the allied courts. The assumption of the crown of Italy in direct opposition to the provisions of the treaty of Luneville, and the increase of the French armies in that country, excited the resentment and awakened the jealousy of the emperor. As a measure of precaution, and in order to guard against surprise, a proportionate augmentation of the Austrian troops became necessary. It was pretended, for the purpose of avoiding explanations, which in the present disposition of the two governments might have been productive of much mutual irritation, that this measure was adopted solely in consequence of the dangerous epidemical disorder which had appeared in several parts of Italy : that prudence required the establishment of an extensive cordon, in order to prevent the introduction of this distemper into the Austrian dominions

In the mean time, while Austria, apprehensive of the consequences of a new war with France, appeared unwilling to become a party to the league, Russia resolved to send an ambassador to Paris for the purpose of ascertaining how far the objects of the treaty of concert might be accomplished by negotiation, and of allaying those suspicions which her continued intercourse with Great Britain had excited in the French government. M. Novosiltzoff, the great chamberlain of the emperor, was accordingly directed to repair to Berlin, and to apply, through the mediation of the govern-

ment of Prussia, for passports to the French ambassador resident at that court. This application was communicated to Bonaparte, who was then at Milan, and orders were issued that the passports should be immediately delivered.

This attempt to avoid the horrors of war was however frustrated by Bonaparte annexing the Genoese territory to the empire of France. The emperor Alexander was highly incensed at this new outrage. Such an open violation of those principles which were justly regarded as essential to the general safety, committed not only during the peace of the continent, but when passports had been delivered to his ambassador, in order that a negotiation might be commenced for the purpose of providing for the permanent security and repose of Europe, he considered as an indecent insult to his person and crown. He issued immediate orders for the recal of M. Novosiltzoff; and the messenger dispatched upon this occasion was commanded to repair with the utmost diligence to Berlin. M. Novosiltzoff had not yet left their city; he immediately therefore returned his passports to the Prussian minister of state, baron de Hardenberg, and at the same time delivered by order of his court a memorial explanatory of the object of his mission and of the circumstances which had led to its termination.

But the most important effect resulting from the annexation of Genoa was the impression which it appears to have made upon the cabinet of Vienna. Notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Russia, and the immense pecuniary offers made by Great Britain, Austria had hitherto refused to accede to the treaty of concert. She had acquiesced in the assumption of the crown of Italy; she had even, it is said, directed her ambassador to congratulate Bonaparte upon that event. But this last act of usurpation, combined with the formidable military attitude which France had assumed in the north of Italy, convinced her that nothing was to be hoped from pacific councils. Urged therefore by the remonstrances of the allies, and impelled by the strongest feelings of re-

sentment and desperation, she abandoned her former cautious system of policy, and consented to become a party to the league.

Bonaparte was at this time at Boulogne, apparently occupied with the preparations destined for the invasion of England. Here his birth-day (in August, 1804) was celebrated with great pomp; and as it shews the policy of Bonaparte and the servility of the French, we will give a description of this splendid fete in the words of the *Moniteur*.

‘The emperor, after having reviewed the camps of Boulogne, Vimereux, and Ambleteuse, went to visit those at Dunkirk and Ostend, and from thence was to return in order to distribute among the whole army the eagles of the legion of honour. He chose for that august ceremony the day St. Napoleon*, which was to be in future the anniversary of the order, as it was that of his birth-day. Such was his intention; it belonged to the army to prepare for the celebration of the festival. To give an idea of the fete, we must first say to those who do not know Boulogne, that its harbour is formed by the opening which a stream has made through the downs. These downs heaped up by time, have become on the right and on the left complete mountains. Covered by batteries, they defend the harbour against the inroads of the sea, and the attacks of an enemy. In the recess of the harbour stands the town, as it were in an amphitheatre, crowned by the ramparts and the castle. The summits of the downs covered by the camps of Outreau, of Boulogne, Vimereux, and Ambleteuse,

* The French calendar for the year 11, contains, for the 16th of August, the Name of St. Napoleon instead of St. Roach. ‘Whether this is really some Corsican fanatic,’ observes a gentleman in his manuscript remarks on this circumstance, ‘or the emperor has thus chosen to ‘antedate his bliss above’ by inserting himself among the list of Saints, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the whole army of martyrs to determine.’

complete the richness of this magnificent picture*. The emperor's tent standing in front of the camp on the right, the ground near it was chosen for the celebration of the fete.

* The manner in which the French soldiers employed themselves in their different camps is a proof that the national gaiety and taste for ornament are not yet extinct. 'Hardly three months ago,' says the *Journal de Paris*, 'the place of encampment near Ostend consisted of nothing but unfruitful plains, stagnant waters, and barren downs: in the room of these deserts the astonished traveller now beholds long avenues of tents, constructed in a manner both solid and agreeable. Obelisks, pyramids, and columns, in the best state, surmounted with statues of the emperor, every where delight the eye, and for the first time on this spot, the spectator beholds charming gardens, delicious parterres, and green turf bounding the sands of the ocean. The entrance of the camp, on the left, presents the most striking appearance; that on the right, though less regular, has a most picturesque *coup d'œil*. Every regiment has its garden, each company its square bed, and a little well for watering the plants and flowers which it cultivates. The idea of property to which all men are naturally attached, renders this warlike residence of the soldier more agreeable to him: he employs all his leisure in adorning what he conceives to be his own; he detests idleness, and finds a pleasure in labour when he is allowed to reap the fruits of it: this insures the vigour of his health, and the pleasures of his existence. The traveller stops, with astonishment, in the midst of these numberless gardens, and views, with surprise, the ingenious emblems with which they are decorated. Every soldier has a pleasure in shewing the beauties of the camp; and the perpetual activity which is kept up by military exercises, horticultural pursuits, and the visits of numberless strangers from all countries, deserves the attention of the political observer. The most intimate union prevails among the different corps of the army, which is not disturbed by a noble emulation in military exercises, and produces the most happy effects on the whole of the service. The soldier has here created every thing around him, the enormous downs have disappeared, the ruggedness of the ground has been smoothed, and all the other obstacles of nature have yielded to his active industry.' The writer then enters into a long and tedious detail of all the monuments in turf and in stone, which the soldiers raised in honour of the emperor; but as these present no great variety, and are remarkable only for their disgusting flattery, they are not worthy to be repeated.

Nature also seemed to point it out by forming a semicircle, so as to bring into one point of view an hundred thousand men, who were to make up and to enjoy this sublime spectacle. The form of the whole was that of an ancient amphitheatre whose different rows of seats were represented by the natural risings of the ground. Twenty columns of infantry, of sixty men in front, rising to an indeterminate height, represented the spectators. The space left open for the celebration of the ceremony was intended to admit only the general officers and the standards of the corps of all the legionaries who were to take the oath. In the centre stood the throne of the emperor, and on each side his guards and the military bands of music. The throne was formed on a rising ground, and in the ancient style, such as they raised in the Roman camps for the Cæsars, when they were to harangue the army, which ceremony the ancients have transmitted to us under the name of Allocutions. A platform of sixteen feet square, surrounded with standards and colours surmounted with golden eagles, was destined for the throne, and in the centre of it was placed the chair of Dagobert, raised two steps from the ground; the canopy was composed of the standards taken at Monterthe and other places in Italy. In the midst of the group was placed the armour belonging to the electorate of Hanover, surmounted with the tails of the Mameluke standards. Near the throne were prince Joseph, the ministers, the marshals of the empire, the admirals, the great officers of the crown, the colonels and senators, and behind, a captain of every corps in the army held a standard unfurled. Before the throne was the grand chancellor of the order, and around it, on the platform, the aides-de-camp, waiting to receive and carry the orders of the emperor; below were the legionaries, decorated with their insignia. The marks of honour belonging to the adjutant-generals were placed in the helmets of Duguesclin and Bayard. I saw the soldiers and officers kiss the last with a kind of religious emotion, and exclaim. 'I am going to receive the reward of valour in the ar-

mour of the most loyal of all warriors. In future ages the armour of Bonaparte may be employed for a similar purpose. All these preparations were completed amidst hurricanes of wind and torrents of rain, which so frequently happen on the northern coast of France. The ministers and marshals had given the general idea of the fete. The general and officers filled up the details, and the most intelligent and zealous of the soldiers executed their order. At the same time they were busy in erecting the dining-rooms of planks covered with sail-cloth for the accommodation of the legionaries, who, to the number of 400, were to dine there; tents were also pitched for them to sleep in, and the decorations for the day concealed the fire-works, which at night were to make the whole coast in a blaze. Before the different camps were ball-rooms, in which they were to prolong the pleasures of the day till midnight. Besides all these, there were circuses formed for wrestling, and for races of different kinds. Targets were put up to shoot at, in order to display the skill of the fusileers and artillery. On the 28th of Thermidor, or 15th of August, at break of day, the brilliant forerunner of all these ceremonies dissipated the thick clouds of the preceding night, and salutes of artillery announced the commencement of the fete at nine; the generale was beat in all the different camps, and the troops marched in columns to the place of celebration. At twelve the emperor appeared; he mounted the eminence on which his throne was placed, and seemed to be the soul of the whole assembly. Silence was the first expression of emotion. The grand chancellor of the order began the ceremony with a speech, which was followed by a roll of the drums. The voice of the emperor was then heard; he took the oath, and an hundred thousand mouths repeated it. Twenty times was the health of the emperor repeated with enthusiasm. The brilliant harmony of the national airs, which recalled so many glorious recollections, was heard through the noise of a thousand drums, and the fire of thirty batteries. The west wind which had harassed

our standard, filled the sails of the flotilla of Havre, and brought them into the port. How many ideas associate themselves with this single period ! The conqueror of Italy and of Egypt, the regulator, the hero of France, decorating with ensigns of honours the companion of his arms, giving the prize of valour to the bravest of the brave : at the head of the finest of all armies distributing well-deserved laurels, and pointing to the field where other laurels are yet to be reaped. At no distant horizon we behold the white shores of that hostile land, which shews itself to the warlike ardour of an hundred thousand heroes, who only wait for the signal to dart forth and overleap that barrier which hath so long defended British perfidy. Never was there a ceremony more martial and more august : it was that of a conquering army promising victory to a hero, through whom they have always obtained it : it was Cæsar speaking to his ancient cohorts ; it was Scipio haranguing the Romans before they set out for Carthage.

During the time the emperor was amusing himself at Boulogne with reviews and fire-works, and other childish sports, his august partner, the empress Josephine, paid a visit to Aix-la-Chapelle : it is not easy to conceive whether this was a journey of policy or pleasure, or a mere tour for the sake of variety. The travels of sovereign princes through their dominions are generally intended to gratify their subjects with the sight of those to whom they are supposed to be attached, either for their own personal virtues, or for the length of time their families have governed ; in such cases the desire of the people to behold their rulers is either awakened by individual respect, or by an association with the remembrance of past times. The persons of those whose families have been long selected from the vulgar, and placed in an elevated rank, acquire so great a reverence in common minds as hardly to be considered a prejudice ; but what prejudice have even the lowest of the vulgar entertain for a woman nei-

ther distinguished by her family nor her virtues, but merely placed above them by one of those sports of Fortune, who sometimes delights to humble the great, and exalt the lowest of the people to places of high rank and eminence. Possibly it might be intended by an artificial display of affability and benevolence, that the new empress should endeavour to ingratiate herself in the favour of her new subjects; but it is hardly possible to suppose that the people could be deceived by so barefaced a piece of mummery, or so easily reconciled to the novelty of her rank. Many stories were told of her amiable condescension, and the pains which she took to make herself admired, and the several public testimonies of respect which were shewn her; yet it is not to be conceived that these flowed from the heart, but were prepared before hand by a people who had been taught to expect them, and received their instructions how they were to receive her. But Bonaparte did not suffer himself to be entirely engrossed by these vain spectacles. The troops performed their manœuvres under his eye. He repaired successively to each of the camps, commending their discipline, and encouraging them by rewards and promises. By a judicious mixture of condescension and authority, he secured their attachment, and confirmed their respect. The principal and evident object of Bonaparte was to convince the allies that he was prepared effectually to oppose any hostile attempts that should be made on the territories of France or her confederates.

During this time the Austrians were making every effort to obtain the objects of the confederacy by negotiation rather than by arms; but from the unbounded pretensions of Bonaparte, it soon became evident that war could not be avoided. The French emperor was not inactive. The hostile dispositions and intentions of Austria were sufficiently manifest, and he had already declared to the emperor that he would not delay his operations till the arrival of the Russians. Accordingly, towards the close of the month of August, while he

was still at Boulogne he issued orders for the march of the army from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont, who commanded the army in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. The necessary arrangements being made to hasten the march of the troops, Bonaparte immediately repaired to Paris.

It was of importance to the allies immediately to ascertain what conduct the elector of Bavaria intended to pursue in the impending war. According to the plan which had been adopted for the opening of the campaign, it was determined that the Austrian army should take a position upon the river Lech, and there wait for the arrival of the Russians. For this purpose it was necessary to traverse the whole of the electorate; and the friendly disposition and co-operation of that government, whose force was estimated at about twenty thousand men, would essentially contribute to the security and strength of the Austrian army. But the court of Vienna was jealous of the inclinations and suspicious of the designs of the elector. It was sensible of the influence which Bonaparte had acquired over the councils of that prince, in consequence of the benefits which he had conferred upon him in the settlement of the indemnities. It was determined therefore to anticipate the supposed designs of the elector, to call upon him for an immediate decision, and to endeavour, while the French army was still at a distance, to intimidate him into an union with the allies.

For this purpose the prince of Schwarzenberg was ordered to proceed to Munich, and to deliver to the elector of Bavaria a letter from the emperor, in which he was required immediately to join his army to that of Austria. The prince was further directed to state that the electoral troops could not be allowed to act in a separate body, but must be incorporated with the Austrians. This demand was accompanied with menaces in case of a refusal; and was rendered still more

offensive, from the imperious tone and manner in which it was communicated. The elector, taken by surprise, was compelled to dissemble.

In the mean time intelligence was hourly received at Munich of the preparations made by the Austrians to enter Bavaria. It became necessary therefore to adopt decisive measures. Accordingly on the night of the 8th of September, which was the day upon which the treaty with Austria was to have been signed, orders were secretly issued to the different garrisons in Bavaria, and to the detachments of troops scattered through that country, to hasten by forced marches into the upper palatinate. The elector, accompanied by his court, suddenly withdrew to Wurtzburg, and the Austrian army entered Munich without opposition. The imperialists advanced towards the upper palatinate, both on the side of Bohemia and of Neuburg; and the elector, alarmed at their approach, ordered his army to retire into the province of Franconia. The negociation, however, still continued. The Count de Buol, the Austrian minister at Munich, was directed to follow the elector to Wurtzburg, with new proposals from his government. In the mean time the imperialists, having overrun the whole of Bavaria, which they treated almost as a conquered country, proceeded to make those dispositions which had been concerted for the commencement of the campaign.

As soon as intelligence was received at Paris that the Austrian army had entered the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, the senate was convened. Bonaparte repaired to the hall of that assembly, and ascended his throne, surrounded by the great officers of government, and all the state of his new empire. A long and elaborate memorial upon the reciprocal conduct of France and Austria, from the period of the treaty of Luneville, was read by the minister for foreign affairs. Bonaparte himself then addressed the senate.

‘In the present circumstances of Europe, I have felt anxious,’ he said, ‘to come among you, and to make known to

CHAP. XXVIII.

**MOVEMENTS OF THE AUSTRIANS—BONAPARTE'S ARRIVAL
AT STRATSBURGH—HIS PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN—
PASSES THE DANUBE—ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE AUS-
TRIAN—PREPARES TO ASSAULT ULM—CAPITULATION
OF FIELD-MARSHAL MACK AND HIS ARMY—ACTIVITY
AND POLICY OF BONAPARTE—HIS OBSERVATIONS TO
THE AUSTRIAN GENERALS—DECREES FOR THE REWARD
OF HIS ARMY.**

PREVIOUSLY to the departure of M. Novoziltzoff for Berlin, a plan of military operations to be pursued if war should become inevitable, had been concerted between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. In pursuance of this plan the Austrian army upon the Adige was increased to 120,000 men; and the Archduke Charles quitted Vienna about the middle of September, for the purpose of assuming the command. The French troops in Italy, under General Massena, did not at that period exceed 73,000.

The Austrian army in Germany was intrusted to the command of field-marshal baron Mack. This officer had for a considerable time enjoyed a very powerful influence over the military counsels of the court of Vienna. He was reputed to be admirably skilled in tactics, and in all the theory and details of war. Abounding in ingenuity and contrivance, he was prepared with plans of military operations adapted to every situation and every exigency. His persuasive address and plausible conversation and manner, enabled him, with the utmost success, to enforce his own schemes, and to triumph over the objections of his opponents. Such were said

to be his character and talents in council, and such the causes of the influence and ascendant which he had obtained. It was natural that this influence, thus acquired, should give umbrage to the archduke Charles; and accordingly he was regarded by that prince with jealousy, and even with aversion. In the field, General Mack was deficient in every thing that constitutes a great commander:—in simplicity of design, in decision, in promptitude, in vigour. His plans were without concert, his objects trifling and unimportant. He deliberated when circumstances required him to act, and balanced between different schemes till the power of choice was gone. These striking defects in his character rendered him the most unfit commander that the court of Vienna could have selected for the purpose of opposing an enemy remarkably distinguished for the impetuosity of his spirit, the rapidity of his movements, and the novelty and boldness of his designs.

The Austrian army, under the command of field-marshal Mack, having, as we have already observed, traversed the electorate of Bavaria, arrived on the banks of the Lech. Immediately afterwards, abandoning that position, it advanced to the Iller, and detachments were pushed towards Doneschingen and Stockach, and into the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Besides these two armies stationed on the Adige and in Suabia, a considerable force was also assembled under the command of the Archduke John in the Tyrol, which was destined to act as the events of the campaign might require. Such was the distribution of the Austrian troops about the commencement of the month of October.

What were the motives which induced the Austrian commander to depart from the original plan of the campaign, by advancing to the Iller instead of taking the position of the Lech, to which circumstance the subsequent disasters of the war are in a great measure to be ascribed, has never yet been explained. The line of the Lech was not inferior in strength of that of the Iller; it was equally favourable with reference to the operations of the Italian army; it was further re-

moved from the French frontier, and was nearer to those succours which were expected from Russia. It will justly appear surprising that these considerations did not induce the Austrians to adhere to their original intention—to confine themselves to the banks of the Lech, and to increase, by every exertion, the natural advantages of that position. But the plan of operations which Bonaparte adopted seems to have been wholly unforeseen. It was supposed that the French army would advance by the accustomed road through the passes of the Black Forest; and the Austrian commander hoped that the natural difficulties of the country would enable him effectually to check its progress. Should the Austrians even be compelled to retire, they might, it was supposed, at any time fall back upon the Lech, without sustaining any serious loss. These successive operations would allow ample opportunity for the arrival of the Russians; and the junction of this force would enable them to act upon the offensive, and to pursue with spirit the great objects of the campaign.

But the Austrians deviated from their previous arrangement in another material and important particular. It had been concerted between the allies that an attempt should be made to penetrate into Franche Comte by the way of Switzerland. This was indeed the only system for offensive warfare which it was practicable to pursue. But notwithstanding these considerations, the cabinet of Vienna agreed in the month of September to admit the neutrality of Switzerland; and it thus became impossible for the allies to execute their original design, without incurring the reproach and the odium of violating a recent engagement.

Bonaparte arrived at Stratzberg upon the 26th of September: on the same day the greater part of the army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Mannheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the command of marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under prince Murat,

had crossed the river on the preceding day at Kehl. The army of Hanover, consisting of about 20,000 men, and commander by Marshal Bernadotte, having marched by Göttingen and Frankfort, had already arrived at the head-quarters of the elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. In this position it was soon afterwards joined by General Marmont, and the Gallo-Batavian army which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz; and by this union the force collected at Wurtzburg, inclusive of the Bavarians, amounted to upwards of 60,000 men.

The plan of operations which Bonaparte had adopted for the opening of the campaign was of a most masterly character. Had he attempted to penetrate by the usual road through the passes of the Black Forest, and to the south of the Danube, he would have had many formidable obstacles to encounter. The passage of the Black Forest itself would have been attended with difficulty; his march would have been obstructed by the numerous rivers which flow from south to north through the valley of the Danube; his right flank would have been continually threatened from the defiles of the Tyrol, and a powerful army in front would have opposed and checked his progress. In order to avoid these inconveniences, Bonaparte resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing the river below the position of the Austrians, to interpose his army between them and the Russians. It was with a view to this movement that Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont had been ordered to proceed to Wurtzburg. It was evident that the Austrian commander might by an immediate retreat, have disappointed the success of this plan. It was necessary therefore that the project should not only be disguised from the imperialists, but should be executed with the utmost possible rapidity. Prince Murat was therefore ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest in order to deceive the Austrians, and to induce them to suppose that the French army intended to force its way in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to

oppose the execution of this design. He had already fortified the banks of the Iller, and had issued orders to strengthen with the utmost expedition the positions of Memmingen and Ulm. At length, however, he discovered his error, and was compelled suddenly to change all his plans. In the mean time the French army had traversed with almost incredible rapidity the electorate of Wirtemberg, and the plains of Nordlingen; and on the 6th of October, Marshal Soult, at the head of his division, arrived on the Danube at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge of Munster.

The army assembled at Wurtzburg had not excited any considerable apprehension in the mind of the Austrian general. The territory of Anspach, a part of the dominions of Prussia, was interposed between that position and the Danube; and the court of Berlin had issued orders that every precaution should be taken to protect the neutrality of this district. General Mack did not suppose that Bonaparte, in the present critical situation of affairs, would run the risk of offending so great a power. He imagined, therefore, that this army was destined only for an irruption into Bohemia, and he contented himself with dispatching General Kienmayer with a small force to observe its motions. This was another capital error committed by the Austrians in the conduct of the campaign. It was of the utmost importance to the plan of operations which Bonaparte had formed, that the combined army assembled at Wurtzburg should proceed by the shortest possible course to the Danube. He was willing to incur every hazard for the attainment of this object; nor did he despair of being able to find means to allay the indignation of Prussia. His orders were therefore express and peremptory. Major Howen, at the head of about 500 men, made an appearance of resistance. He was compelled, however, to submit to superior force, and the army passed without any further opposition. General Marmont reached Neuburg on the 8th, and shortly after Marshal Bernadotte, at the head of his division arrived at Ingolstadt. From this moment the

issue of the campaign was decided. The army under General Mack did not exceed 80,000 men. A force nearly double that amount was now posted in his rear; while his communication with the Austrian states and the Russian auxiliaries, the first division of which had not yet arrived on the Inn, was upon the point of being completely intercepted.

On the 7th a part of the French army passed the Danube at Donawerth, and the division commanded by Marshal Soult extended itself along the Lech to the city of Augsburg, and afterwards to Landsberg and Fuessen. In the mean time a strong detachment from the Austrian army was ordered to advance to Wertingen for the purpose of observing the motions and checking the progress of Bonaparte. This corps was attacked by the cavalry under Prince Murat, and the division commanded by General Lannes. The Austrians, after a short contest, in which they sustained considerable loss, were compelled to retire. On the following day a second action took place in the vicinity of Guntzburg. The division commanded by Marshal Ney attacked the Austrians, who were advantageously posted upon the banks of the Danube. The French, after a sharp conflict, forced the passage of the river, and remained master of the bridges and the strong position of Guntzburg.

It has already been observed, that the plan adopted for the campaign was defective in one essential particular. There was reason to apprehend that, if the Italian army should be so far strengthened as to enable it to undertake offensive operations, with a superiority so decided as to insure success, the army stationed in Germany would be insufficient to resist the progress of the enemy in that country. The moment the French had crossed the Rhine this defect became apparent. General Mack, alarmed at the accounts which he received of their numbers, was obliged to send for reinforcements to the Italian army. Prince Charles thus saw himself at once deprived of the means of pursuing those objects which he had hoped to accomplish. The necessity, however, was urgent;

and he ordered, though with much ill-humour and reluctance, thirty battalions to march for the support of the army in Germany. Of this force a part only arrived on the banks of the Iller; some detachments were taken by the French, and the rest fell back on the Tyrol.

The Austrian army was stationed on the banks of the Iller from Memmingen to the Danube; but its principal strength was collected on the left of this line, in the neighbourhood of Ulm. The French were rapidly advancing with their whole force to that quarter. The situation of the Austrians became every hour more and more critical; they found themselves straitened and enclosed on every side; and the commander saw the necessity of endeavouring to dislodge the French from some of his positions. Accordingly, on the 11th of October, a vigorous attack was made upon a French division posted under the command of General Ney at Albeck. The French was driven to a considerable distance along the banks of the Danube; and the event of the day was highly honourable to the Austrians. But no important advantage resulted from this victory; and it became necessary therefore to adopt some more decisive step for the purpose of extricating the army from its present difficulties.

Two plans of operation presented themselves,—either to collect the whole army into one compact body, and to endeavour, by a sudden and bold irruption, to cut a passage through Bonaparte's positions, or to separate it into small divisions, which might find their way by different roads into the Tyrol and Bohemia. The Archduke Ferdinand, it is said, with the gallantry natural to a high-spirited prince, inclined to the former measure. General Mack, however, considered it as too hazardous an attempt in the present situation, with the immense superiority of the enemy; and the prince yielded to his authority. General Jellachich was accordingly directed to proceed, at the head of sixteen battalions, with the utmost expedition to the Tyrol. An order was at the same time issued to the garrison of Memmingen to evacuate the

place, and to join the corps under General Jellachich. This order, however, from some mistake or delay, was not executed. In the mean time Marshal Soult, having left Landsberg, sat down on the 13th before Memmingen. On the following day the garrison capitulated, and were made prisoners of war. From Memmingen this division of the enemy immediately proceeded to Biberach, for the purpose of intercepting the Austrian communications in that quarter.

After the battles of Wertingen and Guntzburg, Bonaparte repaired to the city of Augsburg, from which place he again returned on the 13th to the camp before Ulm. He issued immediate orders to force the bridge and position of Echlingen. This post, of great importance in the present situation of the armies, was defended by a body of 16,000 Austrians. The contest was long and obstinate. The French charged with their usual briskness and impetuosity; while the Austrians fought with all the fury of despair. Great numbers fell on both sides; but at length the Austrians were broken and driven from the field, and the French remained masters of Echlingen. Upon the same day, after a series of sharp and stubborn conflicts, the French under General Lannes possessed themselves of the heights of Michel Galgen and Kuhe in the vicinity of Ulm, while on the other side General Marmont occupied the bridges at the confluence of the Iller and the Danube. The situation of the Austrian army was now desperate. It was nearly encircled by the enemy, and was compelled to seek refuge within the walls of Ulm. Prince Ferdinand was still in the city. He was desirous, however, of endeavouring, by a secret and rapid movement, to rescue at least a part of the army from the disgrace of a capitulation. Two divisions under Generals Hohenzollern and Werneck, in pursuance of the plan which we have already mentioned, had been detached from the main army, and ordered to take the road to Heydenheim. It was already night; the rain fell in torrents; but every moment was of importance. At the head of four squadrons of cavalry well mounted and equipped,

the prince suddenly withdrew from the city, and proceeded with the utmost expedition to Aalen.

Upon the two following days the French were employed in making preparations for a general assault. The city was surrounded by a broad ditch filled with water; the fortifications were weak and unfinished. But a brave and veteran army, consisting of more than 30,000 men might have made a fierce and dreadful resistance; and the Austrian commander had issued a proclamation declaring his intention of defending the place to the last extremity. On the night of the 16th there arose a furious tempest: the waters of the Danube overflowed its banks: many of the bridges upon that river, and among the rest the bridge of Echlingen, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent. The communication between the opposite sides of the river was interrupted; and a favourable opportunity was thus afforded to the Austrian army to endeavour to force its way through the posts of the enemy. But the commander was deficient in enterprise and activity: he had seen within the short compass of ten years the complete destruction of a powerful and gallant army which had been entrusted to his command; his spirits were subdued by the extent and complication of his misfortunes: and no attempt was therefore made to profit from this unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence.

A conference had been held between Prince Lichtenstein and Bonaparte upon the terms of capitulation. The prince required that the Austrian army should be permitted to return home, upon condition that none of the troops should serve again until they were exchanged. 'What security,' said Bonaparte, 'can I receive for the punctual performance of this engagement?' After a moment's pause he resumed, 'I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand. If he is in the city, I will give him this proof of my esteem, hoping that the court of Vienna will respect the engagement of one of its princes.' He was informed that Prince Ferdinand had withdrawn from Ulm. 'I cannot then be sure,' he resumed,

'that the condition will be performed;' and he refused to accede to the demand.

On the 17th the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war: the officers were permitted to return home upon their parole; the soldiers were to be sent prisoners to France. It was further stipulated, that if by noon on the eighth day after the convention, a force sufficient to raise the blockade of the city should arrive at Ulm, the capitulation should no longer be binding, and that the garrison might then act as circumstances should render it expedient.

As soon as Bonaparte was informed that a part of the army had withdrawn from Ulm, he dispatched Marshal Lannes with his corps, and the cavalry under Murat, in pursuit of this division. Prince Ferdinand had effected a junction with the force under Generals Hohenzollern and Wenneck; and the latter officer being directed to oppose himself to the progress of Murat, an action took place in the vicinity of Langenau, in which the Austrians were defeated. They still, however, continued their retreat, closely pressed by the enemy, and harassed with continual attacks. At length, exhausted with fatigue and anxiety, they arrived at Nordlingen. In this position they were surrounded by the enemy; and every communication being cut off, they were compelled to capitulate. Prince Ferdinand himself had narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Neresheim. He was at dinner with his officers, when the alarm of the enemy was given, and had scarcely time to mount his horse before they entered the town. After the capitulation at Nordlingen the prince continued his flight at the head of the cavalry, and with about fifty pieces of cannon. He was closely pursued by Murat, the rear of the Austrians continually skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy. Passing with great expedition through Gunzenhausen, he arrived at Nuremberg in Franconia. Scarcely had he quitted the city before Murat appeared, and a party of Austrians were taken prisoners in

the suburbs. Prince Ferdinand continued his course to Eschenau, and thence to Grafenberg, by the road through the mountains. Here the French abandoned the pursuit, and returned, with their prisoners and a few pieces of cannon which they had taken, to Nuremberg. Prince Ferdinand arrived safely with the remains of his small corps in Bohemia.

Upon the second day after the capitulation of Ulm, another convention was concluded between Bonaparte and the Austrian commander. It had been agreed that the city should be surrendered by the Austrians on the 25th, unless before that period an army should arrive to raise the blockade. Marshal Berthier, in a conference which he afterwards had with General Mack, communicated to him the relative positions of the several columns of the French and Austrian armies, from which it appeared impossible that any succours could reach Ulm within the stipulated time; and he pledged his word of honour for the correctness of his statement. In consequence of this communication, General Mack was persuaded to consent to the immediate surrender of the city, upon condition only that the division under Marshal Ney should remain in the vicinity of Ulm till the expiration of the period which had been fixed by the original capitulation.

It is difficult to discover the motive which induced the Austrian commander to make this extraordinary concession. It could scarcely be supposed that the enemy would have so far relied upon the faith of the capitulation, as to have withdrawn any considerable part of his troops, while an army of more than 30,000 men remained in the city. By this second agreement, however, the whole French force, with the single exception of Marshal Ney's division, was set at liberty, and was left to pursue, without obstruction, the other objects of the campaign. This convention is the more unaccountable, because it does not appear that any correspondent benefit was secured to the Austrians.

During the operations which preceded and accompanied the surrender of Ulm, the rain fell almost without intermis-

sion. The rivers overflowed their banks, and the roads in many places were broken up and become almost impassible. Bonaparte, however, was continually in the midst of his troops; he encouraged and animated them to exertion; he shared all their hardships and privations, and distributed upon the field of battle rewards and honours to those who had distinguished themselves in the different encounters with the enemy. By these popular acts he excited a spirit of enthusiasm in his army, which led them not only to encounter danger with alacrity, but to sustain with cheerfulness the severest toils. The dragoons had signalized their valour in the battle of Wertingen. Each regiment was ordered to present a soldier to its emperor; and the individuals thus selected, were decorated with the eagle of the legion of honour. The French relate, that a private, in passing the Lech, had saved the life of his officer, by whom, a few days before he had been degraded. Bonaparte presented him with the eagle. 'I only performed my duty,' said the soldier; 'my captain had degraded me on account of some breach of discipline, but he knows that I was always a good soldier.'

On the 20th, the Austrians, according to the terms of the capitulation, marched out of Ulm. The French army occupied the heights. Bonaparte, surrounded by his guards, was a spectator of this humiliating scene. He sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled. They were treated with great personal attention and respect; but Bonaparte complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor, and boasted, in a haughty tone, of his own power and resources. 'I wish for nothing,' he added, 'upon the continent: France desires only to possess ships, colonies, and commerce, and it is for your advantage that we should obtain them.'

The Austrian force which marched out of Ulm amounted to 33,000 men; three thousand sick and wounded remained in the hospitals. There also fell into the hands of the enemy, upon the surrender of the city, fifty standards, and sixty

pieces of cannon. Thus within little more than ten days a well-appointed army, consisting of upwards of eighty thousand men, commanded by gallant and experienced officers, and composed of the best troops in the Austrian service, was in consequence of the inexplicable errors of its chief completely dispersed. Besides those who perished in the field, more than 50,000 were made prisoners of war; and a very small proportion succeeded, with great difficulty and the utmost exertion, in effecting its escape into the Austrian territories.

These great and extraordinary successes were announced to the senate by a message from Bonaparte. He presented that assembly with forty standards which had been taken from the Austrians previously to the surrender of Ulm; and called upon it to hasten, by every exertion, the march of the conscripts to reinforce his army. The senate replied in a suitable address, and appointed a deputation to present to the emperor this testimony of their admiration and homage. Bonaparte felt, and his policy led him to express, that some reward was due to the army for its extraordinary zeal and exertion. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he decreed that the month Vendemiaire should be computed as an entire campaign to every individual of the grand army, and that the ministers of war and of the treasury should make the proper dispositions for that purpose. Another decree was issued, ordering immediate possession to be taken of the Austrian establishments in Suabia; declaring all the magazines which had been captured, with the exception of the artillery and provisions, and all the contributions which either had been or should hereafter be levied, to be the property of the army; and directing that a distribution should be made, according to the rank of the several individuals of whom it was composed.

Information of the disasters in Germany and of the capitulation of Ulm was brought to Vienna by a messenger from the Archduke Ferdinand. The intelligence was soon spread through the city. The houses were deserted, and the inha-

bitants crowded into the streets, anxiously inquiring into the particulars of this disastrous event. When the full extent of the calamity was known, the people gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest expressions of indignation and rage. They saw, in their apprehensions, the French already at their gates. They loudly exclaimed against General Mack, as the author of these misfortunes, and openly charged him with having betrayed and sold his country to France. The emperor made every exertion to re-establish the public confidence, and to restore the tranquillity of his capital. It was ordered, that all persons capable of bearing arms should be trained and embodied, and that every effort should be made to supply the deficiencies in the army. Instructions were at the same time issued to hasten the completion of the general levy in Hungary, which was conducted under the superintendence of the Archduke palatine. The emperor published a proclamation, in which he appealed to the patriotism and loyalty of his subjects, and called upon them in the most earnest terms to unite with vigour for the protection of their country and his throne. 'Let the intoxication of success (such is the language of this appeal) or the unhallowed and iniquitous spirit of revenge actuate the foe; calm and firm I stand in the midst of twenty-five millions of people who are dear to my heart and to my family. I have a claim upon their love, for I desire their happiness; I have a claim upon their assistance; for whatever they venture for the throne, they venture for themselves, their own families, and their posterity; for the preservation of all that is dear and sacred to them. By its fortitude the Austrian monarchy arose from every storm which menaced it at former periods. Its intrinsic vigour is still undecayed. There still exists in the breasts of those good and loyal men, for whose welfare and tranquillity I combat, that ancient patriotic spirit which is ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and to brave every thing in order to preserve that which must be preserved,—their throne and their independence, the national honour and

the national prosperity. From this spirit of patriotism on the part of my subjects, I expect with a proud and tranquil confidence every thing that is great and good ; but above all things unanimity, and a quick, firm, and courageous co-operation in every measure that shall be ordered for the purpose of keeping the rapid strides of the French from our frontiers, until those numerous auxiliaries shall be able to act, which my exalted ally the emperor of Russia and other powers have destined to combat for the liberties of Europe, and the security of thrones and nations.'

Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, the most active exertions were made by Bonaparte for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of the Russians, under the command of General Kutusow, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and, uniting itself to the Austrians in that quarter, formed an army of nearly 70,000 men. It was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division. Marshal Bernadotte with his corps, and the Bavarian army commanded by Generals Deroi and Wreden, had entered Munich on the 12th. They proceeded from Wurtzburgh, through Aichstett and Ingolstadt, directly to that city. General Marmont, with the Gallo-Batavian division, crossed the Danube at Neuburg, and turning to the right, had co-operated with the main army in the attack upon Ulm. Marshal Bernadotte was ordered to observe the motions of the imperialists on the side of the Tyrol and the states of Austria. Accordingly, upon his arrival at Munich, he immediately directed his march towards the Inn, driving before him the feeble division under General Kienmayer, which, before the passage of the Danube, had been detached from the Austrian army at Ulm. General Kienmayer crossed the Inn, and united himself to the Russians. Bavaria was thus completely evacuated, and became a most useful and important ally to France. The Austrians, during their possession of that country, had displayed all the insolence and exercised all the severity of conquerors. The peo-

ple and the government, perpetually jealous of the designs of the cabinet of Vienna, were now inflamed with the bitterest resentment and animosity. They considered the French therefore as their deliverers; and were disposed to support them in the prosecution of the war, with the utmost cordiality and zeal.

But this was not the only assistance which the French received on the side of Germany. The electors of Baden and Wurtemberg, either alarmed by the power, or, which is more probable, seduced by the promises, of Bonaparte, united their forces to the grand army. As soon as the French had passed the Rhine, they were joined by 4000 men in the service of the former of these princes; and upon the march of the army from Stutgard, it was accompanied by a strong body of chasseurs belonging to the elector of Wurtemberg. But a further aid was expected from this sovereign. His contingent had been fixed during the residence of Bonaparte at the electoral court, in his progress from the Rhine to the Danube: and upon the 21st of October, the day after the surrender of Ulm, this auxiliary force arrived at Geislingen, in the vicinity of that city.

The whole army was now in motion. In every quarter the greatest spirit and activity prevailed. A battalion of the imperial guard entered with triumphal pomp the city of Augsburg. Eighty grenadiers, selected for their martial appearance, bore aloft as many standards, which had been taken from the Austrians upon the surrender of Ulm. Bonaparte himself, passing through Augsburg, proceeded with the utmost expedition to Munich. Upon his arrival the city was illuminated; and he was welcomed with the acclamations and shouts of the multitude. In the evening he visited the theatre, which was thronged with spectators, anxious and eager to behold a man distinguished by so many memorable achievements.

The main army, having crossed the Isar at three different points, was in full march for the Inn. The arrangements for

the further prosecution of the campaign were all completed. Marshal Ney's division and the Bavarian army were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were entrusted to Marshal Angereau, who, from the interior of France, had arrived with considerable force at Stockach; and General Baraguay de Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motions of the Austrians upon that side.

Bonaparte's army, which was advancing towards the Inn, consisted of about 110,000 men: the allied troops stationed upon that river scarcely amounted to 70,000. It was impossible, under the present circumstances, to hazard an action with such a disparity of strength. The allies therefore determined to retire, in order to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under General Buxhoven. On the 5th, the corps under Marshal Bernadotte crossed the river at Wasserberg, and turning to the right, proceeded to Salzburg. The other divisions, commanded by Marshals Lannes, Davoust, and Soult, with the cavalry under Prince Murat, proceeded towards Braunau. The allies had destroyed the bridges upon the Inn; but no serious attempt was made to dispute the passage of that river. The enemy entered Braunau on the 7th, from which place Prince Murat immediately advanced in pursuit of the combined army on the road to Wels. Braunau was a place of considerable strength, and was provided with every thing necessary for sustaining a regular siege. But it was the obvious policy of the allies, in the present situation of their affairs, to surrender this fortress without resistance. To have left a garrison sufficient for its defence would have greatly weakened their army, already so inferior to that of the French. It would not have retarded the progress of the enemy; nor could the allies, however successful, hope to advance again to the Inn, before the place would be compelled to capitulate.

From this Inn, the combined army retired before the Rms, their rear occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guard of

the enemy. The principal part of the French force was assembled at Lintz, with the intention of advancing along the great road upon the south of the Danube. One division, however, under Marshal Davoust, crossed the Ems at Stayer, marched towards Wahidoffen, in pursuit of the Austrians, who had retired in that direction; and for the purpose also of turning the Russian army, if it should attempt to maintain itself in the strong position upon the heights of Saint Polten.

In this situation of affairs, the emperor endeavoured by negotiation to avert the evils with which he was menaced. He saw the allied army compelled to retire before a superior force; the second division of the Russians was still at a distance; and it was evident that in a few days Bonaparte would become master of his capital. The Count de Guilay was accordingly directed to repair to the head-quarters of the French at Lintz, and to propose an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. The answer of Bonaparte was concise and imperious. He demanded, as the price of an armistice, that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol. This reply was immediately communicated to the Emperor. It was evident that to accede to such terms would be to place the imperial crown at the mercy of Bonaparte. He resolved therefore still to struggle with the difficulties of his situation; to trust to the support of his allies, to the fortune of his house, and to the affection and zeal of his people. ‘In such circumstances,’ said the emperor, ‘nothing remains for me but to rely upon those great and unexhausted resources which I find in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, and the strength of my people, and in the yet undiminished force of my high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia; and to persist in this first firm and intimate connexion, till the emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great monarch, shall consent

to conditions of peace consistent with the honour and independence of a mighty state.'

In the mean time the principal force of the enemy advanced by Ems and Amstetten to the abbey of Moelk. This abbey overlooks the Danube, standing upon an elevated situation on the banks of that river. The position, naturally strong, was fortified by the Roman emperors as a barrier against the incursions of the barbarians. Bonaparte removed his headquarters to the Moelk on the 9th of November. In the mean time the Russians had retired to St. Polten. At Krems, not far from that place, there is a bridge over the Danube. It is the last bridge above the city of Vienna. Bonaparte had detached a considerable force over the river under the command of Marshal Mortier, who was ordered to march with the utmost expedition for the purpose of seizing and destroying this bridge. If this operation had been successful, the Russians would have been compelled to retire to Vienna, and Marshal Mortier's division, marching along the northern bank of the Danube, would have taken up a position opposite to that city. By this manœuvre, the communication with the second division of Russians advancing under General Buxhorden, would have been completely intercepted. It was of the utmost importance to the allies to anticipate this movement of the French, and their situation was fortunately favourable for that purpose. The course of the Danube forms itself at this place into an extensive curve, with the convex side extending towards the north. It was necessary therefore for Marshal Mortier, who was upon the left bank of the river, to take a considerable compass in order to arrive at Krems, while the allies could reach the same point in a direct line. Every moment, however, was important: from Saint Polten, therefore, the Russians marched with the utmost expedition towards Krems; and having passed the river immediately destroyed the bridge. This operation was scarcely accomplished before Marshal Mortier appeared, and falling with great spirit upon the Russian outposts, in the neighbourhood

of Diernstein, drove them in upon the main army. It was now evening, and the situation of the allies, who were closely pressed upon the side of Stein, became extremely critical. It was necessary to force the French from their position. Accordingly, at day-break on the following morning, the Russian army, having formed itself into three columns, advanced against the French lines with the utmost impetuosity and fury. The French, after a sharp conflict, was every where routed. Great numbers were slain; many escaped into the vessels which had been collected in the river; and about 2000 men, with a great proportion of officers, were taken prisoners. This victory, so important in the present situation of the army, was obtained without any considerable loss of men on the part of the Russians. There fell, however, in the heat of the engagement, the Austrian field-marshal Schmidt, a veteran officer of great bravery and merit, whose death was sincerely and deeply regretted.

CHAP. XXIX.

ALARM AT VIENNA—ARRIVAL OF BONAPARTE AT MUNICH
—PASSAGE OF THE INN—CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE
ALLIES—CONDUCT OF PRUSSIA—BONAPARTE ENTERS
VIENNA—REJECTS THE OVERTURES OF THE AUSTRIAN
EMPEROR,—ARRIVAL OF THE ALLIED EMPERORS AT
OLMUTZ—STRATAGEM OF BONAPARTE—HIS RETREAT—
BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ — ARMISTICE — TREATY OF
PRESBURG.

VIENNA was now left entirely without defence. The court, the nobility, and all those who could provide the means of flight, had abandoned the city. The utmost agitation and confusion prevailed, and the public anxiety increased with the accounts which were daily and hourly received of the rapid advance of the enemy. But when the people were informed that the Russian army, which they had regarded as their sole and last defence, had passed the Danube, and left the capital to its fate, they abandoned themselves to despair.

Every precaution, however, was taken by the government to preserve the public tranquillity, and to calm the apprehensions of the multitude. A proclamation was issued by the commissary of the court, the Count de Wrbsna, in the name and by the order of the emperor, who, after assisting at the Hungarian diet, had retired to Brunn in Moravia. 'His majesty, from the regard which he felt for the safety of his faithful subjects of Vienna, and from his desire to free them as far as possible from the miseries of war, had determined not to attempt the defence of his capital. The inhabitants were assured that the utmost confidence might be placed in the discipline of the French army; and that they need enter-

tain no fear of becoming the victims of military license : they were exhorted to conduct themselves individually with the utmost regularity and order, and were informed that his majesty, far from approving a misplaced zeal, which might expose to danger the lives and property of the citizens, would severely punish the slightest disorder.' A deputation, with Prince Sinzendorf at its head, was at the same time ordered to repair to the French camp, for the purpose of informing the commander, that the Austrian troops had entirely withdrawn from Vienna, that the inhabitants were prepared to surrender the city without resistance, and that they relied upon the generosity of their conquerors. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect ; and after a short conference, in which they obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. Prince Murat, in consequence of the arrangements which had been made, immediately entered the city, and his troops were conducted to the quarters which had been assigned for their accommodation.

The Austrian force which had retired from Vienna upon the approach of the enemy amounted to about 10,000 men. They had crossed the Danube, and had proceeded towards Moravia, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. In order to secure the retreat of this corps, and of the Russian division which had passed the Danube at Krems, the Prince of Aversberg was directed to destroy the bridge at Vienna. He had given the necessary orders for this purpose ; when a French officer sent by Murat rode up in great haste, and informed him that a treaty of peace was signed between France and Austria. The prince, not suspecting a falsehood, immediately revoked the orders which he had issued ; and it was not till Murat himself arrived at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, and took possession of the bridge, that he discovered the deception. The advantage obtained by this unworthy falsehood, and the unpardonable credulity of the Prince of Aversberg, exposed General Kutusow's army to the

extremest peril. The French, arriving at Vienna in successive divisions, passed without stopping through the city, and immediately proceeded with the utmost expedition in pursuit of the Russians. The corps commanded by Marshal Davoust, leaving the main army, marched towards Presburg. On the 14th, Bonaparte himself arrived at Vienna, and took up his residence in the castle of Schoenbrunn, a palace built by the empress Maria Theresa. So rapid had been the progress of the French, and such was the consternation which prevailed, that no effectual measures had been adopted for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the city. Two thousand pieces of cannon, a hundred thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of powder, fell into the hands of the French.

Bonaparte was now in complete possession of upper and lower Austria, and it became necessary to establish a provisional administration for the government of these extensive conquests. A code of regulations was soon prepared, and General Clarke was appointed governor, with very extensive powers. As soon as these important arrangements were completed, Bonaparte left Vienna and repaired to the army in Moravia.

In the mean time Prince Charles was informed of the surrender of Ulm, and of the full extent of the disasters which had occurred upon the Danube. It was evident that his army, in its present advanced position, would be exposed to great danger from the progress of the French in Germany; and it was necessary also to endeavour, by every exertion, to protect the capital of the empire. He accordingly prepared to withdraw from Veronetta, and to fall back with his force towards Vienna.

From Laybach the archduke continued his march without interruption to the frontiers of Hungary. Never were the military talents of this prince displayed with greater lustre than in the conduct of this masterly retreat. From the banks of the Adige to Laybach, a distance of two hundred miles, he

was pursued and closely pressed by a superior force, and several partial actions took place, in all of which the enemy met with a brave and determined resistance. With the single exception of General Hillinger's column, which was accidentally separated from the main body after the battle of Caldiero, the Austrians sustained no very serious loss; and such were the honourable dispositions of the commander, that no part of the artillery or baggage fell into the hands of the French. —Nothing but the preservation of this army, at a juncture so critical, could have saved the house of Austria from complete destruction.

The violation of the neutrality of Anspach had excited a great sensation at Berlin. Every endeavour had before been made to induce Prussia to join the confederates. But the overtures for this purpose were received with coldness; and the allies had even some reason to apprehend that she might unite herself to France. When intelligence, however, was received that the French and Bavarian army, in defiance of the proclamation of the cabinet of Berlin, and the remonstrances of its officers, had forced a passage through a part of the Prussian territory, immediate preparations were made to avenge this insult. The troops were marched towards the frontiers, and every thing seemed to indicate an approaching war. These events were viewed with great satisfaction by the allies, and they began to entertain sanguine hopes of the speedy co-operation of Prussia. Every exertion was made to profit from her present disposition; and Lord Harrowby was accordingly dispatched to the court of Berlin with proposals from Great Britain. The emperor Alexander, full of zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, resolved to try the effect of a personal interview, and repaired for this purpose to the Prussian capital. He arrived in that city on the 26th of October, and was received with all the attention and respect which were due to his rank and personal character. The emperor continued some days at the Prussian court, and engagements of unalterable friendship were exchanged be-

tween the two monarchs. But the cabinet of Berlin soon relapsed into its former system. Before any decisive step could be taken, General Mack had capitulated, and the Austrian army was completely dispersed. These events disposed Prussia to listen to terms of accommodation; and Count Haugwitz was ordered to proceed to the head-quarters of the French army.

It was a part of the plan of operations concerted by the allies, to create a powerful diversion in the north of Germany; and if an army of 30 or 40,000 men had entered the Hanoverian territory towards the close of the month of September, General Bernadotte would have been prevented from marching to the Danube, and the subsequent disasters in Suabia might have been avoided. It was not, however, till the middle of November, when Vienna was already in the possession of Bonaparte, and the event of the campaign decided, that the confederates assembled their forces in this quarter. This tardiness affords a signal and striking contrast to the activity and vigour of Bonaparte, and is indeed the more inexcusable, since the opening campaign appears to have depended solely upon the choice and determination of the allies.

Another equally unaccountable error was committed in the south of Europe. A treaty stipulating for the neutrality of Naples had been concluded between that country and France, in the month of September. In consequence of this agreement, the force under General St. Cyr was withdrawn, and was marched to reinforce the French army in the north of Italy. The combined army of English and Russians, at that time in the Mediterranean, amounted to upwards of 15,000 men. Had this force been landed in the Venetian territory, it would have supplied the place of those battalions which the archduke had detached to the aid of General Mack, and might perhaps have enabled that prince to obtain some signal advantage over the enemy.

Instead, however, of pursuing this natural course, the combined army landed about the middle of November in the king-

dom of Naples, at the distance of several hundred miles from the nearest positions of the enemy. Here it remained entirely inactive; and this force, which might have been employed so beneficially to the allies, produced no effect upon the operations of the campaign. It was impossible to suppose that this measure could have been adopted without the concurrence of the cabinet of Naples; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the combined squadron, the French minister ordered the arms of France to be removed from the door of his hotel, and immediately withdrew to Rome. A proclamation was however received by the Neapolitan government, complaining of the violation of its neutrality, and declaring its utter inability to resist the invaders. But Bonaparte was not of a character to be deceived by these professions; and the only effect of this fruitless and impolitic expedition was to excite the resentment of the French government, and to furnish it with a plausible pretence for overrunning the dominions and subverting the government of Naples.

We have already mentioned that Marshal Davoust, leaving the main army, proceeded with his division from Vienna towards Presburg. When he arrived in the vicinity of that city, he received overtures from Count Palfy, the governor, in the name of the archduke palatine. After some negotiation, it was agreed that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued, and the neutrality of the kingdom admitted. The conclusion of this convention, necessary perhaps in the present situation of affairs, reduced the resources of the house of Austria to the army of the Archduke Charles, and the small force under prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the Russians.

Prince Murat, with the cavalry, having crossed the Danube at Vienna, overtook the allied army of Austrians and Russians at Hollabrun. In the mean time the Counts de Giulay and Stadion had been sent with new overtures to Bonaparte. The emperor of Austria proposed to enter into a negotiation for peace, as soon as he could concert measures

the further prosecution of the campaign were all completed. Marshal Ney's division and the Bavarian army were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were entrusted to Marshal Augereau, who, from the interior of France, had arrived with considerable force at Stockach; and General Baraguay de Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motions of the Austrians upon that side.

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army, formed an effective force of about 60,000, while the Austrians, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, scarcely exceeded one third of that number. The second division of the Russians, upon its march to Moravia, had been exposed to the severest hardships. Such was the rapid progress of the troops, in consequence of the disasters in Germany, that they were compelled to abandon their convoys, and no sufficient magazines had been formed for their support. The casual supplies of the country were soon consumed; and the whole district through which the march of the army extended was completely exhausted. The horses were so reduced that they could scarcely draw the artillery, and the want of food had impaired the general strength and spirit of the army.

Upon the arrival of the emperors at Olmutz, a council of war was assembled to concert the subsequent operations of the campaign. It was evidently impossible to retire with an enemy in the rear through an exhausted country. It was equally impossible that the army could long continue in its present position. No alternative seemed therefore to remain, but to try the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly, on the morning of the 28th of November, a column of Russians, supported by a strong body of cavalry, was ordered to march to Wischaw. This division fell with great impetuosity and loud cries upon the advanced guard of prince Murat, whom they drove from his position, and after a slight resistance, made themselves masters of the town. Upon the same day the head-quarters of the emperor Alexander were removed to Wischaw, and the whole army advancing, encamped in the vicinity of that place.

The object of the allies was now sufficiently apparent. It was indeed evident, from the moment of the junction of General Buxhovden's division, that an engagement must take place; and Bonaparte was therefore desirous of obtaining some information with respect to the disposition and character of the Russians. General Savary, his aid-de-camp, had

been accordingly sent to congratulate the emperor Alexander upon his arrival, and with directions to observe attentively the temper and spirit of the hostile army. After remaining absent three days, General Savary returned to the French camp. He reported that the Russians entertained a very high opinion of their own prowess; that they were eager for battle; and felt assured of success. Bonaparte perceived all the advantage which might be derived from the confidence of his enemy. He immediately assumed an appearance of extraordinary circumspection and caution. He issued orders for his army to retire, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy. In order to strengthen this impression, the retreat was made under cover of the night, and the army took up a strong position about ten miles in the rear of its former station. Here the troops immediately began to throw up entrenchments, and to form batteries, as if for the purpose of defending themselves against the threatened attack of the hostile army. Every thing wore the appearance of alarm and confusion. Bonaparte had proposed an interview with the emperor of Russia. The emperor's aid-de-camp, the prince Dolgorucki, repaired in consequence to the French camp. Bonaparte, as if anxious to conceal from the observation of the prince both the temper of his army and the measures which he had adopted for its security, received him at his outposts. Preparations had been artfully made for this interview. Wherever the Russian directed his eye, he discovered symptoms of anxiety and care. The troops were labouring with the utmost activity at the entrenchments, all the posts were strengthened, and every precaution seemed to be taken to guard against surprise.

These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The confidence of the Russians increased; they considered the victory as secure, and were anxious only to prevent the escape of the French. The head-quarters of the two emperors were removed to Austerlitz, and a powerful division was ordered to march to the left for the purpose of

turning the right flank of the opposite army. The French relate, that as soon as Bonaparte observed this movement, he turned to his attendants, and repeatedly exclaimed, 'Before to-morrow evening this army will be mine.' The Russians continued their march at a short distance along the front of the French lines. Bonaparte still preserved the same cautious and timid appearance; his troops remained inactive in their respective stations; and prince Murat, having advanced at the head of a small body of cavalry into the plain between the two armies, instantly retired with the utmost speed, as if astonished at the force, and confounded by the movements of the Russians.

When the day had closed, Bonaparte determined to proceed on foot and in private through the several quarters of the camp, for the purpose of discovering the temper, disposition, and opinions of his army. His person, however, was soon recognised, and in an instant lighted straw was raised upon a thousand poles. It was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation. The soldiers crowded around their chief, and he was greeted with acclamations and shouts of joy from the whole camp. Upon his return to his tent, he made the dispositions and issued the necessary orders for battle. Marshal Davoust was directed to march with the utmost expedition to Raygern, for the purpose of keeping the Russians in check upon the right, and General Gudin was ordered to advance at break of day with his corps from Nicholsburg, to oppose that part of the Russian division which should extend itself beyond the position of Marshal Davoust. The command of the right wing of the army, which was stationed next to Davoust's corps, was entrusted to Marshal Soult. Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre, and Marshal Lannes the left. His flank was protected by the position of Santon, which had been strongly fortified, and was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of prince Murat, was posted between the left wing and the centre. Bonaparte himself, attended by Marshal Berthier, and all

the officers of his staff, commanded the reserve, which was composed of the ten battalions of the imperial guard, and the ten battalions of the grenadiers of Oudinot, with forty pieces of cannon.

At sun-rise (it was a fine autumnal day) the battle began. Bonaparte rode along the front of his army, and by his language and gestures encouraged and animated his troops. The soldiers, elevating their hats upon the points of their bayonets, answered in loud shouts, 'Long live the emperor!' At the same instant a firing was heard upon the right. The Russians, in attempting to turn the enemy's flank, had been unexpectedly opposed and stopped by the corps under Marshal Davoust, which had marched for that purpose to Ragern.

Opposite the right wing of the French army were situated the village and heights of Pratzen. This position was of the utmost importance in the present situation of the two armies. It formed a communication between the centre of the Russians and the division which had marched to the left. It was evident, therefore, that if the French could make themselves master of Pratzen, this division would be cut off, the main army taken in flank, and the event of the day be at once decided. Accordingly the first operations of the French were directed against Pratzen, and the whole of the right wing under Marshal Soult advanced in two columns towards that position. It happened that a column of Russians had just marched from Pratzen toward the right of the French army, and another column was advancing to occupy the position from which the former had withdrawn, when the French suddenly appeared. The Russians were confounded; they expected to have been the assailants, and they found themselves unexpectedly attacked in the midst of their movements. The object of the French was apparent; and General Kutusow, sensible of its importance, commanded the advanced guard of the fourth Russian column immediately to occupy the heights. At the same moment a third column of the French, forming a part of the centre, advanced towards the right of Pratzen.

The attention and force of the Russians were divided. In the mean time Marshal Soult continued to advance, and, overpowering by the immense superiority of his force the troops which were opposed to him, made himself master of the heights. The Russian division which had marched to the left was thus completely separated from the main army. It was evident that the battle was lost unless the communication could be restored. In this emergency the imperial guard, commanded by the archduke Constantine, was ordered to advance. It fell with great fury upon a battalion of the French, which was instantly routed. Marshal Bessieres was ordered to hasten at the head of the French guards to repair this disaster. The two corps were soon engaged: the fate of the day depended upon the issue of this contest; and the struggle was fierce and desperate. The Russians were at length broken, several of the guard, and among the rest prince Repnin, were taken prisoners, and great numbers were left dead upon the field.

As soon as Marshal Soult found himself in secure possession of the heights of Pratzen, he directed his attention towards the left division of the Russians. This corps was now opposed in front by Marshal Davoust, on the left by General Gudin, and by the troops under Marshal Soult upon the right. In this situation the Russians attempted to retire. They were pursued and closely pressed by Bonaparte, and several partial actions took place. But every hour added to their perplexity. Several detached corps were already cut off: they had been compelled to abandon a great part of their artillery; and their situation, thus removed from the main army, was wholly without resource. The confusion incidental to such circumstances gradually increased, and their retreat, at first conducted with some regularity, was at length converted into a general and disorderly flight. The French relate that great numbers were drowned in attempting to pass the ice which covered the lakes, in the neighbourhood of the field of battle. Many were slain in the pursuit; and the

rest laid down their arms, and were made prisoners of war. In the mean time the main army was engaged with the centre and left wing of the French, commanded by marshals Bernadotte and Lannes. But the allies fought to great disadvantage. By the separation of the Russian division, their left flank was exposed without defence to the attack of the enemy; and they were disconcerted and discouraged by the unexpected failure of their plans. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the troops displayed great gallantry and spirit; but at length, after a long and obstinate contest, the allies gradually retired, leaving Bonaparte in the undisputed possession of the field.

The loss in this engagement fell principally upon the Russians, and is said by the French to have amounted to twenty-two thousand in killed and wounded, and twenty thousand prisoners. In opposition, however, to this statement, it is asserted in the official account afterwards published at St. Petersburg, that the entire loss in the campaign did not exceed on the part of the Russians 17,000 men. The two commanders, Kutusow and Buxhovden, with several other generals, and a great number of officers of all ranks, were wounded; several were among the slain, and many were taken prisoners. One hundred pieces of cannon and forty-five standards fell into the hands of the enemy.

This battle, which was styled by the French soldiers 'the battle of the three emperors,' terminated the campaign and the war. On the 4th, two days after the engagement, an interview took place at the French advanced posts between Bonaparte and the emperor of Austria, and an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the Russian army should, within a limited time, withdraw from the territories of Austria. General Savary, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, was immediately sent to the head-quarters of the Russians. The French relate that he found the Russian army in great disorder, and without either artillery or baggage. He was introduced to the emperor, and presented the terms of the ar-

mistice. Alexander acceded to this convention, and messengers were accordingly dispatched to Marshal Davoust, and the other divisions of the French army, with orders that they should halt in the positions which they respectively occupied.

Count Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, had arrived at Vienna on the 30th day of November, and shortly afterwards set out for the head-quarters of the French army at Brunn. Bonaparte, in his conferences with this minister, expressed the warmest esteem and attachment for Prussia, and his earnest desire to preserve peace with that country. The fate of the war with the allied powers was already decided. The rapidity of these events had confounded the speculations of the cabinet of Berlin ; Count Haugwitz saw the necessity of relaxing from his demands ; and this dispute, which had promised such important consequences to Europe, was speedily adjusted. Bonaparte, with his usual policy and knowledge of the human heart, flattered the Prussian, and presented him master with such a boon as he foresaw would throw him completely into his arms, and render the Prussian monarch the object of general suspicion and aversion.

The armistice concluded in Moravia was followed by negotiations for peace between Austria and France. Prince John of Lichtenstein, the Count de Guilay, and M. Talleyrand, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers, assembled for this purpose at Nicholsberg. The conferences, after a short time, were adjourned to the city of Presburg, and the conditions of a definitive treaty were soon settled. Bonaparte was in a situation to dictate terms to the emperor, and the latter had no alternative but to acquiesce. The provisions of this memorable treaty were of course sufficiently humiliating to Austria. It was agreed that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy :—that the royal title which had been assumed by the electors of Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, should be acknowledged by the emperor ;—that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt,

the part of the territory of Patsau belonging to the elector of Salzburg, the country of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, and the seven lordships of the Voralberg, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigs-egg, Rottensels, the lordships of Tetnay and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau, should be ceded to the king of Bavaria ;—that the five cities of the Danube, to wit, Ehingen, Munderkengen, Ruffingen, Mengen, and Salgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, and a part of the Brigaw, should be ceded to the king of Wurtemberg ; and the remainder of the Brigaw, and the Ortensaw, the city of Constance, and the commandery of Memau to the elector of Baden ;—that the king of Bavaria should be allowed to occupy the city of Augsburg, with its territory, and unite it to his other dominions, and that the king of Wurtemberg should be permitted to do the same with respect to the country of Borndoff. It was on the other hand stipulated in favour of the emperor, that the county of Satzburg, and of Berchtols-gaden, belonging to the archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire ; and Bonaparte engaged to procure as an equivalent for that prince the cession by the king of Bavaria of the principality of Wurtzburg. It was also agreed, in conformity with the declaration made by Bonaparte at the moment when he assumed the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration should have fulfilled the conditions which it expressed, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and should not in any case be united on the same head. It was further stipulated, that the prisoners of war, taken on both sides, should be restored within forty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty ;—that in ten days from the same date, the armies of France and her allies should evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Vierrtel Under Vienner Wald, the Vier-Unter Manhartsberg, Hungary, and the whole of Styria ; in the ten following days they should evacuate the Vierrtel Vienner Wald, and the Vierrtel Ober Manhartsberg ; and that finally,

in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, they should withdraw from the whole of the hereditary states, with the exception of Braunau, which should remain for one month at the disposal of the French, as a place of depot for the sick, and for the artillery. This treaty was signed at Presburg on the 26th of December, and was ratified by Bonaparte on the following day ; after which he immediately proceeded to Munich, on his return to France.

The facility with which towns, cities, and territories are thus transmitted from one government to another, is a circumstance in this treaty which cannot but attract attention. The practice, it is true, has no claim in this instance to originality, and has ever occurred in the history of the conquerors : in few cases, however, has it been carried to a greater extent than in the present. Like common moveable property, societies of human beings have been bartered away from one proprietor to another ; sensible from this circumstance, probably, only of an exchange of yokes, still bound to toil for arrogant and unfeeling masters, and bend the knee to those by whom they are oppressed and despised. Mortifying it must undoubtedly be to the friends of humanity to observe such instances of degradation, yet the arrangements adverted to, may in some cases be attended with advantage ; the superstitious feelings associated with submission to certain dynasties for a long series of years will be thus impaired, and gleams of civil rights and manly dignity will pervade the gloom in which intellect and energy have been so long involved. Among the changes of title referred to in this important document, and ratified by it, one circumstance, particularly, is a point of curiosity, although not of moment. This is the elevation of the daughter of the king of England to a crown at the hands of Bonaparte. Among many causes of surprise which have occurred within a few years, this is not one of the least striking. The progress from small beginnings to great results, from obscurity to splendour, has rarely, if ever, been more effectually illustrated than by this extraordinary man,

who having, a few years since, in vain solicited admission into the armies of England, has now attained that eminence of power in which he can dispose of sceptres without interruption, and has in this instance crowned the daughter of a monarch whom he formerly requested to serve as an ensign.

CHAP. XXX.

EFFECTS OF THE TREATY OF PRESBURG—SUBJECTION OF NAPLES—JOSEPH BONAPARTE CONSTITUTED ITS SOVEREIGN—SELFISH CONDUCT OF PRUSSIA—OPPOSED BY ENGLAND AND SWEDEN—FIRMNESS OF AUSTRIA—COMPELLED TO SUBMIT BY BONAPARTE—FEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

BONAPARTE, by the treaty of Presburg*, has drawn around a considerable part of the frontiers of France, a cordon of feudatory sovereigns, who owe their elevation to his power, and are bound by gratitude and policy to his service; possessing too much collision of interest, in almost any supposable case, to combine in opposition to him, and exhibiting a

* Scarcely had intelligence of the disasters which immediately preceded the treaty of Presburg been received at London, when the exhilarating news of the victory, obtained by the British fleet off Trafalgar, arrived. While the misfortunes on the continent exhibited the superiority of the French over our allies, the achievements made by the navy of England, under the command of Lord Nelson, removed all anxiety at home respecting an invasion, exalted us as a nation in the eyes of our friends, and have checked the ambition of him who hoped to found his own greatness, 'in commerce, in colonies, and in ships,' at the expence of our humiliation.

mighty bulwark to break the attack of any formidable power which might be disposed or able on that side to give her molestation. His kingdom of Italy derived also, from this treaty, advantages, in territory and population, of the highest consequence, and by which he may be considered as having strengthened his iron crown with bands of steel. But, beneficial as the treaty most certainly was to Bonaparte, by these and other arrangements, and triumphant as it must be admitted to have been both for the French emperor and nation, in the same proportion must we deplore the humiliation of Austria. Her losses were deplorable, if not absolutely irreparable. Her influence in the affairs of Germany was almost annihilated with her authority; and although the title of emperor of that country was permitted to remain by the treaty of Presburg, that of emperor of China would have been almost equally appropriate. Her splendid dependent, her mitred ecclesiastics, and long catalogue of princes, which formed the minor stars of her imperial constellation, were many of them for ever extinguished; and with impaired and almost destroyed influence in the west of Europe, influence which it appeared scarcely possible she should ever regain, she seemed by this treaty retrograde from the world of civilization, and likely to be shut out from all those political concerns of it, in which she had borne so commanding and pre-eminent a part for a succession of ages.

The consequences of Bonaparte's successes against Austria, were particularly unfortunate for the kingdom, or at least the government, of Naples. The government of that country had but recently entered into a treaty of peace and amity with that of France; and the permission of the Anglo-Russian army to embark at Naples with unequivocal intentions to act against the French, was considered by Bonaparte as a perfidy deserving of the severest punishment. His resolution was taken to punish so flagrant a violation of good faith, and Massena was appointed to carry his resolve into execution; but he was afterwards superseded in the principal command by

the emperor's brother Joseph. The army marched in three divisions ; the right commanded by General Regnier, which proceeded by Gaeta, the centre by Massena, through Capua, while the left advanced through Istria, under General Lacy. Capua was invested on the 12th of February, and on the 13th a deputation from the city waited on the prince, and signed the surrender of Gaeta, Capua, Rescharia, Naples, and the other forts. But it afterwards appeared that, whatever the above-mentioned deputation might sign, Gaeta was in fact very far from having surrendered ; and that the prince of Hesse Philipstahl, having been summoned by General Regnier to capitulate, answered with becoming firmness that he intended to justify the king's confidence in him. Accordingly the prince sustained a long and desperate siege, and at last drew off the remains of his garrison by aid of the British, who had rendered him the most essential assistance during this arduous struggle.

The triumphant entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into his capital, to take upon himself the sovereignty of the kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother to the extinction of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power, and will ever impose upon simplicity. But these external demonstrations of joy could ill conceal the real situation of his new acquisition. The invader and the patriot were still, in some parts, in determined and active hostility. The feelings of the different parties had attained the paroxysm of rage. The brave Calabrians*, maddened by the infliction of

* One event in the Calabrian war, as it is connected with the display of British skill and valour, deserves notice. With a force of less than five thousand men, General Stuart embarked from Sicily in the month of July, and landed at St. Euphemia on the opposite shore. The French general Regnier was no sooner informed of this landing than he marched his troops from his station at Reggio, collecting as he proceeded his scattered detachments, to meet the English, in full confidence of success. Having arrived within ten miles of their army, he encamped with a

such horrors on men whose crime consisted only in the defence of their country, resolved, if possible, to outdo them in retaliation. The disposition to an exterminating contest appeared mutual. The excess of resentment seemed to destroy

force which, with the addition of three thousand men, who joined the night before the battle, amounted, at the lowest calculation, to seven thousand men, on the side of a woody hill, beneath the village of Maida, sloping into the plain of St. Euphemia. His flanks were strengthened by an impervious underwood, and the Annato, a fordable river, but the sides of which were extremely marshy, along his front. On the 4th he was approached by General Stuart in this strong position over a spacious plain, which gave him an opportunity of observing the minutest motions; and about nine o'clock in the morning, after some loose firing on both sides to cover the manœuvres of the two armies, the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, 'when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly to be at issue before the world.' The right of the advanced line consisted of Lieut.-colonel Kempt's battalion of light infantry, with the light companies of seven other regiments and one hundred and fifty chosen battalion-men under Major Robinson, who were opposed by the favourite French regiment of St. Legere. A few rounds were fired reciprocally by both armies at the distance of about one hundred yards; 'when, as if by mutual consent, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order and awful silence they advanced towards each other till their bayonets began to close. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly; but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.' General Auckland availed himself of the opportunity to press with his brigade, which was on the left of the right infantry, upon the corps in front; which completed their dismay and disorder on the left, and covered the plain with their dead and wounded. In hope of recovering the day, Regnier made a new effort on the right, where his attack was received with the most undaunted firmness by General Cole's brigade, and the grenadiers and 27th regiment under Lieut.-colonels Smith and O'Callaghan. The French cavalry, repelled successively from before their front, attempted to turn their left; when Lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had that morning landed at Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up with the army during the action, by a well-directed fire from his regiment, opportunely manœuvred for that purpose, totally disconcerted the attempt. This was the last feeble struggle of the French, who, astonished and dismayed, now precipitately retreated from the field of battle, which was covered with carnage. Seven hundred

every relenting feeling of humanity, and in the weaker party all regard to the chances against their success. Impulse superceded circulations; passion imparted energy to weakness, and the want of discipline often seemed supplied by the phrenzy of revenge. Their exertions, however, could not prevent the reduction of the kingdom of Ferdinand, a monarch descended from a long line of royal ancestors, yet succeeded on the throne of Naples by the son of a plebeian, but the brother of a man, who from this low origin has raised himself to an elevation of power above any of the continental sovereigns; whose conscience has never proved a bar to his ambition, and whose profound plans and unrivalled energies have baffled the projects of confederated Europe.

of them were buried on the spot: a general and a lieutenant-colonel were among the wounded, who amounted to about a thousand. In Monteleone and various positions between the field of battle and Reggio were stationed also above a thousand men, who speedily surrendered. The total loss to the French was estimated at 4000; while that on the side of the British consisted of one officer, three serjeants; forty-one rank and file killed, eleven officers, eight serjeants, two drummers, and two hundred and sixty-one rank and file wounded. It was soon, however, perceived that every effort, according to all human probability, would be ineffectual to expel the French from their conquest. With that prudence therefore which should always accompany and direct valour, General Stuart soon after re-embarked for Sicily. We may lament that this most splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage with respect to the immediate object of it; but the impression it made of the discipline and bravery of British soldiers was of incalculable value. The pride of Bonaparte was mortified at seeing those of his troops most distinguished for their high exploits, retiring before the bayonets of the English, and, with all their experience and reputation in arms, yielding an easy victory to a very inferior force.—The honours were here tarnished which had been acquired at Lodi and Arcola, at Marengo and Austerlitz; while from the plain of Maida sprung another and perhaps more brilliant wreath to adorn the brow of British valour, in addition to what had before been acquired in the fields of Egypt.

After the insult which Prussia had received by the violation of her territory, it was hoped that she would co-operate in imposing a check on the ambition and usurpations of Bonaparte. But the progress of the French conqueror soon extinguished the last spark of hope relating to this concert, while the versatility and equivocation, the odious rivalry and selfish rapacity of Prussian policy, became the theme of universal invective; and circumstances took place which convinced those who remained unconvinced before, that she had been guided in her conduct by motives of the most unworthy character. On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the king of Prussia to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that, since the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving that country from the flames of war consisted in forming a convention with the French emperor, by which the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia, till peace.

Soon after this, however, his Prussian majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had so ineffectually attempted the concealment of his real designs on the electorate, by publishing, on the 1st of April, a proclamation, in which he states the conclusion of a convention between himself and the French emperor, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy: and, as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France in right of conquest, he declares that the rightful possession of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick situated in Germany, had passed over to him in return for the above cession on his part, and that they were now subjected only to his power; that henceforth their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. The ports of the North Sea, and rivers running into the same, were also to be shut against the English trade and navigation.

The greater proportion of the subjects of Prussia were well aware of this abject degradation in which they had been in-

volved by their government ; and the disaffection and discontents which ensued were natural to the occasion. Expressions of loyal and devout attachment were suspended. Conversations in public assumed a tone of animated comment upon public measures which had rarely been employed. Men of rank and station deplored the shade which had been thrown over the character of their country. The military entered into the general feeling with peculiar ardour : this feeling was in some instances almost roused to phrenzy, and, if probable reports may be credited, the attendants and relations of majesty itself were daring enough in the royal presence to give intimation of their disgusts. This spirit of high disdain, dangerous in any government, and particularly in a military one, when those who are destined for the support of despotism feel a stronger disposition to remonstrate than to obey, was thought not unworthy the notice of power. Several of the military officers of the staff were not only reprimanded, but cashiered, for the freedom with which they had expressed themselves on political topics ; and a proclamation was published, prohibiting the discussion of the proceedings of government : measures which checked the ebullition of popular feeling, but confirmed probably rather than changed the public opinion. To the king of Sweden the conduct of Prussia was equally exceptionable as to her own subjects, and he felt not that restraint in the expression of his disgust which was experienced by them. In the mean time measures were taken by the British government for blockading the Prussian harbours, and for capturing all vessels carrying the Prussian flag.

Russia, after the peace between Austria and France, still continued active in the war, and a detachment of her troops succeeded in obtaining possession of the mouths of the Cattaro, which ought to have been surrendered to Bonaparte. Though this gave great disgust to the conqueror, yet Austria refused to permit his troops a passage through its territory into Dalmatia, the reason for which refusal was stated to be,

that the Russians would expect, in consequence of such an advantage granted to the French, similar facilities, and the hereditary states would be exposed to those inconveniences which never fail to attend the march of large bodies of armed men in any country. These two causes of disgust led to the detention of Brannau by Bonaparte. The Austrian prisoners also, who had not already returned to their own country, were ordered to halt and go back to France. Such were the unsettled relations between France and Austria for a long time: and, considering the distress and loss which Austria had experienced in the late campaign, it was gratifying to see that she thought herself strong enough to refuse any demand and resist any pretension of the conqueror. Opposition, however slight, excited gleams of hope, that the emperor might yet recover in time some means of effectual resistance; a hope which was, also, somewhat encouraged by the appointment of the archduke Charles to the chief command of all the forces of his empire, with full power to effect such reform in the state of the armies as the crisis of the times called for. The defaulters in the late miserable campaign were brought to trial, and many of them received that punishment which their treachery or cowardice fully merited. One general was shot for his conduct at Ulm. Neglect of duty, arising from no mean or criminal intentions, was far from being passed unnoticed. The prince of Ausberg, by whose neglect and folly the bridge of Vienna, which he had been ordered to burn down, was left standing, was sentenced to an imprisonment of ten years.

Innumerable were the courts martial held, by order of the archduke, in his new and distinguished situation; and in many cases, where no higher punishment was required, a dismissal from the service was the result. Those officers also, who, from whatever cause, had become infirm, were superse-
ded on respectable establishments; and in the room of men who had shown themselves in the crisis of danger totally incompetent to afford their country protection, were substituted

others of high honour, vigorous activity, and alert obedience. The judgment and energy displayed by the emperor's brother in the duties of his department were such as did honour to his appointment. He dismissed all foreigners who held commands in the Austrian armies. He was convinced that a nation will ever be best protected by her own children. In pursuance of this last idea, the institution of voluntary corps was adopted ; and in the capital, and in various parts of the hereditary states, vast numbers obeyed the impulse of honour and patriotism, and formed themselves into armed associations, ready at their country's call to fly to her assistance. Arrangements were made to facilitate the means of recruiting, and filling up the different battalions in the service to their correct compliment, as well as for increasing the number already on the establishment. The former system of military regulations was succeeded by a new code, calculated to introduce simplicity and dispatch ; and in few cases has so general and valuable a change been effected in the military arrangements of a country as in this instance was accomplished.

These regulations were certainly noticed by Bonaparte ; but in the existing circumstances of Europe, the reinforcements of the Austrian armies could not certainly be construed into any deviation from even the spirit of treaties. With Russia, in vast force on the frontiers of Poland, Prussia upon the full war establishment, and Bonaparte himself covering Germany with his battalions, the justification of this increase was too obvious to admit of reasonable exception, and the capacious vigilance of Napoleon could not pretend that it was not a measure of vindicable and essential policy. In the situation, however, in which Bonaparte at present was, he had an opportunity of watching the progress of political change. After withdrawing from Bohemia and Moravia he had concentrated his army. To this formidable engine he was indebted for all his political as well as military distinction, and he was determined to keep it in that commanding situation, by which he might not only secure what he had gained, but

complete the yet undeveloped plans of his ambition. In the heart of Germany he fixed his station: hence, if any blush of shame for her degradation should kindle on the cheek of Prussia; if Austria should attempt to escape from that depression wherein she had been plunged, in which, however, amidst all her losses, she has preserved her honour; if in the territories of either power the Emperor of Russia should see reason to expect a theatre for those formidable hostilities which he wanted only an opportunity for displaying; from this commanding eminence Bonaparte could discern and anticipate their movements. Here he could exercise his eagle eye, and was ready to crush with his talons the first offspring of the hostile mind. But Austria, with all her exertions, was little inclined to engage again in the contest; and although not calmly contented with her situation, she felt it preferable to irretrievable ruin. She seemed indeed destined to verify the declaration of Bonaparte,—that, in his arrangements with that power, posterity would never be able to reproach him with the want of foresight; and, having not reached the ultimate point of her depression by the treaty of Presburg, she was afterwards induced or compelled to sign an abdication of her German imperial title. In the month of August this abdication took place. In a proclamation by the emperor of this date, he stated, that, even had the slightest hope remained, after the treaty of Presburg, of such an alteration of affairs as might have permitted the execution of his various imperial duties, the convention lately ratified at Paris, relative to the separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar confederation, would have utterly and for ever extinguished it. His principles and duty therefore required of him the abdication of a crown which was valued by him only while he enjoyed the confidence of the German states, and could perform the duties which were connected with it. But the charge of chief of the empire having ceased by this new confederation, the ties by which he was attached to the states of Germany were completely dissolved.

He was acquitted of his obligations ; he resigned the imperial crown : and he absolved all the electors, princes, states and magistrates, from all those obligations by which they had been united to himself by the laws of the Germanic constitution.

The confederation of the Rhine, to which his imperial majesty referred in this curious and humiliating document, was ratified on the 12th of July. This important paper, which, by a few lines of the pen, supported, however, by the power of the sword, subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences with observing that their majesties the Emperor of the French, and the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the archchancellor, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, (the emperor's brother-in-law Murat) together with the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and various other princes, dukes, and counts, whose names are enumerated, being desirous to secure the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements, from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which they had agreed on, and which were ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by a particular act, called the Confederated States of the empire. The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress which should sit at Frankfort, divided into two colleges, respectively of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise among the members, who could in no case enter into the service of any other power their sovereignty or territory. The elector archchancellor was to preside in this congress under the title of prince primate, having the city and territory of Frankfort under his complete sovereignty, and on the demise of any prince primate the right of naming a successor should attach to the Emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation.

Various cessions and exchanges between the several members of the federation were specified, and very considerable additions of territory were made to many of them, to which they had no other right than what arose from the power of the union. With respect to each member, the limits were minutely set down of his territory and authority, in which the sovereignty of the imperial knightdoms in each state is included. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the Emperor of France or any individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause, and, in case of preparations for war against one of the parties, his minister should be authorised to demand of the congress a general arming of the confederation. The congress should regulate the proportion of the assistance to the emergency of the case, and the summons of the emperor to the parties should be the signal for their taking the field.

The fallen fortunes of the house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, and compelled to shelter its most distinguished title of emperor in its hereditary states, where, as if by a prophetic anticipation, it had secured an asylum, presents an impressive picture to the imagination. It was a spectacle of no common interest, to observe the descendant of imperial chiefs through a long series of generations, degraded into a renunciation of his dignity in behalf of a man, who, by his talents and his sword, was enabled to trample on the necks of sovereigns; and by whom family honours, and political establishments, which had endured for centuries, were swept away in promiscuous ruin.

CHAP. XXXI.

BONAPARTE'S VISIT TO THE KING OF BAVARIA—HIS ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY—EXPOSE OF HIS EMPIRE—LAW OF HIS FAMILY—TITLES AND ESTABLISHMENTS CONFERRED ON HIS RELATIVES AND OFFICERS—GRAND MILITARY FESTIVAL—LOUIS BONAPARTE MADE KING OF HOLLAND—BONAPARTE'S MILITARY EXECUTION OF PALM—CONVOCATION OF A SANHEDRIM.

THE solicitude of Bonaparte to preserve the affections of the military, who have constituted that mighty lever which has removed for him every obstacle in his way to empire, has been at all times conspicuous. When his successes against the Emperor of Austria were completed, he issued a proclamation expressive of his high satisfaction for their services. But the bare expression of his gratitude would not do justice to his feelings or his policy. The widows of those who had fallen in the campaign were pensioned with liberality. Their children also were to be provided for at the public expence. Contributions to an enormous extent were levied on the conquered territories, a great proportion of which was applied to the discharge of the regular pay of his armies; part was converted into funds for the annuities of the relations of those who had died in battle, for the support of those who had been disabled in the service by wounds or hardships necessarily incident to their mode of life; and from the rest rewards were distributed among those individuals of the army who had displayed particular prowess or skill. Having made those provisions, and ordered such arrangements as were deemed requisite in the existing circumstances of his army, he was preparing to return to France. His arrival, however, was for

some time delayed. At Munich in Bavaria he was occupied in celebrating the nuptials of his step-son, Beauharnois, with the daughter of the Elector of Bavaria, whom he had lately created a king. In this city he appears to have shaken off, in a great degree, the anxieties of civil and military business. He entered with alacrity into the amusements which his royal host prepared for him in rapid and various successions. In the mornings he visited the warehouses and manufactures of the city, or was engaged with his regal associates in the diversion of hunting. Concerts and the theatre filled up a great portion of the evening, together with assemblies, in which the dignity of power was laid aside for the sprightly freedom of conversation; and these were occasionally followed by balls, in which Napoleon himself did not hesitate to join, while the Bavarian ladies admired the gracefulness of his dance, and were delighted with the elegance of his imperial foot.

Bonaparte, having at length arrived at his capital, received those expressions of congratulation and attachment which might naturally be expected. He proceeded on the 2d of March to open the sitting of the legislative body. His arrival was announced by the firing of cannon. The head of his statue in the hall was adorned with a crown of laurel. Military music played at the emperor's entrance, and at the moment he ascended the throne the empress and the whole assembly stood up, while the shouts of 'Long live the emperor!' resounded through the hall. The ceremony of taking the oath by some members being concluded, the emperor rose and addressed the assembly in a speech, of which what follows is a summary. Since his last meeting that assembly, a coalition of the greater part of Europe, effected by England, had been subdued. His allies had acquired power and consideration. Weak states had been avenged of the strong.—The King of Naples had lost his crown. The whole peninsula of Italy was attached to the Great Empire, and the sovereigns and constitutions of its several parts were guaranteed by himself. Russia had been obliged to retreat to her own

territories with the wreck of her armies. Austria might have been irreparably destroyed, but her power had been confirmed. Complete confidence was reposed in her declarations. But the liberality of his arrangements was connected with vigilance and foresight, and she could never again injure France: indeed the high destinies of his crown would ever maintain his throne against all the efforts of envy and hatred, and his people were ready for any sacrifice when combinations of foreign powers menaced its security. Although he had been bred in armies always successful, his soldiers had exceeded his hopes, and had ceased to conquer only when they had ceased to fight; while all the classes of his people had performed their duty, and manifested that ardour of attachment which was more glorious to him than all his military renown. Some ships had been lost through the violence of the elements, and in consequence of a battle imprudently begun, but which did credit to the zeal and attachment of his ally the King of Spain. With England he desired peace, which should experience on his part no delay, and which might have for its basis the treaty of Amiens.

The exposé of the empire was, a few days after, laid before the same assembly. In this paper are detailed the events of consequence which had taken place since the coronation of the emperor. The prodigies of the preceding year, which had transported the French with love, and overwhelmed the rest of Europe with consternation, sufficiently explained how well he had discharged the obligations then incurred. The visits of the emperor during the year 1805 to various parts of his dominions are then mentioned. Returning from Italy before it was thought possible to have completed his object, the emperor had arrived on the western coast of France; and England, now justly alarmed for her security, excited that diversion on the continent which was the only mode of delaying her destruction. The forces of France were instantly transported from Boulogne to the Rhine, and advanced in a series of unopposed successes to Ulm, Vienna, and Austria.

By the genius of the chief of the empire, the war was completed in a space of time shorter than one of the annual sessions of the assembly. In the midst of his labours, and experiencing the fatigue of a private soldier, with no bed but straw, and no canopy but that heaven from which his genius flowed, he still held the reins of the government of France, entered into all the minuteness of its details, was acquainted with every circumstance of its complicated economy, and, during his absence from his beloved people, 'resembled that invisible being who is only known by his power and benevolence.' The order of the interior, from which all regular soldiers were removed to the scene of hostility, was not for a single moment interrupted. The war of unprecedented success was followed by a peace, the terms of which were dictated by generosity and moderation. An enemy unfortunate in battle had lost eventually only a portion of those dominions which might have been wholly detained from him. France had been surrounded by nations friendly to her government, under the administration of princes whose power she had extended, and to whose titles she had added splendour: and Italy, which was a conquest over England, whose commerce and armies were now driven from her shores, was advanced by the war to a degree of power and prosperity, which promised to France itself, although under a different crown, the most important advantages. She was united to Germany by the recent alliance with Bavaria; and peace and commercial activity would now be joined by that delightful country, whose subjugation by the French arms would prove her highest benefit.

With respect to the internal state of France, amidst innumerable and important improvements, the ports of the empire, it was observed, had been an object of peculiar attention and solicitude; particularly the new port Bonaparte, which would be worthy of that great name, and become the terror of England on the Channel. In consequence of great exertions, Toulon, also one of the most beautiful works of art and na-

ture, would speedily be recovered from its disasters, restored to its former prosperity by the same hand which delivered it from the enemy. In Bretagne, a country almost desolated by the civil wars of France during her revolutionary progress, and which had participated but little in her general civilization, a new city was to be erected, called Napoleonville, which was to be a depot of commerce and peace, and of naval stores in war. In Vendee, also, a city was building, to be designated by the same great name, which would, in this application, most appropriately bring to the recollection of all Frenchmen great misfortunes completely repaired.

But the colonies and commerce of the empire called for the particular attention of the government; and, fleets and seamen being indispensable for these purposes, it was requisite explicitly to state, that the finances necessary would be very considerable to attain those objects, and to support also that numerous army which might be kept up, to prevent surprise and counteract the contingencies of circumstances. But all the warlike preparations of fleets and armies, even the revival of the flotilla, which would speedily take place by the return of the conquerors of Vienna to the coast, were to be regarded only as a necessary apparatus for that moderate but secure peace, which was the grand object of the anxieties of government. The coalition had been baffled in all its projects; under the protection of the imperial eagle were now placed one hundred and ten departments of France, Holland, Italy, Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and Naples; and they were given by it as allies to France, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, besides several others of the principal powers of Germany. Austria was fully sensible of the dangers of the English connection, and was aware it could, only in the friendship of France, enjoy that repose which its states wanted more than any other power in Europe. Russia would soon discover that her genuine glory consisted in the liberation of the empire of the seas. Having offered peace to Austria and Naples before their destruction or disasters, the emperor now offered it to

England, which might certainly retain her immense acquisitions in India; but, in reasonable correspondence with this concession, she must recognise the new federative system of the French emperor. Each succeeding coalition which England had formed, had only increased the power and territory of the French nation. By the first had been gained Belgium, the boundary of the Rhine; the federation of Holland with France; and the conquest of the states of the present kingdom of Italy. The second had procured for it Piedmont. The third had added to her grand federation Naples and Venice. It was time now for that power to discern her imbecility. Finally, however, the emperor considered what had actually been done for the glory of France as but little, compared with what remained. He had exhausted military glory, and wanted none of those blood-stained laurels which he had been compelled to gather. He wished now to perfect the public administration, to promote the permanent and increasing happiness of his people, to render his acts a lesson and example of elevated morality, and merit the blessing of the present and future generations by a life devoted to these most laborious, but most glorious of human exertions.

On the 31st of March, the archchancellor of the empire was authorized to preside in the room of the emperor in the assembly of the senate, and presented for their sanction, from his imperial majesty, an act, the first part of which was a code of regulations, by which the education of the princes of the imperial family, who ought to be trained in the most elevated sensibilities, and could be accomplished for their high destinies only by extraordinary means, should be entrusted in all cases to the father of the empire, and which specified the duties of their relationship to that august personage in almost all possible variations of circumstances. The city and territories of Venice were by the next part to be added to the kingdom of Italy. By the third, the pious affection of the emperor's brother, Joseph, for the head of his house, was to be remunerated by the throne of Naples, which in no case

was to be connected with that of France. In consideration of the splendid services and virtues of prince Murat, he was by the fourth part of this act to possess in full sovereignty the duchies of Cleves and Berg. The principality of Guastalla, with some others, was conferred on the prince Paulina and her husband the prince Borghese; and by another part of this comprehensive act the principality of Neufchatel was conferred on Marshal Berthier, whom his majesty was pleased to designate as an officer equally fearless and intelligent, his old companion in arms; whose elevation to this dignity, while it gave peculiar gratification to the emperor, would excite the sensibility of every good heart. From the inability which the emperor experienced to provide adequately for many who had distinguished themselves by the importance or splendour of their services, Parma, Placentia, Venice, and several other states of Italy, were by the last article of the act to furnish upwards of twenty titles of high distinction, accompanied with appropriate domains, to be both transmitted by those heroic men to their descendants. The intended marriage of his niece Stephanie to the hereditary prince of Baden was announced by a message to the senate; and, in another address to the same body, the emperor signified his wish to cut off from his people of Italy that suspense which they must feel about their future destiny, and which must materially interrupt their happiness under that government which they wished to see perpetuated. With this view, in case of failure of heirs to himself, he had, as authorised by the constitutional act, adopted to the hereditary throne of that kingdom his son the existing viceroy, whose skill in government and war entitled him to this distinction; who had achieved exploits in the field which renewed his own renown; and who, in critical and stormy emergencies, had conducted himself, in the supreme administration of affairs, with that peculiar judgment and conciliation which had confirmed the powers of government by the affections of the people. But, as uniformity of laws, beyond certain geographical and moral limits,

must ever be injurious, the crown of Italy was in no circumstances whatever to be joined with that of France.

In connection with the establishment of the new monarch of Italy, a military order of knighthood was instituted by Bonaparte, to consist of 200 knights of the order of the 'Iron Crown,' which afforded an opportunity of rewarding many of his officers, and may be regarded as another evidence of his devotion to that class of merit, from which he had derived such singular advantage.

Soon after the termination of the campaign in Germany, a grand requiem was celebrated, with all the popular solemnities of the Romish religion and all the pomp of cathedral service, for the warriors who had fallen in battle. The most depressive aspect of war was soothed by scattering honours over the tombs of heroes, whose widows and children had obtained a settlement from the funds of the nation, and whose patriotic exertions, now closed in honourable death, called forth those tears and intercessions before the Supreme Mind for their eternal felicity, which, springing from pious affection, were supposed to effect changes in the state of the dead, or in the destinations of omniscience. While the rites of the departed were performed with those expressions of unequivocal regret and veneration, which, in a moment of enthusiasm, might almost inspire the spectators of this captivating ceremony with the wish of exchanging situations with the celebrated dead, festivals were contemplated, with the same principal object in view, and to an unequalled extent. The armies of Napoleon, on their return from the seat of war, were to assemble in the heart of their country. For a succession of days they were to enjoy all those festivities which the bounty of gratitude or the invention of genius could suggest. Rewards were to be distributed by their chief. Games should be instituted, which were to exceed, in elegance and dignity, every thing that antiquity had transmitted; and the civil administrations were to furnish every facility to give

success to this comprehensive project of national and enthusiastic commemoration. The circumstances of the continent, however, prevented the accomplishment of this intended festival.

A circumstance of gratification for the people of Paris, which occurred this year, was the arrival of an ambassador from the grand signior, expressly appointed to congratulate Bonaparte on his accession to the throne of France. The eastern style of address and compliment which characterized his excellency's speech to Napoleon on his grand audience, was not so remote from the habits of the Parisians so as to prevent their cordial sympathies. The bright star of glory of the western nations ; the greatest of the sovereigns in the christian faith : he, who grasped in one hand the sword of valour, and in the other the sceptre of justice, were designations which met with their complete concurrence. At the same time an embassy from Constantinople was followed by one from their high mightinesses of Holland, the object of which was, the effecting of a change in the constitution of that country, stated by the commissioners to be demanded by the necessities and desires of the people, by erecting Holland into a kingdom, and establishing prince Louis, the brother of the emperor, upon its throne.

By the constitutional code, agreed upon at Paris for this purpose, and accepted by Louis Napoleon, the constitutional laws actually existing were still to remain in force, excepting in cases in which they might be persuaded by the recent treaty, or by the articles of the new code. The government of the Dutch colonies, whose receipts and expenditure should be incorporated with those of the state, was to be conducted by special regulations. The guarantees of the public debt ; the employment of the Dutch language in all laws, ordinances, and publications of authority ; the preservation of the existing weight and value of the coin, unless altered by any express statute ; the continuance of the former flag of the state ; and the appointment of a council of state to consist of

thirteen members, among whom the ministers were to vote and deliberate, were established by the general dispositions of the first part of the code. By the second part, equal protection was extended to all the modes of religion professed in the state, and the exercise of public religious duties was limited to the respective churches of all the different sects.—Every thing relative to the organization, protection, and exercise of worship was to be regulated by the king, and the law; and the king was to enjoy, wherever he might fix his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion. By the third part of these dispositions the complete exercise of the executive government, and of all the power necessary for carrying the laws into effect, was possessed by the king. He appointed to all the offices and places, the nomination which had belonged to the grand pensionary, and possessed all the pre-eminence and prerogatives attached to that dignity. The coin was to bear his effigy. Justice was to be administered in his name; and the power of pardoning offences and remitting punishments was to be possessed by him, although not to be exercised without an audience of the members of the national court in the privy council. The regent, in case of a minority, should be the queen, otherwise some person appointed by the emperor, who should always have natives for counsellors, and never be personally responsible for the acts of administration. The government and internal administrations of the colonies were exclusively vested in the king; and the general government of the kingdom was to be under the immediate inspection of four ministers of state, respectively for the interior, for finances, for naval and military concerns, and for the department of foreign affairs. With respect to the law, the fourth part declares it to be established by the union of the legislative assembly of their high mightinesses and the king. The legislative body was to consist of thirty-eight members chosen by the different provinces for five years; and on the present occasion, as nineteen members were necessary to complete that number, for

every place to be filled, their high mightiness, and the departmental assemblies of each department, were each to present a nomination of two persons, from whom the king should make his choice. The present grand pensionary was to take the office of president of their high mightinesses, for life, and his successor was to be appointed agreeably to the dispositions of 1805. The legislative body should in general assemble twice a year for the space of about six weeks or two months, and might be summoned by the king on any extraordinary occasion: and on the 15th of November, in every year, after the few first instances, which should be regulated by lot, the eldest five of this body should go out, without losing their re-eligibility. With regard to the fifth and last part of this code, and which treats of the judicial power, the power attached to the late pensionary devolved on the king, and the judicial tribunals remained also upon the former establishment, excepting that a particular law was to regulate the administration of criminal justice on military affairs.

What portion of freedom was likely to be allowed by the new government, was soon collected from the circumstance of the suppression of a public paper called the 'Amsterdam Evening Journal,' the editor of which had certainly taken undue liberties, and might in a free country have reasonably incurred penalties from the ordinary tribunals. But by the suppression of this paper by the royal edict, Louis manifested to his people his attachment to that summary process which despotism ever prefers to the tediousness and uncertainty attending public forms, and courts of justice; and in thus confounding the judicial and executive administration of power, too plainly evinced that he had more at heart the extension of his own authority, than the dignity and liberty of the people whom he governed. The constitution itself, however, of the new kingdom was by no means the establishment of an unqualified monarchy, and in better times might have led to a system of polity, which would unite the due limitation of power with the complete security of order.

The pressure of the armies of France upon the German territories, while Bonaparte was watching the motions of his neighbours, or carrying into effect his projects of spoliation, was great, and contributions were levied by him on the inhabitants not only without reluctance but without moderation. In these circumstances, complaint was expressed in a tone of firmness and animation. The spirit of resistance was summoned to its noblest exertions, in a variety of publications which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, who were carried to the fortress of Braunau. Among these the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, which was one of the free towns of Germany possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet entitled 'Germany in the lowest State of Degradation,' which had been read with great avidity. He was in consequence arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. A court-martial was held on his case, consisting of General Berthier, seven colonels, and an adjutant with a reporter. After sitting for three days, Palm, who had not been present during the depositions, was brought into court, where the evidence was read to him; after which he was ordered to withdraw, and the court consulted about the extent of his guilt and punishment, and adjudged him to be shot within 24 hours. This proceeding, although affecting immediately only an obscure individual, excited considerable attention and indignation throughout Europe, in several countries of which subscriptions were raised for the family of the deceased: and although the chief of the French government did not personally appear upon the bloody stage, he incurred that odium which might naturally attach to him from the consideration, that the performers on the scene must have been at least well aware of his approba-

tion of their conduct, and that he has ever entertained a decided enmity to that freedom of the press which is certainly the most formidable foe to tyranny, and will eventually effect its extermination. The state of the press in France is just such as in these circumstances might be expected. No foreign publications are permitted to be imported without an express sanction, and the British journals are excluded from circulation with the most anxious solicitude. From the certainty that any work including free strictures on the conduct of public affairs, would expose its circulators to the swift infliction of vengeance proportioned to the energy and the truth with which they were delivered, nothing in the form of censure on these topics is ever exhibited. Every page of politics is a panegyric on the imperial administration; and even science has condescended to adopt the adulation of the public journals, and to extol the liberty as well as glory of the great nation.

The attention of the religious world was particularly drawn by some events occurring this year in France in relation to the Jews. The situation of this people has ever interested those who have adverted to their universal dispersion through barbarous and civilized nations, without melting in either case into the common mass, and sinking their national language, manners, or religion, to which with inviolable fidelity they have adhered, amidst that scorn and persecution which through a long succession of ages have been their only inheritance. Liberal religionists have thought they saw in it some corroboration of their faith, attended with certain inexplicable difficulties: speculative men in the world have found in it a moral problem, for which their utmost ingenuity has been unable to furnish a satisfactory solution; while the humane of all descriptions have viewed with sentiments of the most sincere commiseration, a race of people, who, inheriting a tainted reputation, are precluded, perhaps, from the very strongest motive to upright and manly character, and, despairing to derive estimation, like other men, from virtue, not

unnaturally plunge into all the circumventions of fraud and all the profligacy of dishonour. Complaint had been repeatedly communicated to the emperor from various departments, of the fraudulent and usurious conduct of these people; and deputations from the Jews scattered over the various parts of the empire, were ordered to appear at Paris in an assembly, which might hold conferences with the government for the correction of the evil complained of, and the consideration of other subjects, interesting to their body in particular, and also to the nation at large. The assembly soon met in consequence of these instructions, and was opened by a commissioner of the government. Their meeting was stated to be pregnant with very important consequences. They were now for the first time to be judged by a christian prince with fairness and impartiality. It would be their wisdom not to suspect the beneficial intentions of government, and, shewing no desire to separate from other classes of society, to co-operate with the kind exertions of the emperor, whose ardent desire it was to see them become genuine Frenchmen, and who demanded their attention and deliberation on various questions, to which it was expected they would reply with perfect freedom and explicitness.

In answer to several of the questions presented to them, they, after several discussions, at length stated, that their law permitted polygamy, divorce, and mixed marriages, which were, however, modified by usage. In reply to the questions relative to the duties of French citizens, their answers were in a high degree satisfactory. The imperial commissioner attended at the assembly of the Jewish deputies some time after the delivery of these answers, and expressed his majesty's approbation of them. In return for the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their political rights, the emperor observed, through his deputy, that he exacted a religious guarantee for the observance of the principles announced in their answers. For this purpose, it was requisite that these answers should be converted into de-

disions by an assembly of a more impressive and religious form that they might be placed by the side of the Talmud, and acquire the greatest possible authority. It was therefore proposed to convoke the grand Sanhedrim: which, having fallen with the Temple, would now re-appear to enlighten the people in the law, and to animate them to the love and defence of that country which was the only one wherein they had been permitted to attain any respectable notice since the ruin of their ancient polity. The Sanhedrim should consist of sixty-six members, and a committee of the present assembly be appointed to arrange the subjects of discussion for that grand council, whose convocation they were to announce to all the synagogues of Europe.

The anticipated consequences of these events, respecting a nation which from its first bondage in Egypt has been exposed to the perpetual abhorrence of the world, from the unsocial spirit and ferocious fanaticism of its manners and institutions, varied in different minds according to their respective habits of speculation or prejudice. Judicious observers, however, were pleased with beholding evidences of that progressive reason, which, by slow indeed, but certain influences, ameliorates the affairs of the world: and the removal or mitigation of sectarian hatred, the abandonment of inhuman ceremonies, and the elevation of a degraded race of men to usefulness, to estimation, and dignity, were conceived to be the tendency and object of these extraordinary measures of Bonaparte, which were, however, speedily suspended by the more urgent events which pressed upon his attention.

The range and multiplicity of subjects which occupied the attention of the French emperor, are not undeserving of notice. It might seem as if nothing was too vast for his comprehension, or too minute for his observation; and it appears impossible not to admire the facility with which he personally directs the details of affairs, civil as well as military, the most complicated and the most various. Not merely to the transcendence of his genius, but also to his indefatigable

and incessant application of it, he is indebted for his almost uninterrupted success. He inspects every thing with his own eye. He labours with more industry than any secretary or clerk in office. His principal relaxation is in the variety of business. He considers the refreshments of nature 'not as the premium and privilege,' but as the task of life. He appoints to stations of distinction, those only who by experience or talents are qualified to discharge the duties of them, and superintends that discharge with a vigilance which will not permit the approach of delinquency or remissness. These are qualities which merit imitation, and enough will still remain to gratify those who are delighted with censure. No formidable adversary to any nation or individual ever yet existed, from whom something valuable might not be imitated, and the most effectual way to injure an enemy, is to follow his example in those judicious regulations which have led to his success. The industry of Bonaparte may be copied by those who detest the ultimate object of it. In his bestowment of honours upon merit, in his inspection into the abuses of administration, he may be resembled, not only without disgrace but even with honour, while that boundless thirst of power, which prevents the repose of harassed Europe, receives all the reprobation which it merits. His temperance and energy, his prompt decision, his steady vigilance, his unwearied assiduity, may be praised, and at least partly imitated, while he is justly condemned for his spoliation of peaceful states, and breach of the most solemn engagements; for that policy of expedience which admits no moral check to the enterprises of his ambition, and that abject prostration of his country's rights, amidst which he asserts the perfection both of her glory and freedom.

CHAP. XXXII.

COMMENCEMENT OF A NEGOCIATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—DIGNIFIED CONDUCT OF THE ENGLISH MINISTERS—UNPRECEDENTED INTERFERENCE OF BONAPARTE—SITUATION OF PRUSSIA—RUPTURE OF THE NEGOCIATION—BONAPARTE PREPARES FOR WAR WITH PRUSSIA—BATTLE OF JENA—SUCCESS AND SKILL OF THE FRENCH GENERALS—RETREAT OF GENERAL BLUCHER—BONAPARTE'S ENTRY INTO BERLIN—DECREES FOR THE BLOCKADE OF THE BRITISH ISLES—ADVANCES TO PRAGA—DEFEATS THE RUSSIANS—HIS CONDUCT CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF HIS ENEMIES.

SHORTLY after the Fox administration had been formed, a project for assassinating Bonaparte was communicated by a foreigner to the prime-minister. Mr. Fox immediately transmitted to M. Talleyrand a statement of the circumstances, with some detail of feelings on the occasion. Bonaparte, on this, declared, that France wished for nothing that England was in possession of. To accelerate a negotiation, Lord Yarmouth, one of the persons who had been detained by Bonaparte at the commencement of the war, was invested with power as a diplomatic agent. This nobleman insisted, as preliminaries, that Russia should be permitted a party in the negotiation, and that Hanover should be restored to the King of Great Britain. Both these demands were admitted. Just at this time M. d'Oubril arrived at Paris with full powers from the Russian government to conclude a peace; and notwithstanding the dignified remonstrances of the British government, a separate treaty was soon after signed between France and Russia. Bonaparte, we may easily sup-

pose, was so much delighted at the success of his policy with regard to Russia as England was surprised and disgusted at it. Lord Lauderdale was now appointed to act in conjunction with Lord Yarmouth in this delicate business. Their first efforts were directed to fixing the negotiation on a certain basis. But France represented the Russian treaty as a splendid victory, and Bonaparte substituted that irritation and asperity by which he has so often violated the decorum of ministerial agency. He now declared that he considered the very idea of the *uti possidetis* (though before admitted) was disgraceful, and the British plenipotentiaries were refused their passports, and treated with the most profound neglect. An event however occurred, which changed the haughty tone of the French ministers. This was the non-ratification of the Russian treaty. They now exhibited the most striking appearance of conciliation and cordiality, and the English minister was thus placed on higher ground than he had before occupied.

It may be proper here to remark that the relations of France and Prussia had, before this period, undergone a material alteration. It had been sufficiently understood by Prussia, that, in the deliberations at Paris on the subject of peace, Hanover had been insisted upon by England, and agreed to be yielded by France. The irritation produced by this circumstance may be presumed not to have been small. Hanover had long been the favourite object of Prussian ambition. This had been the successful lure offered by Bonaparte to prevent her union with the third coalition. This had been the price of her honour, the reward of her perfidy. Without that courage which gives a comparative respectability to some acts, even of baseness, she had only gradually developed her views upon this territory! She first occupied it for its preservation from the evils of war, and in trust for its rightful owner, and only till the conclusion of peace. Its civil and political administration was not for some time connected with her military

calculated to excite repulsion and disgust, and remove to an unattainable distance the object of all deliberative intercourse between contending nations. Such, equally inconsistent with dignity and policy, is the criminative and overbearing style of this imperial note : in which, nevertheless, it seems sufficiently clear that Bonaparte felt the pressure of circumstances, and considered himself obliged to yield somewhat to political expediency. Little used, however, to concede, the asperity of his manner indicates the reluctance of his feelings. There is no grace in his compromise with circumstances, his concession is mingled with exasperation, and the means of conciliation are offered in the tone of defiance. The views of the French government being now fully disclosed, Lord Lauderdale declared his mission was completely at an end. During this long negociation, the British character for honour and frankness was nobly upheld, which formed a striking contrast with that finesse and precipitancy which marked the conduct of Bonaparte and his ministers.

Before the Earl of Lauderdale quitted Paris, the discussions between France and Prussia had advanced to a point which left no prospect, and only the slightest chance, of friendly arrangement. The tone of the Prussian court was that of firmness : the troops were animated with high enthusiasm, in the expectation of hostilities which they conceived the honour of the nation had long since required. The zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. Various towns and provinces proposed to raise and maintain regiments at their own expence ; and the students of the university of Halle requested permission to constitute themselves into a regiment of Hussars. The disposition manifested by the court was equally approved by foreign powers as by Prussian subjects. The king of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power and aggrandisement of France, and dispatched a letter, written by his own hand, to the king of Prussia, the object and effect of which was, to produce the oblivion of past alter-

cations, and the restoration of that confidence and amity which had been suspended, although not by very active and bloody hostility. The Prussian vessels, also, in the ports of Great Britain, were speedily liberated; and to cherish the spirit of hostility against France, and give it a direction of the greatest possible effect against that government, by producing a system of combined operations, Lord Morpeth was dispatched to the court of Berlin with proposals of a very comprehensive description. The object of his mission was indeed no less than the co-operation of a considerable English force with the Prussian army, which, with the vast forces of the Russian emperor, might be brought to bear with far greater probability of success than could attend any single-handed contest on the part of Prussia.

The preparations of Prussia were met with, at least, equal alertness on the part of the emperor of France, who was never yet behind his enemies in vigilance and activity, although policy has occasionally induced him to pretend a surprise. On the 24th of September, he quitted his capital to join the armies, infusing activity as he passed into the various parts of the service, and settling arrangements adapted to all the details of that complicated and formidable machine, whose operations he was about to direct with that promptitude and decision which had so uniformly promoted his success. In the mean time discussions were still continued, and even so late as the fifth of October, when both monarchs were at the head-quarters of their respective troops, a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to those of the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment. Within a very few days after, however, a declaration stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet.

From this interesting paper it will be immediately perceived, that Prussia felt herself now completely committed: her tone was decisive: her epithets were unqualified: and her indignation fluent and unrestrained. It displayed no

reserve of fear, and afforded no shelter for versatility. One circumstance must strike even the most cursory observer, however, of this production, which the Prussian government, nevertheless, does not seem to have been aware of. The solicitude for full vindication in an appeal to arms, has indeed sufficiently accomplished that object, but has led to that fullness and strength of statement, which involved the government in the most serious imputations. It does not appear to have considered, that the same grounds which acquit of presumption and precipitation, may sometimes convict of cowardice : but sordid meanness is not to bear the palm of moderation ; pusillanimity must not be confounded with dignified forbearance. If a government whose neutrality is purchased by the spoil of neutrals ; whose abstinence from just and glorious hostility, is a result of bribes stolen from the innocent ; whose concessions are made, not to error but to usurpation ; which has constantly met encroachment with apology, and menace with submission ; and which a perpetual series of aggressions has found inaccessible to self-respect ; if such a government is permitted to boast of its dignity, its elevated morality, its moderated views and spirit of benevolence ; there is an end at once to all those distinctions which have been hitherto thought to exist between the glory and the disgrace of nations. It surely ill becomes a mighty kingdom to admit, and even to boast, ' that it had been led on from humiliation to humiliation, till it approached the ultimate point of political degradation.' No difficulty whatever can possibly be experienced in admitting the truth of the assertion ; but miserable and abject must be the state of that government, whose defence consists in the acknowledgment of crimes, and whose vindication is stamped with greater infamy than could attend even the strongest evidence of the charge.

Both parties presumed themselves now ready for the conflict, and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of

hostilities, she appears to have refrained from any attempts at reinforcement from other powers.

The French army had advanced in three divisions; the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg to unite at Beyreuth, in their advance upon Hoff: the centre was composed of the reserve under the grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte), and Marshal Davoust; and the imperial guards marched by Bamberg towards Cronach, and by way of Saalberg and Schleitz to Gera: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshal Lannes and Augereau took their route for Schweinfurth towards Coburg and Saalfeld. The Prussian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenloe, had taking a very strong position along the north of Frankfort on the Main. The campaign opened with the battle of Schleitz. Three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry: but the efforts of the French were finally successful, with a loss on the side of the Prussians of nearly 700 men, killed, wounded, and taken; and five hundred waggons, containing articles of great utility for the prosecution of the campaign, fell into the hands of the victors in the contest.

On the tenth, the left wing of the French was equally successful under Marshal Lannes against Grafenthall. After the continuance of a cannonade for about two hours, the Prussian cavalry was cut off by the French hussars, and their infantry, being unable to effect an orderly retreat, were obliged in part to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others were involved inextricably in a marshy ground, where they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the king, was killed by a marshal of the tenth regiment of French hussars, with whom he was engaged in individual combat. His merits

were such as occasioned very general regret, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle, from which the French derived a thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, while six hundred of the enemy were left dead upon the field. These inauspicious results of the new operations excited no slight sensations of doubt and apprehensions at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed, on the twelfth, in a situation of considerable danger. The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, which had been adopted with a boldness equal to the promptitude and success with which it was executed, and to interpose himself between the forces of his enemy and their depots and resources.

The Prussian army occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, and it was the intention of the Prussian commander to have commenced hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. The arrangements for this plan had been minutely prepared, and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel and other places, to act upon the offensive, and open the way to the invasion of Germany: but the French army this time unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian left wing, and got possession of the eastern bank of the Saal, occupying within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gera. In consequence of this alarming circumstance, the arrangements of the Prussian army were somewhat changed: the detachments which had been precipitately urged forward were called in; the head-quarters were removed from Blackenburg, through Weimar, to Auerstadt, while General Ruchel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians previously to the 13th, for the ensuing decisive struggle; and the army was drawn up near Capelsdorff, in order of battle. On the day preceding the eventful contest, the grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Davoust, were, with their corps, at Naumburg, to which place the Prince of Ponte Cervo was in full

march: Marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, where the emperor was also advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gera: Marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena, for the convenience of a more advantageous position. In the afternoon of the 13th, Bonaparte arrived at Jena, and on an elevated flat near that place, reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the play of artillery was so great, that, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and, indeed, seeming impossibility of accomplishing it, it was instantly determined that the cannon should be brought there, and vast numbers of the troops were employed for a great part of the night in making a passage over the intervening ruts, in filling up hollows, and levelling projections, until at length, and after immense labour, the artillery was actually fixed upon it. Marshal Davoust was ordered to defend the passes near Naumberg and those also of Koosen, which it would be a grand object of the Prussians to gain in order to reach Apolda and attack him from behind; and if the Prussians bent strongly towards Naumberg or Jena, the Prince of Ponte Corvo was instructed to fall upon their rear. General Victor, having the command of the whole corps of Marshal Lannes, was placed upon the level height, over against the Prussians, who were thought, however, not to be fully aware of the extent of the force so situated, and which every attempt was undoubtedly employed to conceal. Between the wings into which the corps of Lannes was divided, were placed on the most commanding point the imperial guards, formed into a square battalion.

The night of the 18th was solemnly and sublimely interesting. Every sound on either side could be distinctly heard by the other. The sentinels were almost close to each other, and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon shot distance, in one case illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march, in the other concentrated within a comparatively small compass. On both sides

all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching, and at break of day all the French troops were under arms.— Those which could not be admitted for want of space on the height, extended themselves beneath through passes of extreme narrowness and difficulty, which had been discovered from the town and neighbouring villages. The morning was obscured by a fog, which lasted for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry, and reminding them of the similarity of the situation of the Prussian army to that of Austria in the preceding year, when its system of operations was completely baffled, and it was driven from its magazines and surrounded by its enemy: so that the great object of the Prussians now was not victory but retreat, which the French army could not permit them to effect, without for ever tarnishing their glory.

The light troops began the action by a very smart fire, which dislodged the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the high way between Jena and Weimar, where they seemed to think themselves secure from annoyance. In consequence of this dislodgment the French were enabled to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now arranged in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and possess themselves of the passes of Koosen, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one amounting to eighty thousand, placed themselves before the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. The mist which had hung over the combatants now dissipated, and both armies beheld each other within a distance of cannon shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been obliged to quit their position, the village of Hollstedt became the point of attack, and the Prussians

were in full motion to drive the French from it, when Marshal Lannes was ordered for its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which Marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose; and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with precision, while 250,000 men, and 700 pieces of cannon, were scattering death on every side, and displayed one of the most affecting spectacles ever performed on the theatre of the world. After a struggle of nearly two hours, Marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while at the same instant the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and the two divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of General Ney, were ordered into action, and so strengthened the French line that the Prussians were thrown into great disorder. This disorder, however, they retrieved for about the space of an hour: and at this critical season of the battle 'there was room (as admitted by the French) for a moment's doubt;' appearances were favourable to the Prussians, when the dragoons and cuirassiers under the duke of Berg were able to take part in the engagement, and bore down the Prussians in extreme confusion. The shock was irresistible both by their cavalry and infantry. They formed into a square, but in vain opposed themselves against the impetuosity of this most dreadful charge, by which they were completely overwhelmed. The loss of the Prussians in the battle was little less than forty thousand men, killed, wounded and taken, including about twenty generals, among whom were Generals Ruchel and the Duke of Brunswick, both wounded. The French acknowledged the loss of four or five thousand men. The victory, however, was completely and incontestibly their own. They pursued their success with extreme vigour to the very gates of Weimar; and so great was the confusion of the unfortunate Prussian army, but a few hours before firm in strength, and elevated with hope,

that, while its left wing, followed by Marshal Davoust, who maintained his ground against the great body of the Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Koosen, and pursued them, for the space of three hours, was attempting its retreat to Weimar, its right and centre were quitting that very point in a retreat to Naumburg.

The Duke of Berg, who in his operations has so frequently proved himself worthy of his great preceptor in the art of war, on the 15th of October invested Erfurth, to which General Mollendorf had retreated, a fine citadel, containing a number of magazines, and all the means necessary for defence, which surrendered, however, on the following day, with fourteen thousand men, eight thousand of whom were wounded. The blockade of Magdeburg, which, as being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a depot for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friesland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered upon, under the orders of the duke, on the 20th, while he proceeded on towards Spandau, three miles only from Berlin, which by its position was of very considerable strength, it being surrounded by water. The garrison of this place, at the moment when the French cannon were about to open upon it, on the 24th, surrendered themselves prisoners of war: and on the 7th of November, although not supplied with ammunition and provisions for a very prolonged siege, yet far from being under the necessity of a very speedy surrender, after an inconsiderable bombardment, Magdeburg itself was yielded up; presenting a singular instance of the effect of that alarm which had been excited by the successes of the enemy, the influence of which pervaded the most numerous garrisons and the strongest fortifications. Another effect of this complete dismay was the capture by this active and successful commander of Stettin, a fortress well calculated for defence, and which contained a garrison of six thousand men, with one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon; an achievement accomplished by one of the wings of his corps, while the other attacked a

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column of six thousand Prussians, who immediately laid down their arms.

Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the Prince of Hohenloe directed his course with the principal wreck of the battle, having under him about sixteen thousand infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, to reach this place, he was anticipated by the arrival at Templon of the Duke of Berg, who, not doubting that the prince would, in consequence of this failure, bend his course to Prentzlow, without a moment's loss of time set off for that place, and by a well-concerted attack overthrew, in its suburbs, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the prince, and forced him, with great loss, to withdraw within the town, where he was immediately summoned. The gates being suddenly burst open by the enemy, and no chance of effectual opposition to attack remaining, the prince engaged in a treaty of capitulation, and the same day defiled his whole army before the grand duke, his prisoners of war.

The retreat and resistance of the gallant General Blücher are deserving of particular mention. His intention, after the defeat of Jena, was to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenloe, and to gain the Oder, and by affording employment to several divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which under the Prince of Wurtemberg had suffered very materially at Halle, and had lost great part of its artillery and been exhausted by forced marches, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with the corps under the Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Duke of Brunswick. It consisted of ten thousand five hundred men. After various attempts to join Prince Hohenloe, in which his little army had been obliged several times to separate, although they rejoined after

a variety of difficulties, and to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. After a succession of harassing attacks and rapid marches, and several invitations to capitulate, he found himself compelled to take the direction to Hamburgh or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was resolved upon, and was accomplished. But here, to his unutterable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him with the troops of the French, who soon filled the town. Here a contest took place, which in fierceness and horror has rarely been exceeded. The squares, and streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops were at length obliged to yield to the superior forces of the enemy, and withdraw from the town. In the extreme want of ammunition, with reduced strength, and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed in these circumstances absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a-day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men were frequently obliged to be left behind, but in which, notwithstanding, the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having discharged his duty might well support him under disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

Marshal Davoust had on the 18th of October taken possession of Leipsic, where immediately notice was given to

the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in that grand entrepot of British merchandise; and all persons were enjoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration of all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with which would be punished by the summary process of military tribunals.— Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, he proceeded to Wittenburg, and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved onward to Berlin, which he entered on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of Marshal Augereau.

To follow the successes of the grand French army more minutely through its several divisions, or the corresponding disasters of the Prussians, would exceed the due limits of this narrative. Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam on the 24th of October. He visited the palace and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the order of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude and glory, excited particular attention and emotion, and were ordered to be presented from the emperor to the Hotel of Invalids at Paris. Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his principal generals and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace were here presented to him at the palace; deputies from the Lutheran and reformed churches, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their rights of worship; and from the courts of justice, who received directions with respect to the judicial administration. Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were entrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight, of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendence of the police. The presence of the French scarcely discomposed the ordinary routine of business; and by the vigilance of the burghers and the strict discipline of

the army, the utmost tranquillity was ensured. Berlin, at the time of its occupation, notwithstanding previous removals, abounded with military stores of arms and ammunition, which the precipitate approach of Bonaparte, the rapidity of whose march, agreeably to his own expression, almost outstripped that of his renown, had prevented the possibility of withdrawing. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was committed to General Clark, and divided into four departments, Berlin, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburgh: and, every arrangement being made that circumstances could require, Bonaparte proceeded from the capital of Prussia towards that of Poland, to which several divisions of his army were advancing before him.

During the time in which the emperor of the French was enjoying himself in comparative leisure and full tranquillity in the palace of Berlin, admiring the novelty of the scene and the relics of military greatness, reviewing his troops on the very spot on which the armies of Frederic had so often exhibited those precise and brilliant evolutions which rendered them the admiration of the age, but who did not exceed the present performers on that scene, the king of Prussia was experiencing all the regretful feelings of an exile, and the alarms natural on the loss of a kingdom, for the recovery of which he had reason to fear that he must be obliged more to the moderation of the conqueror, than to any remaining resources of his own. In the course of a few days his army had been completely scattered and ruined. The army of Westphalia, under General Blucher; the left division, under Prince Hohenloe; the reserve, under the Prince of Wurtemberg; the army under his own immediate inspection, commanded by the Duke of Weimar, had comprehended a mass of military power which he had represented to his imagination as almost irresistible: yet nearly all had now disappeared. Of 146,000 which these divisions comprised, a considerable number had been destroyed, wounded, or taken in the fatal contest at Jena. Of the rest, various corps, after wandering

amidst inextricable difficulties, and exhibiting an enterprise and perseverance worthy of a better fate, had been obliged to surrender to the superior forces of the enemy, while some others, as if struck with consternation or despair, and imagining themselves to be assailed by an enemy of more than mortal prowess, yielded up one after another, positions of extreme consequence and susceptible of considerable defence. By these positions, at least, it might have been hoped that the progress of the victorious French might have been checked till time had been furnished for a recovery from the first impressions of dismay, and some judicious attempts might have been made to retrieve as much as possible the disasters of the grand defeat. Yet his fortresses made little or no resistance. They appeared as if incapable of affording annoyance to the enemy or security to their garrisons. The armies, the garrisons, and the magazines of the unfortunate monarch, were lost to him with such rapidity of successive disaster, that he might doubt, at certain moments, the reality of facts and the testimony of his senses. After his retreat to Custring, the approaches of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Königsburg became the place of his residence and the rallying point of the wreck of his forces. Here the last regiments of the monarchy collected around him, from New and Old East Prussia. According to some accounts they amounted to thirty-three battalions and forty-five squadrons, constituting, in the whole, a force of nearly fifty thousand men; although it may reasonably be doubted whether even this number could be brought together. But to whatever amount the force here stationed actually extended, it formed the only remains of the royal army, and awaited the accession of Prussian reinforcements, or the arrival of whatever assistance might at length be communicated by the Emperor of Russia.

The elector of Saxony was excused by Bonaparte for joining the Prussian armies, as having been compelled into the service; and six thousand of his troops were dismissed on

their parole immediately after the battle of Jena. The elector of Hesse, as having acted treacherously, was condemned to be deprived of his dominions ; as was also the Duke of Brunswick for encouraging a war, ' which he ought to have used his influence to prevent ; ' a sentence which this unfortunate prince survived only a few days, dying of his wounds, aggravated by anxiety, at Altona, whither he had been carried after the battle, by his servants, in a litter, to be completely beyond the reach of the enemy. Mecklenburg was also taken possession of, and its government subverted ; but its destiny was postponed, and to be regulated by the conduct of Russia.

Bonaparte now issued his famous decrees at Berlin, placing the British isles in a state of blockade ; all English manufacture found in Hamburg was seized, and the greatest activity used to effect the utter exclusion of British intercourse with the continent. In the mean time the advanced guard of the Russian army crossed the Vistula. But the French army at Warsaw compelled them about the close of November to recross the river.

After the retreat of Benningsen over the Vistula, he still continued to recede ; not only as his forces, even when joined with those of Buxhovden, would be considerably inferior to the forces of the enemy, but also on the general idea of the desirableness of drawing on the French as far as possible into Poland. The general in chief of the Russians, however, Kamenskoi, having at length arrived at the Russian camp, by no means approved of these delays and cautions, and seemed to consider the honour of the army as tarnished by its receding before the enemy, who would not fail, it was observed, to ascribe this to fear, and would derive considerable advantage from the high-spirited confidence which such an idea would excite in them. The king of Prussia, too, was somewhat indisposed to procrastination, and imagined, that the longer his capital remained in the power of the enemy, the less anxious it might be to receive again its former master. Soon after the arrival, therefore, of Kamenskoi, from St. Peters-

burg, which was celebrated by the troops with the strongest demonstrations of joy, and inspired unbounded hopes of success, the retrograde movements of the army were checked, and they began to advance, having their head-quarters at Pultusk. They were ordered to prevent the French from passing the Narew, to retake Praga, and to fix their station on the banks of the Vistula. Amidst the joy at General Kamenskoi's arrival, however, the Narew was actually passed by a French detachment of 800 men at its junction with the Ukra; and Bonaparte, who had quitted Posen on the first indication of this disposition in the Russians for offensive operations, arranged the various divisions of his army accordingly. Marshal Ney had been for some time in possession of Thorn. He united the different corps at Gullup. Marshal Bessieres, with the second corps of reserve cavalry, proceeded from Thorn to Biezun. Bernadotte proceeded with his division to support them. Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock, and Marshal Augereau at Lackrocyn, where a bridge was erected by the greatest exertions, who also were employed to establish one over the Narew. The latter being completed, the reserve of cavalry passed by the Vistula at Praga, followed by the emperor, on their march to the Narew, where the whole force of Marshal Davoust was collected. An engagement almost immediately took place. The event of the day was in favour of the French, in consequence of the injudicious arrangements of the Russian general, whose retreat was accomplished after the loss of 1600 prisoners, and 25 pieces of cannon.

Over a corps of Prussians, consisting of six thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, considerable success was obtained by a corps of Marshal Ney at Soldaw; while Marshal Bessieres took several pieces of cannon and five hundred prisoners from another detachment of the same troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses, near the village of Carmeden. These successes, however, were only preliminary to an affair of more importance, which closed the

military operations of the year, and which occurred on the 26th of December in the vicinity of Pultusk. In the morning of that day Marshal Lannes arrived opposite to Pultusk, where the whole corps of General Benningesen had assembled during the night. About ten the attack was commenced by the marshal, and was received by the Russians with great firmness. The contest lasted with considerable vicissitude for some time, and with great obstinacy, but at length terminated in the route of the Russians. General Buxhovden, in the mean time, about noon, had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin. Several divisions which had been beaten the evening before, had now reached the camp, particularly one from Nasielsk, pursued by Marshal Davoust so closely that he charged them near Golymin, and afterwards took up his position in an adjoining wood. Augereau, arriving at the same time, took the enemy in flank, while another French general deprived the Russians of a point of support which they derived from a village, and at three o'clock the division of General Hendelet formed in line, and advanced against the Russian army. The fire was extremely hot, and the contest lasted, notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges of the Duke of Berg's cavalry, till eleven o'clock; when a retreat was ordered by the Russian commander to Ostrolenka. Marshal Soult had in the mean while arrived so near the scene of action, that, if the slough following the rain and thaw had not extremely impeded his further progress, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. This circumstance checked the accomplishment of a plan which would have completed the fate of the Russian army on this side the Orege. The loss in both these actions, on the part of Bonaparte, was admitted to have been scarcely less than three thousand men: that of the Russians consisted of about twelve thousand killed, wounded, and taken, eighty pieces of cannon, and about twelve hundred baggage waggons; and was followed, as the Russians themselves were obliged to allow, by the immediate retreat of their

army. This retreat was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter quarters ; and those of Marshals Ney, Bernadotte and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Orege, while Marshal Soult with three brigades of light horse was stationed on the right bank for their protection.

The King of Prussia, during these operations, after removing from one place to another, was now at Memel, where the death of one of the young princes combined with all the other circumstances of family affliction. Here he felt the full effects of his culpable policy, and though he signed a most degrading treaty with Bonaparte, he found that he still proceeded in his career of victory. Desperate by his disgrace and losses, and encouraged by the advance of the Russian army, he refused to sign the armistice which Bonaparte proposed as the basis of peace.

Within little more than two months from the commencement of the campaign, the successes of the French were almost unprecedented in the records of history. It cannot appear extremely surprising, that this success should have operated on a people peculiarly impressible by every thing calculated to excite exultation and gratify national vanity, so as to raise them to the highest pitch of triumph, and that they should be enraptured at having for their great nation so illustrious a head ; nor that Bonaparte should himself, as the contemplation of that superiority which he obtained in his conflicts, adopt frequently a style of decided prophecy, and dictation, approaching at least to the most mortifying arrogance. The forces of an immense empire were under his uncontrolled direction, and he was able to avail himself of them to their fullest extent. There was no opposition to his projects, no collision with his interest. The decisions of his cabinet, or rather of his closet, instead of being obliged to await the forms of slow deliberation, the fluctuations of remote caprice, tending to dissipate the most valuable energies, sprang with all their bloom and freshness into immediate

action. The adjustment of all his plans, the appointment of all his agents, depending solely on himself. When to this circumstance, so calculated to simplify the working of the vast machine, to produce not counteraction, but effective and complete co-operation, is added his profound knowledge of the machine itself, the success of this extraordinary man will appear less mysterious than many, who have thought it necessary to call in fortune or destiny to their assistance, have actually felt. In the coalitions which he has had to encounter, this simplicity, in the midst of complication, has in a great measure, doubtless, necessarily been deficient. Instead of being brought to bear with accumulated force against the enemy, one party has arrived on the scene of conflict just after the destruction of another with which it ought to have co-operated; and thus, instead of putting a knife to the throat of the enemy, has only supplied a fresh repast for his inordinate ambition. In the case of Prussia, indeed, concert had not been formed till ruin was almost absolutely incurred; and her folly was only the more apparent from those miserable arrangements which had depended wholly on herself. But, whether in solitary or concerted opposition, it has been the fortune of Bonaparte to find nearly as much delay and hesitation, as much temerity and improvidence, as he has himself shewn skill, vigilance, and dispatch; and the contest has been, not a conflict upon equal terms of intellectual energy, in which physical prowess or unforeseen casualty determined the result, but one of those illustrations which the events of the world have perpetually presented, of the superiority which a strong mind must ever obtain over a weak one.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SITUATION OF THE HOSTILE ARMIES AFTER THE BATTLE OF PULTUSK—BATTLE OF MOHRUNGEN AND EYLAU—SIEGE OF DANTZIC—STRALSUND INVESTED—SINGULAR CONDUCT OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA—CAUTION OF BONAPARTE—HIS VICTORY AT FRIEDLAND—ADVANCES TO TILSIT—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER—SIGNS A TREATY OF PEACE WITH RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA.

AFTER the battle of Pultusk, the approach of the French to the dominions of Russia, which had long beheld the war desolating other countries while its own had been deemed invulnerable, excited in the government that reasonable apprehension which suggested the discussion of the most efficacious means of protection. A general armament was ordered by the Emperor of Russia to be raised in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to upwards of 600,000 men, who were on any requisite emergency to be ready to support the regular troops of the empire. This plan was, however, wisely suggested, and admirably calculated for its double purpose, to supply the waste of battles beyond the frontiers of the country, and to render any attempt at making an impression on Russia itself a matter highly critical on the part of the enemy that should attempt it, and connected with the bare possibility of ultimate success.

The levies on paper were far from precluding the actual arrival of new additions of strength to the Russian general; nor was Bonaparte by any means less attentive to the arrangements required by his situation. Recruits were perpetually sent off from the interior of France to the seat of war,

and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, immediately to be trained and disciplined in readiness, though not immediately to be marched to the theatre of war.

While Prince Jerome was actively employed in subduing Silesia, Bonaparte was employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Colberg, and Dantzic, the possession of which last particularly he justly deemed of extreme consequence. The idea of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland was apparently abandoned. Whether it was that, having been repeatedly deceived by sovereigns, their pledges were no longer received by the inhabitants of this country with any confidence; whether policy was speedily found to require the renunciation of a project by Bonaparte which he really had intended to accomplish; or, whether the boasted constitution of Poland had no hold on the poor man's heart to nerve his hand for its recovery; it sufficiently appears that few of the Poles contributed to increase the French armies; and that, for the restoration of Poland in its former integrity, was substituted a government of the Prussian districts of it, accompanied with no specious pretensions to liberty and independence, though judiciously enough contrived as a provisional administration. Perhaps Bonaparte's conduct in this business was influenced by Austria, whose military establishment was now on a footing of respectability, and who could not view, but with alarm, the restoration of the Polish throne.

From the battle of the 26th of December, nothing material occurred between the hostile armies before the 25th of January. The French troops were in cantonments. The emperor was at Warsaw regulating every process necessary for their supply with magazines and provisions, and diffusing order and animation from this point of his residence through every department of his government, relating both to the interior of France and the operations of war. The Prince of Ponte Corvo had taken possession of Elbing, and the country situated

on the borders of the Baltic. Being informed that a Russian column had gone to Liebstadt beyond the passage, and had made prisoners of a party at the advanced posts of the cantonments, he immediately quitted Elbing, and arrived at Mohrunen just as the general of brigade Picton was attacked by the Russians. A village, defended by three Russian battalions, supported by three others, was immediately ordered by the marshal to be attacked, and the contest which ensued was extremely sharp. The eagle of the ninth regiment of French infantry was taken by the Russians, who at this period of the conflict had the prospect of obtaining a most brilliant victory. The sense of disgrace, however, in which the final loss of their standard would have involved the French regiment, produced exertions which gave a turn to the fortune of the day in this part of the field. They precipitated themselves, with inconceivable ardour, on the Russians, who were unable to resist the shock, and, in the route which ensued, were obliged to abandon the eagle which they had taken. During this transaction in one part of the field the French line was formed, and attacked that of the Russians, which was advantageously posted on an eminence. The fire of the musquetry was at point blank distance, and the firmness and vigour of the action for a considerable time rendered the result highly dubious; when General Dupont suddenly appeared and took part in the engagement. The right wing of the Russians was turned by him, and the impetuosity of the 32d regiment upon them was irresistible. The Russians were obliged to fly, and were followed till the advance of night put an end to the pursuit. Several howitzers were left by them upon the field of battle, with about 1200 dead and wounded, and 300 were made prisoners of war.

About the close of January, Bonaparte quitted Warsaw and joined his army; he formed the corps of Marshal Ney in order of battle on the left, that of Soult on the right, and that of Augereau in the centre, the imperial guard constituting the reserve. Gutstadt was the centre of the Russian maga-

zines ; and orders were given to Marshal Soult to march towards it, and make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried, with a view of taking the Russians in the rear, and cutting off their retreat. General Guyot was accordingly dispatched with the light cavalry to Gutstadt, where a great part of the Russian baggage and 1600 prisoners were taken.—The bridge was the object of attack, under the marshal's own inspection ; and the importance of its possession by the Russians being well understood by them, twelve of their best battalions were appointed to defend it ; the conflict was, of course, obstinate and bloody, but terminated in the route of the Russian battalions, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, and a very considerable number of dead and wounded. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, made himself master of a wood, which covered the right wing of the enemy. An important position was gained also by the division of St. Hiliare ; and several squadrons of dragoons, under the Duke of Berg, cleared the plain of the Russians in front. In these circumstances (the Russians repeatedly changing their ground, either driven from their positions, or retreating, with a view to more advantageous ones) night came on, the armies being still within a small distance of each other : at break of day, however, it was ascertained that the Russians had availed themselves of the darkness to retreat still further. On the ensuing day the different corps of the Duke of Berg, Soult, Davoust, and Ney, were early on their march towards Landberg, Heilsburg, and Wormdit, to prevent the retreat to Deppen of the Russian corps which had been cut-off. The grand duke soon came up with the rear of the Russians, and attacked them between Glandau and Hoff ; their front seemed to support their rear, posted upon the heights of Landsberg ; their right and left wings were formed on a circular eminence, and in a wood, and were several times ineffectually attacked : after which a destructive charge was made by the division of General Hautpoult, by which two regiments of Russian infantry were nearly all destroyed or taken, together with their cannon and co-

lours. The body of the Russian army was immediately in motion to succour its rear; but their exertions were incapable of preventing the enemy from possessing themselves of Hoffe, a place of such importance that ten battalions were appointed, by the Russian commander, to retake it; these were prevented from accomplishing their purpose, by a second charge under the orders of the grand duke, by which the Russian battalions were not only disappointed in their views, but experienced, also, a dreadful diminution of their numbers.

These contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in the presence of each other: during the night the Russians resumed their retreat, and took up their position behind Eylau. At a short distance from this place there is a flat eminence which commands the entrance into the town, and which it was deemed necessary, therefore, by the French emperor to gain. The Russian troops in possession of it were put into considerable confusion, by an attack made for this purpose under the direction of Marshal Soult; but, by a well timed and admirably conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions, thus employed, were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, attended with an important struggle, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau.—Several regiments had been posted in a church and churchyard, which were maintained by the Russians with extraordinary pertinacity, occasioning, on both sides, the most dreadful carnage, till about ten at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village; that of St. Hilaire was on the right; Augereau was posted on the left; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning, of the eighth, beyond Eylau, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians, while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At day-break on the eighth the attack

commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade on the division of St. Hilaire. Bonaparte commanded in person at Eylau, during this eventful period, and stationed himself at the church which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance, and cannonade the eminence which had been before unsuccessfully attempted, with forty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard. The Russian army was formed in columns, and only at the distance of half cannon shot; every ball, therefore, was attended with effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were, at this moment, perceived by the Russian commander in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and were in danger of being fallen upon by the whole force of the Russian army: to prevent this, Augereau advanced in columns across the plain, to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Augereau on the plain; during the manœuvres necessary for this object, a thick fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions: their point of direction was lost; the columns deviated to the left, and were exposed, for a considerable time, to extreme uncertainty and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the grand Duke of Berg immediately perceived the destruction to which the columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manœuvre could rescue them; at the head of his cavalry he instantly advanced, with Marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement, the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire only in consequence of its being supported by a wood. This splen-

did and successful operation, however, was by no means decisive ; the Russian army contended with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful :—during three hours, three hundred pieces of cannon were scattering death on this scene of conflict and horror.—The brilliant achievements of the Duke of Berg served only to keep the fate of the day suspended, and prevent its termination at the time, in favour of the Russians, instead of deciding it positively for the French. The success of Marshal Davoust at length made the scale completely preponderate on the side of Bonaparte ; his march was retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty ; but at length he was enabled to outflank the Russians, and gain possession of the level height. This possession was disputed with all the vigour and ardour of military combat. After the Russians were obliged, in the first instance, notwithstanding exertions of uncommon energy to abandon it, they attempted to recover it with a vehemence bordering upon rage, and a perseverance approaching to desperation. Their reiterated attempts, however, were found ineffectual. They were compelled, finally, to leave it with the enemy, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.

This appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obstinately-contested battles in the history of the present war. It was celebrated at Warsaw and Paris, with all the usual accompaniments of triumph, and the losses of the Russians were stated at the immense amount of 20 generals, 900 officers, and 30,000 men killed, wounded, and taken. Their own loss, however, was admitted by the French to be considerable, and General Dohlman was killed in the field, and General Hautpoult died of his wounds. That the victory rested with the French can scarcely be doubted, as the possession of the town, and of the eminence which commanded it, remained indisputably with them, and they continued on the field of battle for some days after the Russians had found it expedient to retreat behind the river Pregel. That the vic-

tory, however, was, in their own language, dearly obtained, is equally clear ; and that no considerable permanent or immediate advantage resulted from their success may be presumed, as, instead of passing the Pregel in pursuit of a routed enemy, and instead of pushing on to Koningsberg, (which, in a moment of incorrect prophecy, Berthier informed the empress Josephine that the French army would reach on the morrow,) they were content to retrace their steps to their former cantonments, and to defy the enemy again to disturb them in their winter quarters.

The havoc resulting to both armies from this sanguinary contest occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine not long after joined the Russian army with upwards of sixty thousand troops ; and the efforts of Napoleon to repair his loss and accumulate a force fully equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting ; the greater part of the eighth corps of the grand army, which had been employed under General Mortier in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility ; and from the different recruiting stations throughout France and the conquered countries, multitudes were repeatedly sent off to join the imperial standard on the Vistula. It appears, as already intimated, to have been the expectation of Bonaparte that his arrangements, previously to the battle of Eylau, would have secured to him the possession of Koningsberg : this anticipation, however, being by no means verified, he adopted the plan of caution and prudence, and bent his efforts particularly now, to the reduction of Dantzic. This place had, for some time, been invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. The garrison consisted of 16,000 men, under the command of the Prussian general Kalkreuth, an officer of tried loyalty and skill.—The difficulties attending the besiegers, from the nature of the ground, so easily inundated, were far from inconsiderable ; the battering train was obliged to be conveyed from

Stettin and the fortresses of Silesia, along roads in the most complete want of repair. These difficulties, however, and the storms and rigours of the season, were incapable of furnishing any effectual interruption. The troops who surrounded the place consisted, in a great degree, of the auxiliaries of France, of different prejudices, habits, and languages, but whose efforts, under the direction of Marshal Le Febvre, were effectually combined by a happy union of encouragement and discipline, and who, in repelling the sorties of the besieged, and in advancing the progress of the works, displayed astonishing alacrity and perseverance. The exertions of the commander of the fortress were, on the other hand, no less striking and meritorious; his vigilance and energy, in this situation of high responsibility, were incessant operation. Nothing was neglected which could contribute to the means of defence, or to the annoyance of the enemy.

Both the Russians and Prussians made strong efforts to save the place, but all their valour and exertions were unable to preserve it, and the garrison, after losing 7000 men, were compelled to capitulate. This conquest was of great consequence to Bonaparte, who, in the mean time used every effort to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy; but failing in this he ordered Stralsund to be invested. Reinforcements being received in this place, the French were repulsed with loss, but Marshal Mortier soon recovered the ground, and discomfited the Swedes with great loss.

With a view to guard against any attempt on the part of the British, whose preparations began to excite considerable alarm, the Dutch troops, which had been co-operating with the French in Germany, were ordered to their own territory, on a supposition that an attempt might be intended against Holland: and to provide against any efforts in the Baltic, a corps of observation was ordered to be formed, without delay, under the command of Marshal Brune. It was an object of great importance to Bonaparte, in these circumstances, to detach the King of Sweden from his alliance; and the attempts

for this purpose, which had formerly been unsuccessful, were renewed with increased urgency and offers. The efforts for direct pacification being ineffectual, a prolongation of the notice to be given before the recommencement of hostility at Stralsund was the next object of French policy, which was extremely desirous of extending the period from ten days to a month. An article to this purpose had, indeed, been agreed to by the French and Swedish generals; but, in a conference between the king of Sweden and General Brune, at Schlattkow, relating to the armistice, and originating in the request of Brune for explanation on some points, in which it had appeared to be grossly violated, this article was decidedly rejected by his majesty. The king, at the same time, expressed his attachment to the cause he had so long ardently espoused, and made so explicit an avowal of his principles and feelings, as to leave little hope in the French general that any thing but the necessity of his affairs, or the representations of his subjects, could induce him to retire from the contest.

An account of this conference was published by the royal command, and was interpreted by different parties according to the nature of their political tendencies, as exhibiting a singular instance, on the part of the sovereign, of magnanimity or indiscretion. He attempted to shake the firmness of the French general's attachment to the existing government of his country, and reminded him of a king to whom he owed allegiance, possessing at once, all the virtues which can adorn a throne, as well as all the rights which can entitle him to it, now wandering in poverty and exile. Treason was imputed, without any very circuitous phraseology, to the French nation. A complete counter revolution was adverted to, as an affair of the highest probability. France was designated as the scourge of Europe; and to oblige it to restore its dethroned monarch would, it was intimated, be a fair object of continental hostility; and, should the standard of Louis XVIII. be abandoned by all the world besides, the king declared that it should ever be unfurled in Sweden.

Such conduct rather surprised them who were then unacquainted with the true character of his Swedish majesty. But his threats were heard with coolness by the French general, who conducted himself with great propriety during this singular and unexpected conference. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Bonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable for their operations, could not be long nearly within view of each other without the alternative of pacification or sanguinary and destructive hostility; and the confidence still entertained by each party preventing any successful attempts for the former, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict.

On the fifth day of June the Russian army were in motion; and, with the whole of their right wing, attacked three divisions of the French army. From two of these they met with a repulse; but in the attack, conducted by General Benningsen and the grand duke Constantine, on the division of Ney, the French general was obliged to fall back and abandon his positions and magazines. Liebstadt and Gutstadt were both evacuated, and the corps of Ney was conducted by him to Ackendorf. On the eighth, however, Bonaparte arrived at the general's camp at Deppen, and immediately ordered an attempt on those important stations, by the corps of Ney and Lasnes, the imperial guard and the cavalry of reserve. This formidable force was opposed by the rear guard of the Russians at Glottau; but, at length, recovered all the positions in advance of Gutstadt, and occupied the town by main force, the contest being continued in its very streets, with the most horrid and destructive carnage. The Russians now fell back upon Heilsburg. Before this place was posted a formidable body of infantry and cavalry supported by sixty pieces of cannon. The French, however, pressed on and gradually gained considerable ground. Both parties fought with

the most determined bravery; but, as night advanced, the Russians were compelled to retreat to their entrenchments. Here they were expected to make a stand. The manœuvres of the French were, therefore, now directed to cutting off the retreat of the Russian right wing to Landsberg, in which Berthier was principally concerned; while Davoust threw himself along the Alle to the right of Heilsburg to preclude the retreat of their left. Demonstrations of an intention to attack were, in the mean time, made by the Russians in their entrenched camp. These, however, it appeared, were only a cover to the plan which had been now resolved on, to abandon even this chosen and formidable position; and, on the night of the eleventh, accordingly, they began to pass the Alle, quitting the whole country to the left, and leaving to the disposal of the enemy their entrenchments, magazines, and wounded. From the fifth to the twelfth the loss of the Russians amounted to nearly 20,000 men. They were pursued by the light cavalry of the enemy to the right bank of the Alle near Bartenstein. Light corps advanced in various directions to cut off their retreat to Koningsberg. The Duke of Berg proceeded towards the latter place, supported by Davoust and Soult; while Bonaparte himself, with the corps of Ney and Mortier and the imperial guard, immediately pressed on to Friedland.

On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, a circumstance of which the French emperor did not fail to remind his troops, and which naturally produced the most enthusiastic recollections and exertions, the grand struggle took place. The Russian army was fully deployed, the left wing extending to the town of Friedland, and its right reaching a mile and a half in the opposite direction. Bonaparte having reconnoitred, determined to attempt the town of Friedland, in the first instance; and, having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under General Ney, to advance to the attack. At half past five Marshal Ney began to move forward. The division of Marchand,

also, at the same time advanced to co-operate with him, in another direction. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn him by several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a multitude of Cossacs, who were, however, repulsed by the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg. In the mean time a battery was erected by General Victor, in his centre, and pushed on 400 paces by General Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians; and which, by commanding their attention to its destructive fire, interfered with those manœuvres which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops which attacked the right wing of this general, were received on the bayonet or driven into the river, in which an immense number perished. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and nearly rendered the effort of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but were unable to resist this effort of the enemy. Various reinforcements were drawn from the Russian centre and other corps in reserve, for the defence of the town, all which proved eventually ineffectual. Friedland was at length taken; and, the struggle being continued in the town, its streets became the scene of slaughter, and were covered with human bodies. The centre, under Marshal Lasnes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this centre corps of the French similar to that which had failed on its right wing; but the repeated efforts of its cavalry were only capable of displaying their valour, and continuing for a longer period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from five in the morning till seven at night. Both sides

fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. His defeat is admitted by the Russian general, who stated his loss to amount to no less than ten thousand men. It was represented, however, by the French at much more than double that number. Twenty-five of the Russian generals were among the killed, wounded, or taken. Eighty pieces of cannon and a great number of standards also fell into the hands of the enemy. Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords of the Alle to pass that river; which exhibited to the conquerors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the 15th, the Russians followed up their retreat to Wehlau, on the confluence of the Alle and Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, necessitating a still further retreat towards the Niemen. Near this river several newly formed divisions of Russian troops had arrived; and on the 18th of June the Russian army approached the town of Tilsit, and, after having transported its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed, immediately after being passed by them; and all the magazines on the Alle were burnt or thrown into the river. On the 16th Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took a position there with his army. The defeat at Friedland having caused an order for the evacuation of Koningsberg, General Lestoque's division was, with extreme difficulty, enabled to join the main body of the Russians, and the corps of Marshal Soult entered Koningsberg on the 16th. While Bonaparte was approaching to Tilsit, with his usual rapidity, an overture was made by General Benningesen to the Duke of Berg for an armistice. A conference was almost immediately held on the subject,

between Berthier and Prince Labanoff. On the 22d an armistice was signed; and on the 24th an interview took place between the emperors of Russia and France on a raft on the Niemen, and after their conference had lasted two hours, the attendant princes and generals were admitted into their pavilion.

While arrangements were making for the preliminaries, the town of Tilsit continued to be the abode of these imperial personages, who, together with the King of Prussia, cultivated mutual intercourse and politeness. Entertainments were given in rapid succession. The troops of Marshal Davoust were reviewed by Bonaparte in the presence of his brother sovereigns, and occasioned exchanges of compliment in the different parties, probably with feelings of a very opposite description. The guards of the different monarchs, who occupied appropriated departments of the town, vied with their respective sovereigns in marks of respectful attention, and, for a short time, even exchanged uniforms. During these interviews and attempts at conciliation, to which the policy of Bonaparte was presumed, at least, as much conducive as his humanity, the arrangements of pacification were completed, and peace between Russia and France was ratified on the ninth of July. The two emperors then separated with mutual expressions of attachment, and after exchanging the decorations of their respective orders. On the same day peace was signed between France and Prussia.

By this treaty Prussia was deprived of the best of her territories, part of which was formed into a new kingdom under the title of that of Westphalia, and Jerome, Bonaparte's youngest brother, was declared its king. Even the few sterile provinces that Prussia was suffered to retain, were stated to be delivered up from the wish of Bonaparte to oblige the Russian emperor. The marked subserviency of Alexander to the views of the French emperor during this negociation, excited alarm in the British cabinet, who immediately directed a most formidable armament to proceed to

Copenhagen, and seize the Danish fleet. This expedition was severely reprobated by honest men, who were incompetent to decide on cases of great political crisis and complication. But it is evident that Denmark has invariably shewn a desire to combine in destroying the maritime greatness and political independence of Great Britain; that she was incompetent to maintain that neutrality which she pretended to observe; and that in all cases presenting only a choice of evils, it is just and moral to avoid the greater by the less. Nor did Britain in this instance imitate the injustice and atrocity of Bonaparte. Denmark was not invaded with a view to alienate her territories or exhaust her revenue; but merely to obtain security that her resources should not be applied to the promotion of his views. Had all the maritime states of Europe been permitted to combine their force against Britain, *perhaps* they might be defeated; but great would be the injury sustained before the contest would meet with this glorious termination. That such was the plan of Bonaparte was admitted even by the French themselves, and the rage of Bonaparte was extreme when he found himself anticipated. He exhausted the epithets of dishonour and atrocity, and represented his government as the model of political forbearance and scrupulous hostility.

After the peace of Tilsit, Bonaparte ordered a great force to proceed against the King of Sweden, who was compelled to evacuate Stralsund, and all his German territories; and in a short time Russia issued her declaration of war against England. Thus every formidable power on the continent was convertible to the gratification of Bonaparte's vengeance or rapacity.

CHAP. XXXIV.

BONAPARTE RETURNS TO PARIS—HIS SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES—INVASION OF PORTUGAL—EMIGRATION OF THE COURT TO THE BRAZILS—SITUATION OF SPAIN—CONSPIRACY TO DETHRONE THE KING—BONAPARTE'S SCHEME AGAINST SPAIN DEVELOPED—PRETENDED CONSPIRACY OF THE PRINCE OF ASTURIAS—CONVENTION BETWEEN THE KING OF SPAIN AND BONAPARTE—ENTRY OF FRENCH TROOPS INTO SPAIN.

WHILE Bonaparte was pursuing his conquests at an immense distance from his capital, the tranquillity of France experienced not the slightest interruption. No disposition appears to have been manifested to cabal and party in the superior classes, or to insurrection in the lowest. The intelligence communicated of new trophies and triumphs was received with satisfaction or rapture. The military glory of the great nation, covered from the view those embarrassments and distresses which were inevitably occasioned by protracted hostilities, even amidst all the splendour of conquest; and the conscript laws, the least popular but the most important part of Bonaparte's policy, had, in a great degree, lost that terror which they originally excited, and were acquiesced in, as necessary to the external security, or at least to the unexampled renown of the empire. In the month of March a message was communicated to the senate, in which the necessity was stated of anticipating the conscription for 1808, 'which was rendered necessary, amidst all the conquests of the emperor, in consequence of the unrelenting and mercenary policy of England, whose monopoly was purchased by the blood of the continent.' Thus sedulously attentive was Bonaparte, to that instrument of his triumphs and elevation,

a numerous and disciplined army ; and, while he possessed a standing force, such as Europe never before witnessed, to secure for it a source of permanent supply.

After the object of the imperial interviews at Tilsit was accomplished, Bonaparte proceeded with little delay to Paris, where his arrival was expected with all the ardour of curiosity and impatience. His birth-day was celebrated, after his arrival, with peculiar distinction. A grand *fete* took place, in which ingenuity is said to have exhausted itself in endless devices, expressive of gratitude and admiration. On the ensuing day, the legislative body and the tribunate were assembled in the usual forms. In his address to them, the emperor observed, that since their last meeting new wars, triumphs, and trophies, had changed the political relations of Europe ; that the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to combine against French independence, was permitted to reign only through the friendship of the emperor of the north ; that a French prince would speedily reign on the Elbe ; that the house of Saxony again possessed the independence it had lost for fifty years ; that the inhabitants of the duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic had recovered their country ; and that all nations concurred in joy at the extinction of the pernicious influence of England on the continent. By the confederation of the Rhine, France was united with Germany ; by her own peculiar system of federation, she was united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Her new relations with Russia were founded on the mutual esteem of two great nations. He wished for peace by sea, and would never suffer any irritation to influence his decisions on this subject ; indeed there could be no room for irritation against a people, the sport and victim of the parties which devoured it, and which was misled as much with respect to the affairs of other nations as its own. The tranquillity and order of the French nation, during his absence, had excited his ardent gratitude. He had contrived the means of simplifying their institutions ; he had extended his principle on which had

been founded the legion of honour; the finances were prosperous; the contributions on land were diminished; various public works had been completed; and it was his resolution that, in the remotest parts of his empire, and even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizen and the value of the land should be increased by the developement of a general system of improvement.

While Bonaparte was thus congratulating his French subjects on the enviable state in which he had placed them, he expressed the utmost compassion for the unhappy nation of England, which afforded some amusement to the miserable islanders, who certainly had not calculated upon having excited his commiseration. At the same time the once flourishing country of Holland was suffering the greatest distress, and their king, unable to move the resolution of his brother, could only lament his inability to mitigate the evils it suffered.

While the pages of the *Moniteur* abounded in phillippics against the English government for the Danish expedition, Bonaparte was preparing to invade the territories of the house of Braganza, merely because it would not deviate from that neutrality which herself pronounced thus sacred and inviolable. Menaces to this effect had been long thrown out, and their execution had been repeatedly bought off by vast premiums. During the preceding year it had become a topic of serious deliberation, between the cabinets of Great Britain and Portugal, whether, in the case of actual invasion by France, the Portuguese court might not be advantageously transferred to its dependencies in South America; and the adoption of this plan is stated to have been then resolved on, in the event supposed. This event, however, did not then take place, but appeared now by Bonaparte to be finally decided on. An army of 40,000 men was ordered to be assembled at Bayonne. The French ambassador having failed in every attempt to shake the firmness of the prince regent, quitted Lisbon, and the Spanish ambassador soon followed his example. The

activity and confusion were extreme. The most extravagant terms were demanded for the conveyance of British settlers, with their families to England, in vessels but ill adapted for accommodation and even for security.

In the mean time the Portuguese navy was prepared with all possible expedition. The royal furniture and treasures were packed up. The conveniences and necessities for a long voyage, and for various establishments on the arrival of the fleet at its destination, were assiduously collected, and arrangements were made for the new government abroad, and for a regency at home. The British ambassador was indefatigable in his attempts to confirm the resolution of the court, and perpetually contrasting the independence and glory of the new empire in South America, with the abject vassalage and contemptible insignificance which alone could be expected, were the prince to continue in his European dominions. A reluctance, however, to quit the shores of that country which he had so long governed, and which had given him birth, was not unfrequently manifested by the prince; and, in proportion as the time approached for his embarkation on an enterprise of such magnitude and crisis, he appeared less disinclined to make sacrifices from which he had previously shrunk with disdain. So far indeed did his wishes to conciliate France prevail, that on the 8th of November he signed an order for retaining the few British subjects, and the small portion of British property, which remained in his dominions. On the publication of this order Lord Strangford demanded his passports, and, presenting a final remonstrance to the court, proceeded to join the squadron under Sir Sydney Smith, which had been sent to the coast of Portugal to assist in saving the royal family, or, in the worst event, to prevent, by all possible means, the Portuguese fleet from falling into the possession of the enemy. A most rigorous blockade of the Tagus was immediately resolved on; but, after a few days, the intercourse of the British ambassador and the court was renewed, at the request of the former, who, on proceed-

ing, under assurances of protection, to Lisbon, found all the apprehensions of the prince now directed to a French army, and all his hopes to a British fleet. To explain this singular change it must be observed that, between the departure and return of Lord Strangford, the prince had received intelligence, that Bonaparte had fulminated against him one of those edicts which have almost invariably been followed by his subversion of thrones. It had been pronounced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. To this alarming denunciation, which cut off all hope of compromise even by the most humiliating submission, may be ascribed the complacency, or rather rapture, with which the proposition for renewed intercourse with England was accepted; a proposition, indeed, which there can be no doubt, would, within a short interval, if not received by the court, have been made by it. So great was the agitation now exhibited by this court, that it manifested as much avidity to accomplish the enterprise, as it had previously shown hesitation and reluctance. The interview took place on the 27th of November, and on the morning of the 29th the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a considerable number of faithful counsellors, and respectable and opulent adherents. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line and four large frigates, and several other vessels of war, besides a number of Brazil ships, and amounted in all to 36 sail, containing about 18,000 Portuguese subjects. As they passed through the British squadron, a reciprocal salute was fired, and the spectacle was in several respects grand and interesting, from the circumstance of the two squadrons meeting in the most cordial friendship, which but two days before were in hostility, and from the singularity and magnitude of the enterprise, for the accomplishment of which they were now co-operating.

A scene of villainy unparalleled in the annals of mankind was now exhibited to Europe. Bonaparte had long kept Spain in a state of degradation and dependence, yet this did not

satisfy his ambition. He resolved to destroy every vestige of her political independence, and to aggrandize his family by exalting one of his brothers to the throne. The means adopted for accomplishing this object, were not those of open force, but a combination of such disgusting and singular acts as to form an era in the history of crimes. His proceedings in this instance, excited a revolution as unexpected as sudden.

In order to rouse to its highest pitch the indignation of the Spaniards against their oppressor, and to hold him up to the rest of the world and to posterity in the perpetration of one of his most foul and tyrannical acts, it was thought proper to publish an authentic document of his behaviour to the royal family of Spain. This document, from which the following account is extracted, was entitled, 'An Exposition of the Practices and Machinations which led to the Usurpation of the Crown of Spain, and the means adopted by the Emperor of the French to carry it into Execution.' The author of it is Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand VII.

The favour which Don Manuel Godoy enjoyed with Charles IV. is well known to have arisen, or at least to have been much strengthened, from the peace and alliance he concluded with France in the year 1796. Don Manuel (or the prince of the peace as he was called from that treaty) found it necessary, both for the purpose of preserving his favour with Charles, and in compliance with the interests and wishes of the French government, by whom his power and influence were in a great measure supported, to adhere closely and in all circumstances to the alliance formed between France and Spain in 1796. The demands of the French were generally very exorbitant, and the system she insisted on Spain pursuing was evidently destructive of the power and welfare of that kingdom: yet to preserve the prince of the peace in the situation and favour he possessed, every thing was sacrificed. The demands and plans of the French government seem not to have gone beyond the complete subserviency of Spanish

interests and measures to its pleasure, and to have stopped short of the annihilation of that kingdom as an independent state, till Bonaparte attained the supreme power. It is probable, that when he first formed his ambitious project of substituting his own family for the royal families of many of the European kingdoms, Spain presented itself as, both by its situation and by the imbecility of its government, extremely well suited to become one of the first objects of his attack. As however he held it apparently and completely within his grasp, ready to be seized whenever he chose to issue the command, he proceeded to more urgent and difficult enterprises. At last, after the treaty of Tilsit, he found himself at leisure and at full liberty to turn his thoughts to Spain: his scheme of getting possession of that throne may have been mentioned to Alexander on that occasion, though the only motive that could have induced Bonaparte to have stated it to Alexander must have been, by seeming to ask his consent, to flatter him into a more ready and complete subserviency to his view. Whatever truth, however, or probability there may be in these speculations, it is certain that immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, the machinations of Bonaparte against the royal family and the throne of Spain began to appear.

It is not consonant either to the policy or the disposition of Bonaparte to hesitate or delay, when he has once formed his plan, about the execution of the measures necessary or likely to accomplish it. Accordingly he soon found a pretext for drawing out of Spain 16,000 of her best troops, and sending them to such a distance that it was not probable they could interfere with his views. The next step he pursued is not so obvious in its object or motive. He appears to have proposed to the Prince of Asturias a marriage with a relation of his own, whom he had created a French princess. Don Cevallos assures us that Ferdinand agreed to this proposal with much reluctance, and only from the dread of incurring the displeasure of Bonaparte, if he refused it; and with the faint hope

that his compliance would strengthen the friendship and alliance then subsisting between the two crowns. The object Bonaparte had in view it is not easy to conjecture. It is by no means probable that the marriage of Ferdinand with a French princess would have preserved to him the throne of Spain. The removal of the Bourbon family appears to have been determined upon before the proposal of this marriage was made. This circumstance, and the known policy of Bonaparte, strengthen the opinion, that the proposal of marriage was intended merely to execute and foment discord in the royal family of Spain, and probably, at the same time, by holding forth a measure that promised to secure a community of interest, to blind Ferdinand to his real designs.

Soon after Ferdinand had agreed to the wish of Bonaparte on this point, a conspiracy was said to have been detected at Madrid against the life of Charles. The prince was accused of having formed this : a decree was issued in the name of the king, charging him with this conspiracy ; and the prince was imprisoned in the monastery of St. Laurence. It is impossible to gain a clear and full knowledge of this strange and mysterious business. According to the accounts published at the time, Ferdinand softened the just resentment of his father by a written confession, in which, however, he certainly did not by any means appear to acknowledge the guilt of which he was accused. In this consisted no inconsiderable portion of the mystery. Ferdinand is accused, in a royal decree, of having conspired against the life of his father ; he writes a humble and penitent letter to his royal parents, which, though unsatisfactory on the alleged cause of his imprisonment, procures him his liberty and restores them to their favour. Those who possessed the best means of information believed that this base transaction was contrived by Bonaparte, and executed by the Prince of Peace, who being terrified by the indignation of the people, was obliged to release Ferdinand. Nearly at the same time that this pretended conspiracy was agitating Madrid, a secret treaty of a very singular nature was

signed at Fontainebleau, by Don Eugenio Isquierdo, as plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty, and Marshal Duroc, in the name of the emperor of the French. By this treaty the division of Portugal was agreed upon. Part of it was to be bestowed upon the king of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania: part was allotted to the Prince of the Peace with the title of Prince of the Algarvas: the remaining provinces were to remain undisposed of, till a general peace; with the hope, it appears from the 8th article of the treaty, of being then able by means of it to purchase the cession of Gibraltar, Trinidad, &c. by delivering them up to their rightful sovereign, the house of Braganza. The emperor also agrees to acknowledge his Catholic majesty as emperor of the two Americas!

It might have been imagined that this extraordinary treaty, so much at variance with Bonaparte's grand object, of bringing the kingdoms of Europe immediately under his own power, and so extremely favourable to Spain, as well as flattering to her monarch, without much apparent counterpoise of advantage to France, would, even by itself, have roused suspicions of the sincerity and good faith of Napoleon. No such suspicions, however, appear to have been excited, although a convention was executed at the same time with the treaty, which puts beyond all doubt the reason why Bonaparte acceded to the latter. In order to prepare the way for his attempts on Spain, it was necessary not only that a large proportion of the best troops of that country should be drawn from it, but likewise that, under a plausible pretext, French troops should occupy some of its strongest places, and spread themselves over the country. The pretext of taking possession of Portugal, which was to be held by its new princes as a kind of fief on Spain, and which moreover was to be divided by virtue of the same treaty, which secured to the Spanish monarch the title of Emperor of the two Americas, suggested itself to Bonaparte as likely to succeed. By flattering Charles, it blinded him to the views of his pretended friend and ally.

The treaty of course required the means, by which it was to be put into execution, to be ascertained and agreed upon. The secret convention was concluded for this purpose; by this it was determined that a French army of 25,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry should enter Spain, and march directly for Lisbon; and that they should be joined by 8000 Spanish infantry, and 3000 cavalry, with 80 pieces of artillery: that 16,000 Spanish troops should also occupy other parts of Portugal: and that a body of 40,000 French troops should be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of November, 1807, to be ready to proceed through Spain into Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements thither. The central, or most numerous army, that was immediately to enter Spain for Portugal, were to be subject to the commands of a French general.

Notwithstanding the appearance of cordiality and promise of future aggrandizement which this treaty held forth, it was almost immediately followed by dark and doubtful insinuations of displeasure, and menaces of evil. In this Bonaparte discovered the nature of the machinations which he pursued throughout the whole of this transaction. At one time he raised the hopes or lulled the suspicions of the royal family of Spain, by expressions of friendship and plans of co-operation: at another time, by means of his ministers, he scattered the apprehension of impending evil, leaving it doubtful on what branch he meant it to fall. The king, Ferdinand, and the prince of the peace, each in their turn, or at the same time, received secret and apparently well meant intimation, from the creatures of Bonaparte, that it would be necessary to avert the displeasure he had conceived against them. The prince of peace, having fulfilled the purposes for which he had been so long upheld and protected by Bonaparte, began to perceive the symptoms of his approaching loss of favour and power.

Some time before the emperor's journey into Italy, Charles and Ferdinand had each written to him, on the subject of the proposed marriage of the latter with a French princess.

During the journey, Bonaparte wrote an answer to Charles's letter, in which he denied ever having received any communication from the Prince of Asturias on the subject of the marriage, though, in a letter written previously to Ferdinand himself, he had acknowledged the receipt of his letter on that business. By thus hoping to perplex and alarm the royal family of Spain, even by means of the most impudent and low falsehoods, he drew their apprehensions so closely and constantly to their personal and more imminent danger, that they overlooked or neglected the more serious mischief which threatened the liberty and independence of their kingdom. While the emperor was seemingly amusing himself with a tour in Italy, or occupied with the concerns of that part of Europe; and while, to all appearance, his sole concern for Spain respected the royal family, he was marching nearly all the troops he had then disposable into the heart of that devoted kingdom. He did not however neglect to hold out a reason for this measure, which was calculated both to conciliate the friends of Ferdinand, and still more to distract and alarm the king. He studiously propagated the idea that he was favourable to the cause of the Prince of Asturias; this naturally struck the royal parents with terror, and astonished and perplexed the favourite. Bonaparte well knew, however, that the terror of Charles would not rouse him to resistance; and that provided he could blind the party of Ferdinand, he had no reason to dread opposition from any other quarter. Charles indeed was so weak and timid as to give orders that those very troops which belonged to a power avowedly supporting the cause of his son, should be received and treated even better than those of his own nation.

But it was not sufficient for Bonaparte, that he had got his army into the heart of Spain. In order that he might possess the firmest power over that kingdom, it was necessary to obtain possession of its principal fortresses. Under the pretence therefore of consulting the security of his troops, he got possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and

Barcelona. Thus he not only secured himself a firm footing, but, by holding the keys of the kingdom, he had it in his power to introduce, without opposition or danger, any additional number of soldiers. He did not hesitate to have recourse to the vilest treachery to obtain admittance into these forts.

Bonaparte having secured himself a firm footing in Spain, had recourse to measures that he hoped would free him entirely from the royal family. For this purpose their fears were again to be wrought upon. He accordingly sent a letter to Charles, complaining in angry and reproachful terms that his majesty had not renewed the proposals for the marriage of his son Ferdinand with a French princess.—Charles answered, that the marriage was still agreeable to his wishes and plans, and that it should immediately take place. When Bonaparte found that the threats and appearance of anger in his letter had failed of producing the intended effect, he determined to speak his wishes more plainly. Isquierdo, who had been detained at Paris since the signing of the treaty, uncertain and alarmed about his fate, was chosen for this purpose. As he had long suffered from the tyranny of Bonaparte, and was deeply impressed with a belief of his displeasure towards the royal family of Spain, it was judged proper to send him to Aranjuez.

Immediately after his arrival he had a secret audience of the King and Queen, and their majesties determined to emigrate to South America. Their intention could not, however, be kept secret, and when every thing was ready for their departure, the populace rose, nor could all the evasions and proclamations of the royal pair, set bounds to their fury. The favourite was arrested in a garret, and the tumult increasing, the king took the extraordinary resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of his heir, and if we credit the testimony of Cevallo, this act was perfectly voluntary.

The accession of Ferdinand to the throne, however it was brought about, could not but prove disagreeable to Bonaparte. That it would be so, appears to have been known to his an-

bassador in Spain, who, as Cevallos remarks, was the only one of the *corps diplomatique*, who declined congratulating Ferdinand on the occasion. Murat too, as soon as he heard of what had happened at Aranjuez, hastened the march of his army to the capital. Ferdinand, unassured how his accession would be received by Bonaparte, and alarmed at the proximity of the French troops, appointed a deputation of three grandees to proceed to Bayonne, to compliment him on his arrival in the vicinity of Madrid. This agent of Bonaparte immediately began to concert such measures as would favour his master's plans, by working on the weak Charles, and drawing from him a protest against that abdication, which, allowing it to have been involuntary, it could now be only for the interest of the French that he should declare to have been so. For this purpose a person was officially sent to Charles and his queen; and the report of his conference with the royal parents was afterwards laid before Murat, who transmitted it to Bonaparte. By this person, Murat sent a letter, condoling with the deposed sovereign on the extreme hardness and injustice of his fate, begging to know the circumstances attending his abdication, and promising him the compassion and assistance of the emperor, in case his abdication, as he suspected, should prove to have been involuntary. Such a letter was sure to give the proper tone and direction to Charles's narrative. He thanked Murat for the share he had taken in his calamities: they were not easily borne, nor of a common cast, since his own son had been the author of them. His abdication had been effected by treachery and corruption. The Prince of Asturias and Caballero, the minister of justice, were chiefly concerned in the disgraceful transaction. Had he not agreed to give up the throne in favour of his son, his own life and that of his queen most probably would have been sacrificed. What added greatly to the ingratitude and enormity of this conduct was, that he, having observed the desire of his son to reign, had assured him that he would resign the throne in his favour, on his marriage with

a French princess. Now that his son had effected his purpose, he was anxious to get his father and mother out of the way: he had even insisted that Badajoz should be the place of their retreat, notwithstanding his father had assured him that the climate there would be prejudicial to his health.— This representation had no effect, and their departure was to take place in a few days. Under these circumstances, Charles wished Murat to be informed that he had written a letter to the emperor, into whose hands he resigned his fate. He concluded the conference with the agent of Murat, by deploring the fate of the Prince of Peace, to save whose life there were no efforts he would not have attempted; but he found every body deaf to his entreaties, and bent on the death of his unhappy friend. His own, he was convinced, must speedily follow. In this letter to Bonaparte, which is full of servility and flattery, after lamenting his hard fate, in having been forced from his throne by the art and violence of his own son, he begs leave to throw himself into the protection of the great monarch his ally, from whom alone he and his subjects can hope to derive tranquillity and happiness. The prospect of being able to interest this ally in his favour has restored peace to his mind. He again assures Bonaparte that his abdication was involuntary; and encloses a formal and regular declaration, that the decree of the 19th of March, by which he renounced the crown in favour of his son, was a deed to which he was compelled, in order to prevent great calamities and spare the blood of his subjects; and that therefore it was to be considered as of no authority.

The next contrivance of Murat was to deceive Ferdinand respecting the intentions of Bonaparte. He assured him that his master might be expected every moment at Madrid. His object in this must have been to perplex and harass the mind of Ferdinand; especially as he took care to add that the abdication of Charles amidst the tumults at Aranjuez could not be regarded as voluntary, and hinted that till the emperor acknowledged Ferdinand, he must carefully abstain from

taking any step that looked like a recognition of his title, and still continued to treat only with the royal father. In order still more to alarm Ferdinand, and to widen the difference between him and his father, Murat professed to take an interest in the fate of the favourite, and promised Charles that he would procure his enlargement.

While things were in this situation, Murat had a striking proof how unfavourable the accession of Ferdinand would be to the plans of his master, in the feelings of enthusiasm and loyal attachments which the inhabitants of Madrid universally displayed on the public entrance of their new sovereign. Perceiving that it would be impossible to succeed in his schemes on the weakness and timidity of Ferdinand while he remained in his capital, and that it might be dangerous to have recourse to violent measures, he made use of every effort to remove him from Madrid. He assured his majesty that by proceeding to meet Bonaparte, whom he represented as having already entered Spain, he would so please and conciliate the emperor, that no future difficulties or obstacles would arise to the recognition of his title. As it formed part of Murat's plan to draw all the royal family from Madrid, and place them in the power of his master, and as he despaired of being able in the first instance, to succeed with Ferdinand, he directed his efforts more openly and particularly, to induce the infant Don Carlos to set off in order to welcome Bonaparte. Having effected this, he applied himself to work on the fears of Ferdinand; but the king was not so easily deceived or terrified. Cevallos strongly advised him not to leave the capital, till he was certain that Bonaparte was already in Spain, and within a short distance of Madrid. This advice would probably have prevailed, and ultimately decided the conduct of Ferdinand, had it not been for the arrival of General Savary, who, in his capacity of envoy from the emperor, demanded an audience.

Savary assured Ferdinand that Bonaparte's arrival might be hourly expected, and that nothing could be more flattering

to him than the king's leaving the capital to meet him. Ferdinand at last yielded to his repeated solicitations, and set off with General Savary to Burgos. When they arrived at this place the emperor was not there : General Savary again had recourse to falsehoods, and assured the king that by proceeding to Vittoria he would find his master. Ferdinand went on, but at Vittoria he was left by General Savary, who was doubtful of enticing him further. Here, while surrounded by French troops, he received a letter from Bonaparte, to impress him in a strong and alarming manner with the idea of how completely he was in his power. General Savary, who had returned, aided in giving effect to this letter. It would indeed be tedious and disgusting to record all the falsehoods of this worthy servant of Bonaparte : he knew too well the power he had over the king to relax his efforts, and after much hesitation he succeeded in persuading him to quit the Spanish territories. Ferdinand had no sooner entered France than he perceived too plainly that his authority was departed from him : it was no longer thought necessary to preserve even the appearance of respect, or to treat him as the ally of the French emperor. No one came to receive him. He was struck with this want of attention : his alarm and apprehension returned, and these were greatly increased by the representations made to him by the Spanish grandees who came back from Bayonne, whither they had been sent to compliment the emperor. But now no choice was left him ; he was obliged to proceed. When he arrived at Bayonne, he was received by the Prince of Neufchatel and Duroc, and conducted to a place by no means suitable to his rank or to his character as the ally of Bonaparte. He was not permitted to remain long in doubt of the intentions of the emperor, or of his own fate. In choosing the time for communicating them, we plainly perceive the policy as well as the unfeelingness of Bonaparte's mind. Ferdinand dined with him : during this interview nothing particular passed. He was received and treated as the friend and ally of his host ;

but no sooner had he returned to his residence, than Savary waited on him, and declared the irrevocable determination, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; and that it should be succeeded by the family of Bonaparte. This determination was accompanied by a requisition, that Ferdinand should, in his own name and in that of all his family, renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the emperor of the French.

Ferdinand, however, absolutely refused to comply with this mandate of Bonaparte; and while the minister of each sovereign was discussing the subject, Bonaparte, who overheard every thing that passed, rushed into the cabinet, when he insulted the Spanish minister in the most gross and violent language, and concluded by telling him in a peremptory tone, that the interest of Spain demanded the expulsion of the Bourbon family. Finding that Ferdinand continued firmer than he had expected, he ordered the junta at Madrid to send the Prince of Peace to Bayonne. The favourite was accordingly liberated, and was followed to France by the royal parents. But before their arrival, Bonaparte informed Ferdinand, that he had only to choose between cession and death! His situation was now rendered highly embarrassing and desperate, while his father, in the presence of Bonaparte, insulted him with epithets the most gross and humiliating. Thus circumstanced, Ferdinand agreed to sign the renunciation. Having obtained this grand object by gross deceit and open violence, he sent the whole royal family into the interior of France. But finding a strong sentiment prevailing in Spain in favour of Ferdinand VII. he devised an expedient which might serve to blast his hopes of ever reigning over the Spanish people. He published a declaration, or a pretended declaration, made by the queen at Bayonne, confessing her own infamy, and announcing to the people of Spain, that the Prince of Asturias was not the son of her husband their lawful king, but that he was begotten in adultery. This base expedient must have been resorted to, for the pur-

pose of counteracting the prevailing sentiments in favour of Ferdinand.

Thus had Bonaparte effected the transference of the Spanish nation from the Bourbon dynasty to his own family, as far as that transference could be effected by the formal renunciation, in his favour, of the royal family, and by a strong but suspicious recommendation from them to the Spanish nation, to receive their own sovereign, whoever he should be, with feelings of submission and obedience. Abounding as the annals of mankind are, especially in these latter unparalleled and portentous times, in examples of treachery, perfidy, and violence, it would be difficult to point out one deed, which, in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was carried into execution, bore such strong and infamous marks of villainy. Had not the indignation and abhorrence of Europe been almost worn out, by what it had witnessed and felt for the preceding 20 years, the occurrences of Bayonne would have created more astonishment and detestation than they actually did. But that action, which at any former period would have marked the age in which it had been performed, as pre-eminent in deceit and outrage; occurring after a regular series of deeds similar in nature, though left far behind in the degree of their guilt; by no means is regarded with the abhorrence which it ought to excite. Posterity, happily recovered from that callousness to wickedness which marks the present age, will give to the deed we have just recorded its just tribute of indignation.

That Murat might accustom the people of Madrid to a tame submission, he demanded the sword, which Francis I. King of France surrendered in the famous battle of Pavia, and which was carried to his lodgings with great pomp. Public notice was next given, that the French soldiers were in want of great coats, which the police was ordered to collect from the inhabitants. Shortly after the Duke of Berg was elected presi-

dent of the junta: this triumph of Murat's art was adopted in consequence of the disturbances of the second of May. It is difficult to ascertain the immediate cause of the disturbance, the particulars, or the number of people that fell in consequence of it. The inhabitants of Madrid had been in a state of agitation and alarm ever since the entry of the French troops and the departure of the royal family. It is not to be supposed that the French were particularly careful to abstain from giving them offence; or that any measures were taken by Murat to soothe and keep down the irritation of their minds. Thus irritated, alarmed, and suspicious, their attention was roused by the entrance of the French commander into Madrid on the second of May. It was soon rumoured that he had ordered Don Antonio to set out immediately for Bayonne, and intimated his expectation that he should be appointed regent during his absence. To this the infant objected, maintaining that, as he had received the regency from the king his nephew, he would resign the office into no other hands; and declaring his resolution not to set off for Bayonne, since his journey thither would deprive him of the situation he held. Murat, upon this unexpected act of firmness, ordered a body of troops, which he had a few days before withdrawn from Madrid, again to enter the capital; with the intention, it is supposed, of seizing Don Antonio, and declaring himself regent. The inhabitants, alarmed at the entrance of the French troops, and having received information of the purpose for which they had been brought back, collected in immense multitudes; took possession of the entrances of some of the principal streets, attacked the French with great resolution and vigour; drove them before them, and obtained possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of the city with great slaughter. Besides this regular and collected attack on the body of the French army, wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sun gate, and the Great Square, were the prin-

principal scenes of the success and of the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants: for the alarm was soon given; the French repaired to their posts; and the people were overpowered by discipline. The principal object with the French was the street Alcala: in it were collected upwards of 10,000 people. Against it and the neighbouring streets and squares, 30 discharges of artillery were directed with dreadful effect: these were followed up by the cavalry: the people routed and dismayed, took refuge in the houses; the French soldiers followed, and put to death with the bayonet all they discovered. Another body of the people pushed forward towards the arsenal, where there were deposited 28 pieces of cannon, and 10,000 muskets; but they were intercepted, and driven back, by the brigade of General Lenfranc.

This massacre of the citizens of Madrid was followed by an address from the feeble Charles, one from the central junta, and another from the council of the supreme inquisition, exhorting the Spaniards to quiet and unresisting slavery. Thus to all appearance had Bonaparte completely and readily succeeded in accomplishing his views upon Spain.

CHAP. XXXV.

INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF FERDINAND—ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUPREME JUNTA AT SEVILLE—EXERTIONS OF ENGLAND IN DEFENCE OF SPANISH INDEPENDENCE—PROCEEDINGS OF THE PATRIOTS—BONAPARTE NOMINATES HIS BROTHER JOSEPH KING—HIS FLIGHT FROM MADRID—SITUATION OF SPAIN—BONAPARTE'S CONFERENCE AT ERFURTH—ARRIVES IN SPAIN—DISPERSES THE SPANISH ARMIES—CAPTURES MADRID.

THE conduct of Bonaparte excited the vengeance of the Spaniards, who saw their own fate in that of their favourite Ferdinand, and the northern provinces burst at once into open and organized rebellion. Asturias and Galicia set the glorious example, which was soon followed by every part not occupied or overawed by the troops of Bonaparte. The province of Arragon was headed by Palafox, a name afterwards celebrated in the Spanish revolution.

The first steps taken were to assemble the juntas of the provinces. That which was assembled at Seville deserves the most attention from the knowledge and spirit they displayed in the celebrated 'Precautions,' they addressed to their countrymen. This junta issued a declaration of war against France, and of peace with England. Indeed the insurrection of the Spanish nation necessarily directed their thoughts and hopes to Britain, as the only nation which possessed the power of yielding them assistance. One of the first measures adopted by the junta of Asturias was to dispatch two noblemen to this country, to represent to our government the state of Spain, and the determined and unanimous spirit of her people; and to obtain its countenance and support in behalf

of their countrymen. Before the arrival of these noblemen, vague and fleeting rumours had been afloat; but nothing certain was known, except that the usurpation of Bonaparte was detested in Spain, and that the people there were by no means disposed to submit quietly to it. It was not, however, imagined, and it was scarcely hoped, that any very formidable or general opposition would be made. But when deputies actually arrived from the north of Spain, stating that the inhabitants had proceeded so far as to arm themselves against their invaders, and that their confidence in their own strength and ultimate success was so strong as to have urged them on to the determination of trying their power against the power of Bonaparte, the British nation began seriously to look forward to this new and unexpected prospect of restoring the continent to independence, or at least of rescuing one portion of it from the grasp of the conqueror. The cause of Spain was one which fortunately united all parties.

The difference indeed between the war in which Spain was about to be engaged, and those wars by which Europe had suffered since the beginning of the French revolution, was calculated not only to inspire more hope, but also to produce a nearer approach to unanimity of sentiment in the British nation. Bonaparte was about to be opposed, not by regular armies, in a country where the great bulk of the people were indifferent to the issue of the contest, but by an armed nation roused to resistance and vengeance by the injustice and misery they had suffered, and who were convinced that their liberty and happiness would be deeply affected if they did not succeed. The prospect of such a contest no longer permitted the British ministry or nation to regard the Spaniards as enemies. They had taken up arms to oppose the common enemy, and therefore they were friends to Britain, as she was at war with France: they had taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and therefore they were friends to Britain, as the only remaining spot in Europe in which freedom could be found. The ministers gave assurances in parliament that

they would afford every assistance in their power to the Spanish patriots; and his majesty, in his speech at the close of the session, sanctioned the assurance in the most explicit and satisfactory manner.

The friendly disposition of the British court to Spain was thus openly declared to Europe. Swift sailing vessels were dispatched, with arms, money, and intelligent officers. Admiral Purvis opened a friendly intercourse with Don Morla, governor of Cadiz, who succeeded the Marquis de Solano, who was put to death by the populace for his attachment to the French, and concerted measures for capturing the French fleet, consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, then in Cadiz harbour. The French, after a contest of three days, submitted to the Spaniards. Previous to this Murat had dispatched Dupont into the south in order to save this fleet from the danger with which it was threatened.

The most numerous, as well as the best disciplined part of the Spanish army, which Bonaparte had permitted to remain in Spain, were stationed, at the beginning of the insurrection, in the camp of St. Roche, before Gibraltar. As soon as the intelligence reached them, that their country was in arms against the French emperor, Castanos, their general, opened a friendly communication with Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor of Gibraltar. Every facility was afforded them for marching without delay, and in the best appointed manner, to the support of their fellow citizens. They stood in need of money, and money was instantly supplied them in the most liberal manner. Their general, with the true spirit of a Spaniard, and with that confidence in the honour of Britons which has always remained deeply fixed in the breast of his countrymen, notwithstanding the unwilling warfare to which they had been compelled by the intrigues and influence of France, quitted the lines of St. Roche, and trusted to the garrison of Gibraltar, not taking any advantage of his absence. Having been reinforced by a considerable body of troops brought over from Ceuta, he found himself at the head of a

formidable army; but it was not alone on their numbers that he depended for success in the day of battle. He was convinced, from what he witnessed and heard, that the service on which he was about to lead his army, was recommended to their zeal and enthusiasm by the most powerful and inspiring motives. They were about to march and fight, not merely because the general they were bound to obey issued his orders to that effect; they looked forward to the service in which they were going to be engaged, as peculiarly their own. That country which gave them birth, and with which were associated all their pleasures and hopes, called for their assistance;—their relations and friends were either already in arms, or were exposed to the insults and tyranny of the soldiers of Bonaparte. Thus circumstanced, and with these impressions and feelings, it is not to be wondered if they almost anticipated the commands of their general. Castanos accordingly found himself at the head of an army, which promised to accomplish whatever could reasonably be expected from men animated with the love of their country, and with a determination to assist or avenge their fellow citizens.

But on many accounts it was necessary that the operations of such an army should be conducted with peculiar skill and caution. The junta of Seville had recommended, in their precautions, a steady and uniform adherence to prudence; and pointed out the advantages that would result from opposing the army rather by a continued and unceasing system of petty and harassing attacks, and the cutting off his supplies and reinforcements, than by an open and general engagement. Several considerations pointed out to Castanos the propriety of following up this system during the whole of the service in which he was about to engage. In the first place, the army of Dupont was in such a situation, so completely cut off from receiving any reinforcements, so entirely surrounded either by bodies of armed peasantry, or by defiles among which he durst not commit himself;—that there was little or no chance that he could ultimately escape, even though no direct

attacks were made upon him; nor could it be expected that he would be able to hold out long. His supplies of provision were known to be very inadequate to the maintenance of his army:—the peasantry fled from him on every side, so that he would be compelled to employ his harassed soldiers to collect their daily food, even at the very time when their services might be wanting to repel the attack of the enemy. If the situation of Dupont's army enforced on the mind of Castanos the propriety of a cautious and prolonged mode of warfare, the state of his own troops pointed it out no less clearly.

After several petty and partial actions, in which the French were uniformly worsted, a severe action took place between General Riding and Dupont, in which the Spaniards evinced great gallantry, and defeated the enemy at every point. In consequence of this event General Dupont offered to capitulate: but during the suspension of hostilities General Wedel arrived with 6000 men, with whom he attacked the Spaniards. This scandalous behaviour was disclaimed by General Dupont, who immediately ordered him to retire.

The whole of the French army, comprising the division of Wedel, as well as the division of Dupont, were to deliver up their arms, till their arrival at Cadiz, where they were to be embarked and sent to Rochefort. Thus it would appear that the treacherous attack of Wedel, during the suspension of hostilities, had been the cause of his division being included in the capitulation: since it is highly probable, if he had kept his former position, and not interfered, a separate capitulation, preceded perhaps by some delay or by a separate attack, would have been necessary. The French forces, by the official returns, was found to have consisted, before the battle of Baylen, of 14,000 men; of these nearly 3000 were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of 15,000 men, one half of whom were peasantry: their loss amounted to about 1200 in killed and wounded.

The cause of the patriots in other parts of Spain proceeded in an equally favourable and successful manner. The prin-

principal armies which they had formed, were placed under the command of generals distinguished for their bravery, and their zealous and unquestionable attachment to the cause of their country. The defence of Arragon was committed to Palafox, whose bold and animating conduct has already been noticed. Saragossa, the principal city of Arragon, was considered by the French as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon it with all the forces they could spare, and in a manner at once the most determined and ferocious. But Palafox resisted, and defeated all their attacks. The people of Valencia also drove off the French army sent against them with great slaughter. The patriot army under Cuesta was defeated in the north, but Blake covered the retreat in a masterly manner.

The conduct and occupation of Bonaparte, at a time when defeat was every where the fate of his armies in Spain, and when to all appearance the fruit of his duplicity and insolence towards the royal family was about to be snatched completely and for ever out of his grasp, was unexpected and singular. No doubt can be entertained, that when he had withdrawn the royal family from Spain, and secured his troops in the possession of the capital and the principal fortresses, he had regarded the object of his ambition as securely and permanently attained. It is probable, also, that the first intelligence of the insurrection of the Spaniards would either be partially concealed from him,—or if he were made acquainted with it, as it actually appeared to his agents, that he regarded it as by no means of a nature sufficiently decided and general to require his deliberation or to disturb his plans. But that he should continue unmoved, and apparently regardless of the successive defeats his armies sustained, cannot easily be accounted for, in any manner consistent with his known character and disposition. And yet, while the troops of Spain were every where successful, and were preparing themselves for new victories,—while the insurrection was rapidly spreading and organizing itself in every province,—Bonaparte remained

at Bayonne, directing or receiving the result of the deliberations of the junta which he had called, and drawing up a constitution for a people who were by no means disposed to accept it, and upon whom it did not appear probable he would be able to force its acceptance.

In the address to the Spanish nation, which Bonaparte published immediately after the abdication of Charles and Ferdinand, he informed them that he did not mean to reign over them, but that he would give them a sovereign every way resembling himself. No doubt was entertained, that the throne was intended for one of his brothers, though, if conjecture had fixed upon the person from Bonaparte's description of him, not one of them would have been considered as the destined sovereign. When, however, Joseph bade farewell to his good subjects of Naples, though at the same time he assured them it was for a short time, and that he would never desert them, the person to whom Bonaparte alluded could no longer be doubted. In the beginning of June, Joseph arrived in the vicinity of Bayonne, where he was received by a deputation from the grandees of Spain, and a council from Castile, with the most fulsome and abject addresses. To what mortifying and indignant feelings does the thought give rise, that at the very time when the people of Spain had risen, as if animated with one soul, to shake off the yoke of the usurper, and had forsaken their habitations and families to fight in defence of their country's independence, the levees of the usurper were crowded with the grandees of Spain, obsequious to his will, and eagerly pressing forward to obtain his favour!

In the account of the conferences between Joseph Bonaparte and the different deputations that were presented to him, his speech to the deputies of the Inquisition is deserving of particular notice: he told them that he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of general prosperity; *that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but that he considered it as the felicity of*

Spain, that she had but one, and that the true one! The defenders or admirers of Bonaparte's conduct—for he still has his defenders and admirers,—constantly and triumphantly held forth the wisdom and liberality of his principles and conduct with respect to religion, as a feature in his character that favourably distinguishes him from other conquerors: and we are told by these his admirers, that the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the Spanish catholic religion would undoubtedly be among the very first objects of his destruction: and yet his brother, tutored no doubt by Napoleon, praises and professes to admire that spirit.

It is not consistent with our limits, nor would it, we apprehend, be interesting to our readers, to enter into the detail of the proceedings at Bayonne. The two grand objects for which the junta was assembled there,—the formal introduction of Joseph as the king of Spain, and their acceptance of the new constitution provided for them by the wisdom and liberality of Napoleon, were soon settled. This constitution presents no remarkable or unexpected clause, except that which regards the liberty of the press; this, certainly, as coming from Bonaparte, must be viewed as singular and unexpected. By this clause, it is settled that the freedom of the press shall be regulated two years after the present constitutional statute shall have been in operation. The cortes shall pass a law respecting the freedom of the press.

As soon as the new constitution had undergone the form of having been examined and animadverted upon by the different members of the junta, Joseph, accompanied by his principal ministers, among whom were some of the most distinguished names in Spain, set out for the capital of his unconquered kingdom; Murat, under the pretext of bad health, having previously quitted it, and arrived at Bayonne. Under the protection of 10,000 men, Joseph arrived safe at Madrid, where he was crowned amidst the gloom and hatred of the inhabitants. His reign, however, was destined to be of very short duration. On the very day that he entered the capital,

Dupont surrendered himself and his army prisoners to Castanos. As soon as this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court thought it expedient to fly in the most precipitate and disgraceful manner. All the regalia and plate belonging to the crown were carried off; and he, who had entered Madrid, accompanied by 10,000 troops, in the expectation of fixing his abode in the character of a sovereign, found himself compelled in the space of one week to seek his safety in flight. No time, indeed, was to be lost: the army of Castanos, after having defeated Dupont, was marching with rapid and unopposed steps towards the capital. Bessieres, alarmed for the safety of his troops, had given up his intention of proceeding towards Portugal, and was measuring his steps back to the frontiers. The army of Blake, thus set free from watching or opposing that of Bessieres, might intercept the royal fugitive, if he did not speedily depart from Madrid. In this situation, Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, found himself under the necessity of quitting the capital of his kingdom, and of pushing forward as rapidly as possible towards Burgos.

As soon as Joseph Bonaparte had evacuated Madrid, the servile council of Castile published an apology for their conduct, and pretended now to be good patriots. The junta of Seville shortly after yielded up its functions, and in an excellent manifesto recommended the formation of a supreme government, which was assembled and installed at Aranjuez on the 24th of September. A military Junta was also formed to organize and direct the armies. In the mean time Joseph Bonaparte took a position behind the Ebro with about 40,000 men. The Spaniards were about 100,000 strong; but the French were so admirably posted as to defy all their force and manœuvres. This damped the hopes of those who expected that the French would be driven behind the barriers which nature had raised to protect them before Bonaparte could arrive to assist them. Indeed the Spaniards suffered several weeks to elapse in a state of the most unaccountable and fatal inactivity.

This alarming state of inactivity does not appear to have excited apprehension in Spain ; for when Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived off the coast with a strong military force to co-operate with the patriots, they refused his assistance, in confidence of their own strength, and requested him to proceed against Junot at Lisbon. At this time the Spanish troops, whom Bonaparte had shut up in Denmark, were rescued by an English fleet, and the whole, amounting to 8000 men, after being supplied with every necessary in England, were conveyed to Spain. The preparations of Bonaparte, however, induced the Spaniards to request the assistance of English troops ; and in consequence Sir David Baird and Sir John Moore were ordered to co-operate with them. Bonaparte having at this time returned from Paris to Bayonne, assembled his senate, and declared his reasons for invading Spain, and the necessity of raising an army of 200,000 men. But it was to his troops, assembled at the periodical parade on the Carousel, that Bonaparte expressed his wishes and opened out his plans, in the most violent and outrageous manner. Having ordered them to be formed into close column, and the officers being assembled, he told them, that after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, and passed through Germany by forced marches, he should, without allowing them a moment's rest, order them to march through France. He had occasion for their immediate service. The hideous presence of the leopard of England contaminated the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. It was incumbent on them to drive him with dismay and destruction from the continent. The pillars of Hercules must witness their conquering and avenging prowess. From it would result a prosperous and durable peace,—and the consequent prosperity of France. These were the objects the nearest his heart ; the wish to obtain them alone induced him to call for their exertions. What they had already performed placed them on a level with the Roman legions : what remained, he had no doubt they would perform with as much cheer-

fulness, promptitude and success, which would, if possible, augment their glory, secure the happiness of their country, and imprint its remembrance deeply and permanently on his heart.

Soon after he had thus arranged his military operations, he set out from Paris, in order to meet the Emperor of Russia at Erfurth. This conference had been announced some time before ; but it was hoped that a remembrance of what was due to his own honour, if not to his own dignity and safety, joined to the unpopularity of the measure among his subjects, would have prevented the emperor Alexander from actually proceeding to it. When it did take place, some slight expectation was entertained that the remonstrances of Alexander would induce Bonaparte to forego his attempts upon Spain. But unfortunately for the repose of Europe, this monarch had then given himself up completely and without reserve to the views and interests of Napoleon. What were the most material objects which induced Bonaparte to hold this conference, it is impossible absolutely to ascertain. He announced in a letter which he wrote to the prince primate, during his journey to Erfurth, that he was going to give peace to Europe ! What meaning can be attached to this phrase, when proceeding from a man whose element is war, and from whose unprincipled and aggressive conduct alone all the calamities which he pretended to lament, had proceeded ? As Spain was undoubtedly at that time the principal object of his meditations and plans, it may naturally be concluded that the conference with Alexander was intended to further that object.

After the conference of Erfurth Bonaparte returned to Paris, when having arranged his affairs, he set off to Spain. He completed this journey with his usual rapidity, leaving all his attendants behind, who were not so well mounted as himself. Great reinforcements had preceded him, and at the end of October he established his head-quarters at Vittoria.

About the beginning of November the Spanish armies made some judicious movements, and Bonaparte at the same time prepared to execute a grand manœuvre, which was to interpose his whole force between the armies of Spain, and, if possible, to break in pieces the army of Blake. Within the short space of a fortnight General Blake was engaged eight times, nor did Bonaparte quit the attack, or give up the pursuit until his object was completely fulfilled. Bonaparte had also sent a strong division of his army against the troops of Estramadura, which, after thirteen hours hard fighting, was completely defeated. The capture of Burgos followed, where the emperor established his head-quarters. He now suddenly and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos on the Ebro. At Tudela a battle took place. The Spaniards fought with great coolness and fortitude, and the French were repulsed at every point. But Castanos had chosen a bad position, which was commanded by heights he had neglected to occupy. The French perceived and profited by this error; the Spanish army was outflanked and completely broken. Thus within three weeks Bonaparte succeeded in defeating the three grand armies of Spain; while the British forces, consisting of near 40,000 highly disciplined troops, were too distant to be any check upon the progress of Bonaparte.

The continued and unchecked successes of the French, and their consequent approach to the capital, at last alarmed the supreme junta, and induced them to address a proclamation of an encouraging nature to the Spaniards. Intelligence, or rather a rumour, had reached Madrid, that the enemy had advanced to the neighbourhood of Somosierra, one of the strong posts which defends the capital to the north. It was to support and animate the people under the natural impression of this alarming information, that the Supreme junta addressed them. In this address they assured the Spaniards, that their unremitted and anxious attention had been directed to the means of driving back and destroying those armies,

who, with continued temerity, had advanced to the neighbourhood of Somosierra. This circumstance, though undoubtedly alarming, ought not to excite despondency, or create confusion. The artifices of Bonaparte were conspicuous even in the rumours which were circulated with so much care and eagerness in the capital; his agents were employed in spreading these rumours; and in order to alarm the well-disposed but timid part of the inhabitants, they had greatly exaggerated the numbers of the enemy. The junta had taken particular pains and care to learn from the generals who had been previously sent to defend the passes to Madrid, the real number of the French troops who had audaciously advanced before their main army; and they could confidently and safely assure the people that they scarcely amounted to eight thousand.

But the danger which threatened the capital was great and alarming; and much more immediate than the junta, at the time when they issued their proclamation, seem to have apprehended. It was, however, expected and stated that the inhabitants would defend themselves to the last extremity: they were represented as rising in enthusiasm and determination, in proportion as the attack of the enemy became more near and certain. Vigorous preparations were resolved to be made for the defence of the city; the streets were barricaded; and deep trenches were ordered to be cut for the purpose of impeding and harassing the approach of the French. Madrid is accessible to an army only by two roads from the north; one of these passes through Guadaramma, and the other through Somosierra: the natural position of the latter is of uncommon strength; it is said that ten thousand men are sufficient to maintain possession of it against the most numerous force that could be brought to act against them. Both these places were guarded by strong bodies of troops; and the natural strength of their situation was greatly increased by the erection of works provided with a numerous artillery. In order to protect the city, if the enemy, aware of

the difficulties of the passage by Guadaramma or Somosierra, should approach it from the eastward, the town of Guadalajara, on the road, was fortified in such a manner as it was expected would effectually secure it from being carried by a *coup-de-main*. The defence of Madrid itself, and the preparations and works necessary to impede the advance of the French towards it, were entrusted to Don Thomas Morla, who had already distinguished himself at Cadiz. But unfortunately here also, what was necessary was delayed till it was too late. The address of Morla, calling upon the inhabitants to defend the city, was not published till some days after the defeat of Castanos, when nothing intervened between the French army and Madrid, and when no other object occupied the attention of Bonaparte, but its immediate assault and capture.

On the 22d of November, Bonaparte removed his headquarters from Burgos to Aranda on the Douro. His progression in this direction seemed to intimate an intention of pushing on immediately towards Madrid: this, however, he did not do till his armies had defeated Castanos at the battle of Tudela. Soon after he learnt the result of that battle he advanced to the village of Bozeguillas; and on the last day of November the Duke of Bellune appeared at the fort of Somosierra. The passes of this mountain were defended by 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve, who had taken up a very strong position, being entrenched in the narrow pass called the Puerto, with 16 pieces of cannon. This pass was forced by the enemy, chiefly by means of the artillery under General Senarmont, and of a charge made by the Polish light horse under General Montbrun.

The day after Bonaparte had succeeded in forcing this important pass, he removed his head-quarters to St. Augustin; and on the 2d of December the cavalry of the Duke of Istria commanded the heights of Madrid. The city was immediately summoned. As the supreme junta had quitted it on the approach of the enemy, a military junta had been formed,

consisting of Don Morla the governor, the captain-general of Andalusia, the inspector-general of artillery, and the Marquis of Castelar, who acted as president. Sixty thousand men were in arms : of these 6000 were troops of the line ; the rest were peasants. One hundred pieces of cannon were planted for the defence of the city. Every thing announced enthusiasm and determination, mixed with tumult and disorder. The summons of the Duke of Istria gave birth to such a general and strong feeling of indignation, that one of his aides-de-camp, who was the bearer of it, was nearly torn to pieces by the people ; the interference of the troops of the line alone saved his life. The first summons was rejected. As the French infantry were still three leagues from the city, Bonaparte employed the evening, after the rejection of the summons, in reconnoitring, and forming the plan of attack, which he proposed to follow, provided the city would not capitulate. He ordered the suburbs to be occupied that night, and the artillery to be placed in the posts designed for the attack.

On the night of the 3d, another summons was sent from the Prince of Neufchatel (General Berthier) by a Spanish lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who had been taken prisoner at Somosierra. In the letter containing this summons, Berthier calls upon the commandant of Madrid not to expose the city to all the horrors of a siege, nor to render so many innocent and peaceful inhabitants the victims of war. In order that the commandant might know the extent and nature of the preparations and force which the French had before the city, Berthier informs him that he had sent the summons by a Spanish officer, who had had an opportunity of ascertaining it. In reply to this summons the Marquis Castelar, captain-general of Castile, requested a suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of consulting the constituted authorities, and of ascertaining the dispositions and determination of the inhabitants. While these letters were passing, the French were engaged in placing 30 pieces of artillery in such a position

that their fire soon made a breach in the walls of the Reteiro, which was entered and the place taken. The capture of this important and commanding place, was followed by the occupation of most of the other situations in the immediate vicinity of the capital which the Spaniards had fortified.

A third summons was now sent in, containing a peremptory demand of immediate submission. In consequence of this, Don Morla and another nobleman repaired to the tent of Berthier. They requested that the suspension of hostilities might be prolonged for another day, in order that they might endeavour to persuade the people to listen to the proposal of surrendering the city. Berthier presented them to Bonaparte, who abused them both, and particularly Morla, in the most outrageous and insulting manner. He upbraided him with his behaviour at Rousillon, in the war between France and Spain, at the beginning of the French revolution; and with his violation of the capitulation of Baylen. He finished his passionate invective with a declaration that, if the city did not surrender by six o'clock the next morning, the Spanish troops should all be put to the sword. During the night most of the troops and their leaders left the city; and in the morning of the 5th of December it was taken possession of by the French.

The loss sustained by the French on this occasion is stated to have been very trifling, nor did the Spaniards suffer considerably. The Reteiro was defended by one thousand men, who were killed when it was taken by assault; and this probably was nearly the whole amount of their loss. The French bulletins assert that 120,000 stand of English arms were found in the city: that the number is exaggerated there can be little doubt; but it is probable that a great proportion of the arms sent from England were deposited at Madrid at the time that city fell into the hands of the enemy.

CHAP. XXXVI.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF BONAPARTE AT THE ESCAPE OF SIR JOHN MOORE — HE LEAVES SPAIN TO MAKE WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA — HIS BEHAVIOUR TO THAT POWER — COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR — BONAPARTE JOINS HIS ARMY — SEPARATES THE AUSTRIAN ARMIES, AND COMPLETELY DEFEATS THEM — TAKES VIENNA — CROSSES THE DANUBE — REPULSED AT ASPERN — HIS CRITICAL SITUATION — OUT-GENERALS THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES — DEFEATS THE AUSTRIANS AT WAGRAM — SIGNS AN ARMISTICE — CONCLUDES A PEACE AT PRESBURG — REFLECTIONS.

BONAPARTE having secured the capital of Spain, turned his hopes and attention to the capture of the army under Sir John Moore, who, he observed, was the only general in Spain worthy to cope with him. After employing every stratagem he could invent, in order to detain and entice the British general to advance in Spain, he suddenly left Madrid at the head of 40,000 men, while Soult and Junot were on the front and right flank of the British army, which did not exceed 27,000 men. But Sir John Moore perceived the dangers with which he was surrounded before it was too late, and with much activity and skill avoided the snare. Bonaparte pursued with great eagerness; but finding he could not come up with Sir John Moore, he gave up the pursuit, which he committed to three of his marshals, with orders to effect the destruction of the British. But the pursuit ended at Corunna, in the complete discomfiture of about 30,000 Frenchmen, elate with hope, by half the number of British soldiers, emaciated and feeble by the dreadful sufferings they had undergone in their retreat. But the native vigour of Britons sup-

plied the want of refreshment and rest. The slaughter of the French was immense. England had, however, to lament the fall of the gallant Sir John Moore, and of many of his brave companions in arms.

When the French emperor found the British army had escaped, he conceived that there was no other object in Spain that required his presence. He therefore left the conquest of the peninsula to be completed by his armies, and returned to France in order to prepare for war with Austria.

It has always been the policy of Bonaparte to ruin the countries which he has conquered, and to whom he has granted peace, by slow degrees. He never fulfils the treaties he signs, and if complaint be made, it is answered by menace and insult. Austria had long suffered these insults; and even her neutrality during the war between France and the combined powers of Prussia and Russia, had excited no sentiments of gratitude in the breast of Bonaparte. He rather grew more haughty, more imperious, and more insulting to that court; with whom he evidently sought a quarrel, he demanding a free passage for his troops through Austria into Turkey, which he had determined to conquer, and by excluding the Austrian ambassador from his secret conference with Alexander at Erfurth. Having completed his arrangements for war, he demanded of Austria to disband her new levies, and to prevent the circulation of news respecting the Spanish war in his dominions. Austria had now no alternative except war or the surrender of her independence. She chose the former, and having appointed the Archduke Charles generalissimo, prepared for the contest.

Information that the Austrians had crossed the Inn having been conveyed to Paris by the telegraph, Bonaparte left that city on the 12th of April, 1807, and arrived at Donawarth on the 17th, from which place he removed his head-quarters to Ingolstadt on the following day. Movements immediately began to take place among the French armies, while the

Austrians endeavoured to out-manoeuvre them at Landshut, and surprise them in their march towards Ratisbon.

On the 19th the Duke of Auerstadt advanced to the village of Pressing, where he met a division of the Austrian army; and an engagement immediately took place, which ended in the defeat of the latter. On the same day another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarian troops under the command of the Duke of Dantzic fell upon their rear. The French, in this action, were equally successful. These, however, were partial and insignificant attacks, apparently commenced by the French generals for the purpose of preparing the way for a general engagement, and of trying the steadiness and courage of their German allies. Bonaparte, during the few days he had been with his army, had made himself completely acquainted with its position; with the situation of the country; the advantages it afforded for offensive warfare, and the particular mode of attack which a regard to that situation, and a quick perception of the blunders of his enemy, pointed out.

The Archduke Louis and General Keller had very imprudently drawn their divisions to such a distance from the other corps of the Austrian army, that they at once presented a weak point of attack to the French, cut themselves off from all support, and exposed the troops under the Archduke Charles to destruction or disorder. Bonaparte immediately perceived this mistake, and resolved to profit by it. While the adjoining corps of the Austrians, who, from their situation, were most likely to support the Archduke Louis, were kept in check by the Duke of Auerstadt, he himself, at the head of the troops of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, assisted by two French divisions, attacked the archduke's corps in front. At the same time the communication of this corps was completely cut off by a manoeuvre of the Duke of Rivoli, who, passing by Freyberg, proceeded to the rear of the Austrian army.

As the imperial guards were not yet arrived from Spain, Bonaparte assigned the post of honour to the troops of Bava-

ria and Wirtemberg. He placed himself at their head, and before he commenced the attack, he addressed them in a long speech through the Prince royal of Bavaria. He reminded the Bavarians of the ancient enmity between their country and Austria;—he recapitulated the wrongs they had suffered from that country, and the haughty and tyrannical behaviour which, in the days of her power and prosperity, she had displayed towards their ancestors. They now had their revenge: they were about to experience the high and proud fate of punishing the insults and injuries offered to their forefathers, and of raising their native land above its ancient and implacable foe. To the soldiers of Wirtemberg he spoke a different language: Austria had already suffered from their courage: when they had served in the Prussian army, they had found her not invincible, they had themselves contributed in no mean degree to her defeat. He made them recollect the last campaign in Silesia; there they had met and conquered the foe, against whom he was now going to lead them. He assured them all that they possessed his confidence; and he did not doubt they would this day prove they deserved it, by driving the Austrians before them, and carrying the war into their territory.

Amidst the enthusiasm and eagerness to distinguish themselves, which this speech inspired, Bonaparte gave the signal for battle. A brigade of light infantry, two battalions of horse artillery, and nearly the whole of the cavalry commenced the attack: the Austrians having taken up their position on very broken and intersected ground, were quickly dislodged: the infantry, chiefly composed of the troops of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, formed in column, completed the defeat of the Austrians: compelled on all sides to fall back, they retreated with great rapidity, and in no small confusion. In this battle the French took eight standards, 12 pieces of cannon, and 18,000 prisoners.

The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle Ebensberg, Bonaparte, pursuing his

victory, pushed immediately forward to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, having formed before the city, were attacked and driven back by the Duke of Istria; the same fate attended the Austrian infantry, who endeavoured to defend the bridge: the French grenadiers advanced on the charge: the Austrians having set fire to the bridge, which was of wood, retreated into the town, whither they were pursued by the enemy: the town was taken, and along with it 30 pieces of cannon, 9000 prisoners, and the hospitals and magazines which the Austrians had established there.

In the mean time the main Austrian army, under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, having made a rapid descent upon the Danube, in conjunction with the Bohemian army under General Kollowarth, entered Ratisbon, and took prisoners 1000 French, who had been left to guard the bridge at that place. Immediately afterwards he crossed to the right bank of the Danube, and occupied the very position in which his brother the Archduke Louis had been beaten on the 20th. This movement disconcerted Bonaparte: it compelled him to leave the bank of the Iser, and to measure back towards the Danube, leaving the dukes of Auerstadt and Dantzic to hold in check the remains of the Austrian army which he had just defeated. Sensible of the necessity of the most rapid movement, in order to put an immediate stop to the progress of the Archduke Charles, Bonaparte marched with such celerity, that at two o'clock on the 22d of April he arrived opposite Eckmuhl, where the four corps of the Austrian army, amounting to 110,000 men, were posted. Never before had these two chiefs been opposed to each other; neither of them had ever experienced a defeat. In each had their respective armies the utmost confidence: perhaps the remembrance of all that Bonaparte had achieved inspired more confidence into the army he commanded than was felt by the Austrian army in their general: but the Austrians did not barely confide in their commander; they remembered not merely the victories he had gained, but the virtues he had

displayed; the attention and kindness he had shown to them amidst their defeats and disasters; the alacrity and pleasure with he had praised and rewarded their courage and good conduct. They regarded him as their father; while the soldiers of Bonaparte looked up to him only as their victorious general.

Bonaparte's military eye immediately perceived that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted. This wing he ordered the Duke of Montebello to attack: they succeeded in turning it, while the front of the Austrians was opposed by the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate; it was not entirely terminated till night. Then the army of the archduke, turned on their left and driven from all their positions, were compelled to retreat. A large body of them endeavouring to make a stand, under the cover of some woods near Ratisbon, were driven into the plain, and suffered dreadfully from the French cavalry. An attempt was made to cover the retreat of the main body by the cavalry; but this was equally unsuccessful; the covering corps were attacked on both wings, and after maintaining their ground for a considerable length of time, were obliged to seek their safety in flight. The Archduke Charles was nearly taken prisoner, but escaped through the fleetness of his horse.

When the extreme darkness of the night had rendered it impossible for the French to continue the pursuit, the broken and scattered divisions of the Austrian army collected in Ratisbon. Here they endeavoured to make a stand: for this purpose the archduke ordered the cavalry to cover the city. after three successive charges they gave way; 8000 of the Austrians were cut to pieces; the remainder of those who were posted without the city fled across the Danube. The city itself was still defended, but not long; for, by an oversight of the Austrian general, the French were permitted to enter it through a breach in the fortifications. Six Austrian regiments who were in it were either cut pieces or taken prisoners: and the remainder not having had time, from the

mode in which the enemy had entered the city, to break down the bridge, were closely pursued to the left bank of the Danube.

In these battles Bonaparte followed up his usual plan of breaking his enemy's forces into pieces, and then beating them separately; and, what argues inferiority of generalship, the positions taken up by the Austrians were such as enabled him to pursue this plan with the most signal advantage. At the battle of Ebensberg he beat separately the two divisions of the Archduke Louis and General Keller;—at the battle of Landshut, he broke through the centre of their communications, and took their magazines and artillery; and in the last battle of Eckmühl, he defeated the remaining divisions of the Austrian army, except that of General Bellegarde, which did not join the archduke till the day after this battle.—In the battle of Eckmühl and Ratisbon the French took upwards of 20,000 prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery; so that in the short space of five days the Austrians had lost nearly 40,000 men, and 100 pieces of cannon.

As Bonaparte was obliged to leave the Iser for the purpose of attacking the Archduke Charles on the Danube, his brother, the Archduke Louis, was suffered to pursue his retreat unmolested along the Inn and the Salza. But as soon as Charles had been defeated and compelled to retreat into that part of the Upper Palatinate which borders on Bohemia, Bonaparte, with the centre of his army, took that line of march which should at once enable him to pursue the Archduke Louis, and to reach Vienna. The rear guard of this unfortunate army was overtaken, near Ebensberg, by a division of the French under the command of the Duke of Istria and Rivoli: between 3000 and 4000 were taken prisoners in the town; the main body, consisting of 30,000, having taken up a strong and very favourable position, were attacked by the French. In order to save themselves and to secure their retreat, they set fire to the town; the houses, being built

principally of wood, burnt rapidly : the fire spread on every side : no part of the French were able to act, except three battalions under General Claparede ; and these were cut off from the rest by the burning of the bridge. The Austrians, taking advantage of this circumstance, attacked these battalions, committed great slaughter among them, and would probably have annihilated them, or taken them prisoners, had not a passage been opened for another division of the French, who rescued their comrades from their perilous situation.— After this skirmish, Bonaparte, following the course of the Danube, advanced rapidly towards Vienna ; having ordered the Prince of Ponte Corvo with his army, who were principally Saxons, to follow the retreat of the Archduke Charles as far as the town of Egra, in Bohemia. The corps of the Archduke Louis, after they reached Saint Pölten, divided ; two-thirds of them crossed the Danube, the other third took the direction to Vienna.

In the expectation that he should reach the capital of Austria before Bonaparte, the Archduke Charles had ordered General Hiller to send part of his corps along the right bank of the Danube, and with a larger division to go himself and occupy, if circumstances would admit it, the small islands in the river, for the purpose of keeping up the communication between the bridges and the capital. On the 10th of May Bonaparte appeared before Vienna. This city, formerly a fortress of great strength, besieged in vain by the Turks, could even now have withstood for a considerable length of time a formidable attack. Its ramparts are solid and entire ; its works judiciously planned and executed ; and its mines extensive and skilfully placed : but for upwards of a century all these means of defence have been neglected : the ramparts are covered with palaces ; workshops have been built in the casemates ; the counterscarps are concealed and rendered useless by plantations, and the glacis is intersected by avenues of trees. Suburbs, perhaps the largest, and certainly the most beautiful of any that adorn an European capital, sur-

round the city, and contain by far the greatest part of the inhabitants. In the city (properly so called) there are not more than 80,000 people; in the suburbs, which are composed of eight divisions, the number of inhabitants is computed to be 220,000.

Bonaparte immediately rendered himself master of the suburbs; but the city itself made an unexpected and obstinate, though not a long resistance. It was defended by about 3000 or 4000 regular troops, as many armed citizens, and a *landwehr*, or country militia. Ordnance of different calibre was placed on the ramparts; and the numerous islands in the Danube, and low-lying bushy ground behind the town, were occupied by part of the corps of General Hiller, while the principal body of his forces was posted on the left shore of the river.

The Archduke Maximilian had the chief command in the city. By his presence and exertions he animated and encouraged the citizens to defend it, as long as the imperfect nature of the fortifications and their unskilfulness in the art of war would permit them. For twenty-four hours the French howitzers played upon the town: their fire, though very destructive, did not shake the determination of the citizens. When, however, the French had succeeded in crossing the smaller branches of the Danube, by means of the numerous craft which are constantly on that river, and dislodged the troops from the islands nearest the city, and threatened to cut off all communication with the left bank, it was thought prudent to surrender the city. Before this took place, however, the regular troops effected their retreat in perfect safety by means of the great bridge of Tabak, to which they soon afterwards set fire.

After the capture of Vienna, the different French corps were distributed in the following manner:—The imperial guards, which arrived from Spain soon after the battle of Eckmühl, and the divisions under the command of the Dukes of Rivoli and Montebello and General Oudinot, were stationed

at Vienna: the corps commanded by the Duke of Auerstadt was spread out between that city and St. Polten: the troops of Saxony and Wirtemberg under the command of the Prince of Ponte Corvo were stationed at Lintz, while a corps de reserve occupied Passau. The Emperor of Austria, after the misfortunes which befel the army of the Archduke Charles, and the consequent rapid advance of the French towards Vienna, left his capital, and took up his abode at Znaim in Moravia.

Soon after Bonaparte obtained possession of the capital of the Austrian monarchy, he issued a proclamation addressed to the Hungarian nation, from Schoenbrunn, a favourite palace of the Emperor Francis, where the head-quarters of the French army were established. In this proclamation, containing a strange mixture of impiety, boasting, and flattery towards the Hungarians, he expressly attributes to the interference of the Deity his victories over the Emperor Francis, and holds out those victories as punishments inflicted by Heaven for his perfidy and ingratitude, in again taking up arms against the man to whom he had been thrice indebted for his crown. But it is not against the Hungarians he had taken up arms: as the enemy and the punisher of the Emperor of Austria, he is the friend and will be the benefactor and protector of that brave and generous nation.

As Bonaparte found that the immense number of prisoners whom he had already taken were likely to become troublesome and burdensome, he did not hesitate to break through the established and sanctioned usage with respect to them. He issued an order that on their arrival in France they should be placed under the authority and at the disposal of the prefect of each department. Such agriculturists and manufacturers as were at a loss for workmen were to apply to the prefect, or the mayor of the commune, who were ordered to allot them as many as they could employ. By this means the drain which the war and conscriptions had occasioned in France was in a great measure filled up; the agriculture and commerce of the country were assisted and encouraged; and

the prisoners, instead of becoming a burden on the state, contributed not only to their own support, but to the support of the community. So far as regards treatment and the mode of living, the Austrian prisoners were probably benefited by this regulation ; but as tending to introduce a species of slavery, and to put Europe, so far as respects prisoners of war, upon a level with the states of Barbary, and to bring it back to what it was in its most savage and uncivilized ages, this regulation cannot be too strongly reprobated.

The archduke having failed in his attempts to intercept Bonaparte before he reached Vienna, had fixed his headquarters at Ebersdorf. The French emperor resolved to cross the Danube and attack the Archduke Charles in his position : for this purpose he marched his army along the south bank of the river till it had reached the distance of about six miles from Vienna. At this place he determined to effect his passage : the situation was extremely favourable. The breadth and rapidity of the stream of the Danube are here broken by two islands : from the south bank to the smaller island on that side, the distance is about 1000 toises : the island itself is 140 toises in circumference : from this smaller island to the larger called In-der-Lobau, or the isle of Lobau, the distance is 120 toises : in this part the river runs with the greatest force and rapidity : from the isle of Lobau to the north bank of the Danube the distance is about 70 toises. As soon as the French engineers had thrown two bridges across, from the south side to the smaller island, Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters in the latter, and prepared to throw a bridge from it to the north bank. This bridge, consisting of 15 pontoons, was thrown over the branch of the river in less than three hours.

As the Archduke Charles had formed the resolution not to interrupt the passage of the French troops, but to attack them on the following day, he retreated as they advanced, and permitted them to extend themselves along the north bank of the river. Bonaparte, meeting with no interruption

fixed on the field of battle, posting the right wing of his army on the village of Esling, and the left on the village of Aspern. The archduke having retired so far as to allow of the unchecked and complete passage of the French, halted when he came to a favourable position. On the 21st, at break of day, he ordered his army under arms; it was formed in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the small rivulet where his cavalry had been formerly posted, and the Bisam-hill. The right wing stretched towards Stammersdorf, and was commanded by General Hiller: it was joined and supported on the left by the corps of Count Bellegarde; and in the line of the village of Wagram the division of Prince Hohenzollern took up its position: the corps of Prince Rosenberg, formed in columns, was stationed along the rivulet already mentioned and in the village of Wagram. A corps de reserve occupied the heights above the village, for the purpose of securing and strengthening the left wing.—The vacant space which, by this arrangement, was left behind the left wing under Prince Hohenzollern, and the right of Prince Rosenberg, was filled by the whole cavalry, drawn up in two lines, under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein. Between the Austrian army and the Danube was an extensive plain, which, from the level and unobstructed nature of its surface, appeared destined to become the theatre of a general engagement.

As soon as the Archduke Charles was informed that the French had gained possession of the villages of Esling and Aspern, were rapidly accumulating in the town of Enzersdorf, and were advancing towards Heischstettin, he formed his plan of attack. He had most formidable obstacles to overcome; arising partly from the nature of the ground, and partly from the positions occupied by the enemy. The angles formed by the windings of the Danube were highly favourable to the complete developement of the enemy, and enabled them both to cross the river with safety, and to arrange themselves in a strong situation. Their passage was

covered and protected by the villages of Esling and Aspern, composed chiefly of brick houses, and surrounded by heaps of earth which answered the purpose of bastions: a double line of trenches formed for the purpose of drawing off the water served as a curtain, and sheltered the troops as they crossed from the isle of Lobau to the north bank of the Danube. Both the villages communicated with the low and bushy ground immediately adjoining the river, and thus afforded the French an opportunity of dispatching unseen fresh reinforcements from the island. The island itself served as a place of arms, while on the side of it nearest the north bank of the Danube, it was fortified in such a manner as to answer all the purposes of a *tete de pont*. A strong *tete de pont* was also erected at the north end of the bridge from this island, which necessarily protected and strengthened the rear of the French army. Their front was covered by the deep ditches immediately before Aspern, which carried the superabundant waters from the fields to the rivers; while their right was protected by a battery, and their left by the bushy ground which has already been mentioned. The Danube at this time had risen to an unusual height: this circumstance, in an important respect, was advantageous to the French. A ditch, extremely broad and deep, which carried off the waters of the river when it overflowed, lay on their left: this it was necessary to pass before an attack on that part of the enemy could be commenced; but on account of the freshes in the river it was impossible to cross this ditch, unless by means of the bridge; and the passage of the bridge was defended by a strong division and several pieces of cannon.

The Archduke Charles having duly considered the position of the French army, the advantages they derived from it, and the difficulties which he had to surmount, ordered the attack to be made in five columns. As the recapture of Aspern was essentially necessary, in order to enable the Austrian artillery to play with effect upon the centre of the enemy's line, the first and second columns were ordered to attack this village,

The conflict here was most obstinate and murderous : every street, every house, and every barn was the scene of it : scarcely had the Austrians succeeded in gaining possession of part of the village, when the French poured in strong reinforcements and regained it : at last, the second column, combining its movements and attacks with those of the first, made itself master of the upper part of the village, and maintained its position during the whole of the first day's combat.

In the mean time, the enemy having formed his left wing, which he refused, towards Aspern, and his right upon Esling, advanced in columns, supported by a heavy cannonade, upon the main army of the Austrians. He succeeded in driving back part of the cavalry, which were drawn up in front, and fell upon the infantry. The latter, reserving their fire till the French were within ten paces of them, then opened upon them with so much effect, as completely to rout them. In consequence of their retreat, the whole line of the Austrian army, entirely disengaged from the enemy, obtained possession of the remainder of the village of Aspern.

The third column endeavoured to take advantage of the rout of the enemy by advancing against them in close battalion supported by their artillery ; but the French cavalry rushing forward in great numbers, rendered it necessary to withdraw the artillery, and to leave the first line of this column to defend itself by its own valour. The enemy's cavalry succeeded in turning both the wings ; but the very moment when they had summoned the battalions to throw down their arms and surrender, a destructive and tremendous fire well directed and incessantly kept up, compelled them to retire.

The object of the fourth and fifth columns of the Austrian army was to drive the French out of the village of Esling, which was of equal importance to the right of the enemy, that Aspern was to his left : the latter secured their centre from the attack of the Austrian artillery : the former protected it on the opposite flank, and at the same

time would enable them, if they found it necessary, to retreat in safety. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the French here fought with still greater obstinacy and courage than they displayed in the defence of Aspern. The Austrians, indeed, succeeded in driving back the corps which were posted in front of the village; but they could not, during the first day's engagement, obtain possession of the village itself. The Austrian cavalry under Prince John of Lichtenstein, was of great service in covering the movements of the fourth column, and enabling it to form a junction with the fifth in the attack upon Esling: they afterwards received and repulsed an attack made by the French cavalry upon the right wing of the Austrian main army. After this repulse, the enemy's cavalry, to the number of 3000, endeavoured to penetrate between the left wing and the corps of reserve; but by the intrepid and steady attack made on their flank by two Austrian regiments, they were again compelled to retreat.

The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the night: the French had been driven from Aspern; they still retained possession of Esling; but the general position of their army was nearer the Danube than it was at the commencement of the engagement. The Archduke Charles passed the night on the ground which he had gained from the enemy: he expected the renewal of the combat on the following day, and he made every preparation and arrangement to carry it on in such a manner as should render complete the repulse and defeat of the enemy. The known character of Bonaparte left no doubt, that on the morrow all his military talents would be on the stretch to retrieve the glory he had lost, and to compensate for the disappointment he had sustained. He had still large bodies of troops on the south side of the Danube; but the archduke had rendered their passage tedious, difficult, and dangerous. During the battle of the 21st, he had ordered fire-ships to be sent down the river, and they had been so well managed and directed, as to have burnt down the two bridges that connected the isle of Lobau with

the small island, and the small island with the south bank. By this destruction of the bridges, Bonaparte was rendered less able to repair the disasters and losses he had sustained; and in case the battle of the succeeding day should prove decidedly averse to him, his retreat, it was expected, would be completely cut off. In this point of view, the breaking down of the bridges might justly be considered as highly advantageous to the archduke; but, on the other hand, it led him to expect a most obstinate defence from an army placed in a situation of such extreme peril.

The morning of the 22d witnessed Aspern again in possession of the French: an Austrian regiment endeavoured to drive them out, but without effect; another rushed in, and having gained possession of the church-yard, succeeded in maintaining themselves in the entrance to the village; being reinforced here by the troops under General Hiller, the Austrians at length obtained a final and unmolested possession of this long and dreadfully contested place.

The Archduke Charles was now enabled to act on the offensive: the corps of Count Bellegarde, having its right wing resting on Aspern, and its centre and left towards Esling, by degrees gained the right flank of the enemy; while the artillery, stationed near the former village in such a manner as to command the whole space between it and the latter, was brought to bear on his left flank:—thus attacked and exposed, the French army was compelled to give way, and retire towards the Danube.

While the division of Count Bellegarde was thus employed, the French cavalry, by a desperate effort, endeavoured to break in between the Austrian cavalry commanded by Prince Lichtenstein, and the left wing of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Here the archduke particularly distinguished himself: the battalion of Zach seeming disposed to give way, he seized its colours, placed himself at its head, and inspired it and the whole army with the same enthusiasm with which he himself was animated. In the midst of this attack

by the French cavalry, the Prince of Hohenzollern perceived on his left wing, near Esling, an opening in the French line, formed during the heat of the engagement: he immediately took advantage of this circumstance, by ordering thither a regiment in three divisions, which succeeded in gaining and maintaining their position in the opening, till, having been supported by the grenadiers of reserve, they were enabled to turn and attack the centre of the enemy.

The only post now which the French were able to maintain was the village of Esling: here they were repeatedly attacked by the fourth and fifth columns under the Prince of Rosenberg, but without success. This village, essentially necessary for covering the retreat of the French, already begun, was defended with most sanguinary obstinacy, and by reinforcements continually thrown into it.

In the night between the 22d and 23d, the enemy had effected his retreat from the south bank of the Danube, and taken up a position in the isle of Lobau. In this dreadful battle the Austrians took three pieces of cannon, and about 8000 prisoners. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, it is impossible to ascertain; it probably amounted to nearly 30,000. Five of their generals were killed on the field of battle, eight were wounded, one of whom, the Duke of Montebello, afterwards died; two were taken prisoners. The loss of the Austrians was also very great: they acknowledged the death of 87 superior officers, and of upwards of 4000 subalterns and privates. Twelve of their generals, 663 officers, and 15,651 subalterns and privates were wounded;—of these, one general, eight officers, and 829 men were taken prisoners.

The disadvantageous and alarming condition in which the French army was placed at the conclusion of this contest will lead us to estimate very highly the powers of Bonaparte as a general, exhibited in a new situation, and under circumstances to him unprecedented; and the discipline and steadiness of the French army. In some accounts, Bonaparte was repre-

sented as acting the part of a madman and a savage ;—as forcing his soldiers up to battle after all was decidedly over ;—and as foaming with rage and disappointment. That he actually brought off the whole of his army and artillery, in the face of a victorious enemy, when his retreat was necessarily directed to a single point ;—across a narrow bridge, and into a small island, cut off from that shore where his resources lay, and in which, consequently, his troops must necessarily be cooped up for some time, exposed to the fire of the Austrians, and liable to infectious sickness ;—all these circumstances prove, not only that Bonaparte has extraordinary talents both as a conquering and as a defeated commander, but that no fit of passion, rage, or disappointment, materially deprived him of the use and application of these talents on this important occasion.

From the day on which the battle of Aspern was fought till the end of the first week in July, Bonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube ; but though stationary, he was by no means inactive. That he was alarmed, both for his own situation and for the effects which his repulse might produce on the continent, and even in France, was abundantly evident from the number of bulletins which he issued. Scarcely a day passed on which one did not appear, though the sole object and purport of it was to register the height, and the rise and fall of the Danube ;—to enumerate and deplore the disasters his works had suffered from that river ; to abuse the Austrians, and exaggerate their losses ;—or to congratulate his army on the approach of the Russians, and the junction of the troops under the viceroy of Italy. But amidst all this seeming trifling and gasconade, Bonaparte was making the most formidable preparations, not merely to protect himself against an attack from the Archduke Charles, but also to enable him to resume offensive operations in such a manner as might secure success. Nothing, however, was done rashly or hastily ; on the contrary, he was so slow and deliberate, and cautious in his operations, that many people

began to imagine that fear had at last seized him. It was indeed hardly to be expected that Bonaparte, so accustomed as he was to victory,—so impetuous in his temper,—so impatient of restraint and resistance,—should have acted with so much cool and cautious prudence and circumspection as he did.

It has been well and justly remarked, that the French revolution has created, or brought into sight and action, talents and acquirements, which, but for this event, in all probability would have remained latent and useless. Perhaps never were these observations better illustrated than in the wonderful nature of the bridges which Bonaparte ordered to be constructed over the Danube. This arduous and important undertaking was entrusted to General Count Bertrand. In the short space of 14 days he raised a bridge of six arches, so broad that three carriages could pass abreast, over 400 fathoms of a very rapid river. A second bridge, eight feet broad, was constructed for infantry. Besides these two bridges founded on piles, a bridge of boats was constructed. In order to protect them against fire-ships, stoccadoes, raised on piles, were placed 250 fathoms from them higher up the river. Each of the bridges was covered and protected by a *tete-du-pont*, 160 fathoms long, formed of redoubts, and surrounded by palisades, frises, and ditches filled with water. Magazines of provisions, 100 pieces of cannon, and 80 mortars, were stationed in the island of Inderlobau. On the left bank of the Danube, near Esling, another bridge was formed, guarded in like manner by a *tete-du-pont*. At this time the Austrian army was strongly entrenched on the north bank of the Danube;—the left wing stretching towards Enzendorf, and the right resting on the village of Great Aspern. The main body of the French army was collected in the island of Inderlobau, only at the distance of three or four hundred toises from its opponents.

While Bonaparte had been thus engaged in fortifying his position, and in preparing such stupendous means of crossing

the Danube, the Archduke Charles had not only raised works and planted cannon to secure himself against an attack, but he had drawn from Germany, Poland, and Hungary, immense reinforcements. It is not easy to estimate exactly the number of the troops in either army. At a fair estimation, each may be reckoned at nearly 150,000 men; but no small proportion of the Austrian army consisted of raw troops drawn from the Militia, or new-raised levies. In Bonaparte's army, too, were many soldiers newly raised and unaccustomed to war; but the French have learnt the method of making inexperienced soldiers fight with steadiness, discipline, and bravery, nearly equal to their veterans, so that they never are the cause of the loss of an engagement; while the Austrians and other opponents of the French have often been beaten solely by means of the bad behaviour of their new levies.

As the principal means of passing the Danube, and the principal works of the French, had been formed directly opposite to the Austrian redoubts at Esling, the particular attention of the Archduke Charles was directed to this point. But the plan of Bonaparte was not to attempt the hazardous experiment of crossing the river in the face of the strongest and best prepared part of the enemy's army. He made, indeed, a feint of crossing opposite Esling; and as soon as he perceived the attention and the force of the Austrians principally drawn to that part, he began his measures for crossing the river on the left flank of the Austrian army, where it was in a great measure unprotected, and where, if he succeeded in gaining a footing, they would be obliged to leave their entrenchments, and fight him to great disadvantage. But as all his bridges had been constructed opposite to Esling, it was necessary to throw over new ones, before he could cross at a different part of the river. During the night of the 4th of July these new bridges were completed. One bridge of a single piece, 80 toises long, was fixed in less than five minutes; three others of boats and rafts were also thrown over

the river. At two o'clock in the morning of the 5th, the whole French army had crossed the Danube, and at day-break they were arranged in order of battle, at the extremity of the left flank of the Austrians. The Archduke Charles was thus most completely out-generalled: his works were rendered useless; he was compelled to abandon his positions, and to fight the French on the spot chosen by themselves and most convenient for them. Besides the error of not foreseeing the scheme of Bonaparte, the Austrian general was guilty of a still greater, in leaving his left flank quite exposed and unprotected.

The whole of the 5th of July was spent in manœuvring; during the night of that day Bonaparte attempted to gain possession of the village of Wagram, but the attempt failed. On the morrow a general engagement was inevitable. The arrangements for this event were directly opposite on the part of Bonaparte and of the Archduke Charles. The former strengthened his centre, where he was in person, and which was stationed within cannon-shot of Wagram. The Austrian general, on the other hand, extended his flanks and weakened his centre. At daybreak on the 6th the battle began. The Archduke Charles, soon after its commencement, weakened his centre still further, and extended and strengthened his wings in such a manner as if he meant to outflank the French army. Bonaparte, surprised at this manœuvre, at first suspected some stratagem, and was afraid of taking advantage of the seeming blunder of the Austrian general. At length, when he perceived that the French left was outflanked nearly 3000 toises, and that the whole space between Gros-Aspern and Wagram, at the former of which the left of the French, and at the latter the left of the Austrians, were stationed, was occupied by artillery, he was convinced that the Archduke Charles had committed a great mistake, and determined to profit by it. For this purpose, he commanded a powerful and general attack to be made on the centre of the Austrian army:—it gave way, and retreated nearly a

league :—the right wing, thus separated and left unsupported fell rapidly back. At this moment it was briskly attacked in front by the Duke of Rivoli; while the Duke of Auerstadt attacked and outflanked the left wing, thrown into consternation and confusion by the retreat of the centre. The village of Wagram now fell into the hands of the French; and the Austrians, routed in all quarters, retreated towards Moravia. In this battle the French took 10 pieces of cannon and 20,000 prisoners, among whom were nearly 400 officers. The French acknowledged that they had 1500 killed and nearly 4000 wounded.

The French lost no time in pursuing the Austrians, and came up with them at Znaim. Here another battle took place, which, however, was soon terminated by a proposal from the Emperor Francis to conclude an armistice. On the 12th of July this armistice was signed, the terms of which too plainly proved the extent of the loss the Austrians had sustained, and how completely destitute of hope and resources they were left. All the strong places and positions, which might be advantageous to the French in case the war was renewed, were delivered up; and by the 4th article it was expressly stipulated, that they were to abandon the brave and loyal inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg.

The negociation for a defensive treaty proceeded very slowly. The hard terms insisted on by Bonaparte, and the hopes raised by the formidable British expedition, which had landed on the coast of Holland, and threatened the arsenals of Antwerp, rendered Austria reluctant to sign the treaty.—But at last the Austrian emperor was compelled to submit. The Tyrol was abandoned; the Rhenish confederacy enriched at his expence; and Bonaparte's brother Joseph acknowledged King of Spain. But one circumstance pointed out the deep policy of the French emperor, as he endeavoured to continue the coolness then subsisting between the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, by prevailing on the former power to accept part of the Austrian province of Galicia.

CHAP. XXXVII.

BONAPARTE RETURNS TO PARIS — HIS SPEECH TO THE SENATE—DIVORCES THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE—MARRIES THE ARCHDUCHESS MARIA LOUISA OF AUSTRIA—ANNEXES HOLLAND TO FRANCE—HIS JOURNEY WITH THE NEW EMPRESS—BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROME—BONAPARTE'S ENMITY AGAINST THE COMMERCE OF BRITAIN—HIS POLICY IN REGARD TO THE CONTINENTAL POWERS—EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THE FAILURE OF HIS PLANS IN SPAIN.

BONAPARTE having shut out Austria from all communication with the sea ; stripped her of some of her most fertile provinces ; seized her strong frontier ; and obtained all the other ends of his deep and subtle policy, returned to Paris. His *expose* of the state of France, which was laid before the senate, was peculiarly calculated to flatter the vanity of his subjects. In this, which seemed to absorb all their thoughts, the victories of France over its enemies, and the more important victories over the face of the country, by the digging of canals, levelling hills, piercing mountains, building bridges, ports, and quays, are displayed with great ostentation. Improvements in agriculture, manufactures, arts, sciences, literature, form a part of the relation ; and throughout it appears, that no sovereign in Europe can rival the emperor of the French in attention to the splendour and comfort of his subjects.

At this time Bonaparte was surrounded by the princes of the Imperial house ; and by a numerous train of dependent kings and princes, who came to pay their homage to their patron and creator. All Europe expected the exhibition of some singular event, which accordingly soon happened. On

the 17th of December, 1809, the senate assembled, in full dress, by order of the emperor; when they were presented with the project of a *Senatus Consultum* respecting a dissolution of the marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine! The act was drawn up as follows:

‘We proceeded,’ says the arch-chancellor, Duke of Parma, ‘to the hall of the throne of the palace of the Tuilleries, attended by Michel Louis, Etienne Regnault (de St. Jean d’Angely) Count of the empire, minister of state, and secretary of state to the Imperial family. A quarter of an hour afterwards we were introduced to the grand cabinet of the emperor, when we found his majesty the emperor and king, with her majesty the empress, attended by their majesties the king of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples, his Imperial highness the prince viceroy, the queens of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain; Madame and her Imperial highness the Princess Paulina. His majesty the emperor and king condescended to address us in the following terms:—

‘My cousin, Prince Arch-chancellor,—I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I and the empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure that the kings, queens, and princesses, my brothers and sisters, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you. The policy of the monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require, that after me I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me. Notwithstanding, for several years past, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort, the Empress Josephine. This it is which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of

the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage.—Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please Providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, which it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that far from having had reason to complain, on the contrary I have had reason only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort; she has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart; she was crowned by my hand: I wish she should preserve the title of Empress, but above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend.'

His Majesty the Emperor and King having ended, her Majesty the Empress Queen spoke as follows:—

'By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving a hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty: it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of his throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart. The emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this

act, demanded by policy and by interests so great, has chilled his heart ; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country.'

This curious document next proceeds to state, that this procès verbal received the signatures of their majesties ; of the kings, queens, princes, and princesses present ; and was countersigned by the secretary of the imperial family. Thus terminated a scene which we might be disposed to mock for its mummery, did not the character of Bonaparte forcibly and painfully impress upon our minds the conviction, that it is intended to produce, and will most assuredly produce, the consolidation and permanency of his power, and the consequent hopelessness of the restoration of independence to Europe.

The marriage was then dissolved. Josephine was allowed to retain the title of Empress Queen, and an annual pension of 2,000,000 francs. Various conjectures were now indulged respecting the future wife of Bonaparte. On the 1st of March, all the idle rumours which were propagated were ended by a message to the senate, wherein he declared the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, his chosen consort. The marriage took place at Paris on the 1st of April. The train of the Empress Louisa was supported by four queens. After the marriage, the royal pair set off for St. Cloud. Three days after they received the congratulations of the senate. Napoleon's answer was short and general ; and the empress, contrary to the practice of her predecessor, made no reply. The robe in which the empress appeared at the festival of the marriage, was embroidered all over with diamonds, and the intervals were filled with Moulines lace. Its value was estimated at 22,000*l.* sterling.

A portion of 600 francs was given by Bonaparte to 6000 young girls who should espouse, on the day of his nuptials, an equal number of soldiers, whose bravery and good conduct might entitle them to the recommendation of their officers.

By this marriage Bonaparte is related to almost all the royal families in Europe. Besides being son-in-law to the Emperor of Austria, and nephew to the Archduke Charles, he is great nephew to the Queen of Naples, first cousin to Ferdinand the Seventh, and to the Prince Regent of Portugal; he is also nephew to the daughter of Louis the XVIth, the Duchess of Angoulême.

[Bonaparte's hatred to Great Britain dictated the schemes which he endeavoured to execute in Holland, and which were evidently intended not only to overthrow the ancient habits and character of the Dutch, but also to effect the ruin of themselves and country.] The mild Louis, however, was not actuated by the same passions and ambition that raged in the heart of his brother. He compassionated the sufferings of his subjects, and being incapable of executing the cruel mandates of Napoleon, he renounced the crown in favour of his sons.

Bonaparte, however, was not yet satisfied. A very short time after Louis had abdicated the throne in favour of his children, a report was made to the emperor by Champagny on the subject of Holland. In the beginning of this report it is expressly declared, that the abdication of Louis, not having been previously concerted with Bonaparte, nor having received his approbation, was of no validity. The report then proceeds to state, with considerable minuteness, all the different reasons that point out the necessity or the policy of uniting Holland with France. 'Since Belgium was united with the French empire, the independence of Holland had been in reality destroyed. Her commerce was transferred from Amsterdam to the more convenient port of Antwerp; and the merchants of the low Countries had become rich and powerful at the expence of the merchants of Holland. Her debt was enormous, amounting to nearly 90 millions: that is, to a fourth more than the debt of the whole empire of France; while under her separate form of government the necessary expences rendered it impossible to diminish this

debt. Some of the reasons for this incorporation are singular, and prove on how slight a basis of common sense ambition will be content to build her schemes of aggrandizement. Some of the rivers which rise in France have their mouths in Holland: and Champagny lays it down as a fundamental and general principle, that all the rivers which have their source in France, or which wash the frontiers, should belong to France as far as the sea.

Bonaparte shortly after his marriage made a tour with the new empress through the north-west parts of his estates, and receiving in every quarter splendid homages from all classes of his subjects. At Boulogne he suffered considerable mortification. An English frigate was before his eyes confining his magnificent fleet of praams and boats within very disgraceful limits. He ordered it to be taken, and went himself into a barge, even within shot of our vessels, to encourage his men to this desperate action. They obeyed as far as they could, but were soon compelled to a hasty retreat; and the mighty emperor saw one of his praams taken and carried away in triumph. His feelings on such an occasion may be easily conceived, and he expressed it in the strongest terms, tearing with his own hands the cockades and decorations of honour from several of his officers. Bonaparte next visited the fleets and docks at Antwerp, and the works of Flushing; after which he proceeded to Amsterdam.

In these tours Bonaparte affects to imitate great models; but he never exhibits any trait of generosity. As to the splendid measures he commands, he never furnishes more than the decree and his name; and his boasted beneficence always saddles his subjects with new imposts. 'In these journies, indeed,' says M. Faber, 'he displays an activity which astonishes the spectator. No sooner does he alight from his carriage than he receives the authorities. When the audience is over he mounts his horse, and rides round the town to reconnoitre its situation and its environs. If it happens to be late when he arrives, this reconnoissance is deferred

till day-break the next morning, at six, five, or perhaps at four o'clock. Before the inhabitants are out of bed, Bonaparte has often returned to his lodgings. I have known him immediately on alighting propose a hunting-party, which has lasted several hours. All his surveys are taken with extreme rapidity. Bonaparte, mounted on his Arabian horse, generally leaves those who accompany him far behind; while waiting for them to rejoin him he gains time to make his observations. With the exception, perhaps, of some general, extraordinarily well mounted, scarcely any one of his suite can keep pace with him; his favourite Mameluke, Roustan, who attends with the led horses, often cannot. The citizen commanding the guard of honour, who has obtained permission to follow him, is generally the first obliged to give in.

‘Bonaparte has sometimes fatigued two horses in riding round a town of a moderate size. Falls from their horses are not at all uncommon to his suite; I myself saw this happen once to Roustan. Bonaparte always seeks the shortest roads; he never follows the windings, and obstacles do not stop him: he leaps over walls, hedges, and ditches, leaving those who follow him to go round. He scales, on horseback, mountains almost inaccessible to the pedestrian, and descends them in the same manner; he has been seen mounting in this way an ascent almost perpendicular, situated near Aix-la-Chapelle, and descending from it. He often makes with his Arabians most dangerous leaps: his friends have remarked to him, the risks to which he exposes himself; to which he one day answered, ‘Do you not know that I am the first horseman in the world?’ Bonaparte is certainly a good horseman, without grace or dignity, it is true, but with a firmness, and a rare sang-froid, he shews himself every where absolute master of his seat. Wherever he passes he leaves behind him the remembrance of the rapidity of his course, of the boldness of his leaps, and of an activity unparalleled.

‘However, he always leaves also on the minds of those who reflect, the impression of an activity very different from

that of an administrator, it is that of a soldier hardened to fatigue. His circuits round towns are made with the circumspection of a general ; he always appears in the act of reconnoitring spots of ground fit for the position of armies, for forts or redoubts. One would say, to see his active haste, that he was preparing to give battle the following day. Round a manufacturing, a commercial, or an agricultural town, Bonaparte's circuits always bear the same character ; he carries the same coup d'œil every where. It is true that this coup d'œil is just ; it is always that of an experienced engineer, and one that may become very useful when it is necessary.'

Bonaparte returned to Paris without having executed any plan sufficient to account for his journey. The empress had been declared pregnant, and all the bishops were ordered to pray for her. The birth of a son happened on the 20th of March, 1811. The child was called the KING OF ROMÆ, and was baptized with great ceremony on the 15th of April.—'This event,' says Bonaparte to his senate, 'has fulfilled my wishes, and satisfies my people with respect to the future.'

The plan of rooting out the commerce of England on the continent was reduced into a system by Bonaparte, and backed by his irresistible and unrelaxing power. Finding prohibitory degrees insufficient, he decreed all English merchandise to be burnt ! This severe and desperate order excited great murmurings on the continent ; but the despot of France cared little for the misery he occasioned, while he could increase the commercial embarrassments of the British merchants.

The system which Bonaparte pursued in regard to the continental powers, had continually for its object the destruction of England. But though one of his marshals had been declared Crown-Prince of Sweden, yet the necessities of that exhausted country rendered the adoption of French policy the certain means of destruction. The produce of England therefore still found its way into Sweden, but probably against the express commands of Bonaparte. All the

southern ports of the Baltic were vigorously closed against the British; and the whole continent, except the Peninsula, seemed completely under the controul of the French emperor.

Bonaparte had from the first entrance of his troops into Spain, been continually pouring in reinforcements; but though almost the whole of the Spanish nobility aided his views, yet such was the hatred of the Spaniards to his yoke, that they still remained unsubdued. When their armies were destroyed, and their strongest places taken either by treachery or force, and all hopes of success seemed to vanish, suddenly the popular indignation burst forth, and new armies were immediately raised. The British cabinet also seconded these patriotic movements; and neither arms nor stores of any description were ever refused, while the British and Portuguese troops, under the intrepid and skilful Lord Wellington, continued to occupy the attention, and excite the fears, of the grand army of France. Bonaparte's troops grew weary of this procrastinated and inglorious warfare, which was increased by numerous bodies of desperate men called Guerillas, who, under the command of some bold leader, continually hovered around them, cut off their supplies and communications, and exhausted them with continual alarms. The successful opposition which Bonaparte thus experienced from an unwarlike, divided, and betrayed people, produced the most important effects. It shewed that his armies were not invincible, and that nothing but perseverance and an ordinary share of courage were requisite in order to defeat his most determined attempts. It proved that a nation was not subdued even when it had lost its capital and its king, and that every kingdom which groaned under French dominion had abjectly surrendered its independence. It also exhibited the magnanimity, disinterestedness, and resources of the British empire in a new and striking point of view. The weakness, stupidity, and jealousy of the Spanish government; the occasional inhospitality and apathy of the people; and the inca-

capacity and treachery of the chiefs, were all insufficient to induce Britain to relax her exertions to secure their liberty and independence, while the boasted invincible veterans of France fled before her troops, and confessed their inferiority by numerous acts that reflected glory on their opponents.

These circumstances produced their due effect upon the court of Petersburg. The alliance with France had always been unpopular in Russia; and when Bonaparte insisted on the strict observance of his blockading system in that country, while he permitted his own subjects to trade with licences, every feeling of honour and interest was roused, and produced a general burst of indignation throughout the Russian empire. The Emperor Alexander participated in the popular feeling, which was greatly increased by the kindness and partiality shewn to his subjects by Britain, though he had deserted her cause in so unjustifiable a manner. Bonaparte watched this growing spirit of opposition in Russia, and determined to strike a blow that should at once place her in a state of absolute subjection, and complete the entire ruin of the influence of England on the continent.

CHAP. XXVIII.

**BONAPARTE PURPOSES TO ATTACK RUSSIA—JOINS HIS ARMY
—ADDRESSES HIS TROOPS—PASSES THE VISTULA—PUR-
SUES THE RUSSIANS—DECLARES POLAND INDEPENDENT
—CROSSES THE NIEMEN—ENTERS WILNA—REACHES THE
DWINA—ENGAGES THE RUSSIANS—TAKES POSSESSION OF
SMOLENSKO—FIGHTS THE BATTLE OF MOSKWA—ENTERS
MOSCOW—WITNESSES THE DESTRUCTION OF THAT CITY—
ARRESTS AND SHOOTS THREE HUNDRED SUBJECTS OF
RUSSIA.**

BONAPARTE had continued for upwards of two years to send stores of every description, consisting of cannon, muskets, powder, ammunition, and pantoons, into the North; and considerable sums of money were placed at the disposal of the department of engineers. Troops were marched from every part of the French empire, and all the allies and dependent states of France were urged to hasten the equipment and departure of their armies. A large force proceeded from Austria to the expected theatre of war, and the vassal King of Prussia was compelled to exhaust his means in order to organize an army which might please his relentless master. When all the murderous banditti was collected, their chief set out from St. Cloud on the 9th of May, 1812, and advanced through Poland as to a party of pleasure. At Dresden he received the congratulations of his crowned vassals, and, on the 6th of June, crossed the Vistula and joined his army.

The emperor of Russia had also quitted his capital, and advanced with his army to Wilna. To save appearances, Bonaparte sent Count Lauriston to Alexander; but his object

being known, he could not obtain an interview. When this intelligence reached the French head-quarters, the emperor issued orders to march, for the purpose of passing the Niemen. 'The conquered,' observed he, 'assume the tone of conquerors; fate drags them on, let their destinies be fulfilled.'

The estimate of the French army acting against Russia, as given from the war-office at Paris, is as follows:—Poles, 100,000; Confederation, 120,000; French, 250,000; Italians, 50,000; Austrians, 90,000; Prussians, 80,000.—Total, 640,000.

The Russian force cannot be exactly ascertained; but that part which acted against this immense invading force did not probably exceed 300,000, including regular and irregular troops.

Both emperors, at the commencement of this dreadful contest, addressed their troops. Bonaparte, in the following order to his army:—

'SOLDIERS!—The second war of Poland has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France and war with England. She now violates her oath. She refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, until the eagles of France shall have repassed the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by a fatality! Her destinies must be accomplished. Should she then consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation—Let us then march forward! Let us pass the Niemen! Let us carry the war into her territory! The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first; but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guarantee, and will put an end to that proud and

haughty influence which Russia has, for fifty years, exercised in the affairs of Europe.

‘ At our head-quarters, at Wilkowski,

‘ June 22, 1812.’

The address of Alexander is also strong, energetic, and noble.

‘ RUSSIANS !—The enemy has quitted the Dwina, and has proclaimed his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he then have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Donaburg and Mibr, wherever, in short, it has been deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate councils are alone compatible with the enterprize he has undertaken and the danger of his situation; but shall we, therefore, be imprudent and forget the advantages of our own? He would march to Moscow—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of 30,000,000. Distant from his resources near 800 miles, he would, even if victorious, not escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction—rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcilable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat?

‘ RUSSIANS !—Rely on your emperor, and the commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosom of his soldiers at the boasts of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle; that they grieve at its being deferred, and the thought of retreating. This cruel necessity will not long exist. Already are our allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader; while he, inveigled too far with impunity, shall soon have to combat with the seasons, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians.

'SOLDIERS! when the period for offering battle arrives, your emperor will be an eye-witness of your exploits, and reward your valour.

(Signed)

'ALEXANDER.'

In order to weaken the Russians, and secure the assistance of the Poles, Bonaparte held a diet at Warsaw, which declared all Poland independent, except that part held by the Emperor of Austria. At the same time a constitution was proclaimed; but it does not appear that the Polish people had forgotten the duplicity of their pretended deliverer on a former occasion, for their enthusiasm and gratitude have not been very conspicuous.

All things being ready for commencing the work of death, Bonaparte crossed the Nieman in the night of June 23d.—An immense quantity of brandy, flour, and biscuit, for the supply of his prodigious army, was received by this river from Dantzic and Konigsburg, and nothing was wanting which might be necessary to secure success in this important expedition.

The French repassed the Vilia on the 25th of June, and by a quick movement separated two Russian corps from their head-quarters. The Russians, conformably to the defensive system they had determined to pursue, burnt their magazines in Samogitia and retired. The King of Naples, who commanded the French cavalry, pressed upon their rear guard; but though Bonaparte advanced through Lithuania by forced marches, he could make no impression on the Russians. His army entered Wilna on the 28th of June, and reached the Dwina on the 5th of July; while the Emperor Alexander, with nine divisions of infantry and four of cavalry, retired to his entrenched camp at Dressa, defended by twelve pallisadoed redoubts, united by a covered way, and extending 6000 yards on the river. The Russians did not wait an attack; but having burnt their magazine, retired to Witepsk. Here the Emperor Alexander quitted the army and hastened to Peters-

burg, where he met the Crown-Prince of Sweden and Lord Cathcart, the English ambassador, who joined in concerting measures for the defence of Russia.

The Emperor Napoleon having crossed the Dwina, and his advanced guard, consisting of about 28,000 men, presently engaged the rear of the Russian army, who obstinately defended every tenable position in its march. Prince Bagration occupied much of Bonaparte's attention, but all his efforts to cut off the retreat of the Russians proved abortive. On the 1st of August, a Russian corps crossed the Dwina, and attacked the Duke of Reggio, who, after a smart action, compelled them to recross the river with considerable loss.* Bonaparte continued his victorious march in the direction of Moscow, his army being divided into three grand divisions, with the imperial guards in the centre. Not only the Russian army, but also all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, retired on his approach, after burning, destroying, or removing every thing of value. The war was indeed conducted with unexampled fury. The Hetman Platoff offered his daughter in marriage with a large sum of money to any man who should bring Bonaparte to him dead or alive. It would have been honourable to the Russian court had it openly disclaimed the encouragement thus given to assassination, a crime so abhorrent to every honourable mind.

The Russians, contrary to the expectations of Bonaparte, evacuated Dunabourg. 'Thus,' says the French bulletin, 'Dunabourg, that the enemy has been fortifying for five years, where he has expended several millions, which cost him more than 20,000 men, during the labour, has been abandoned without firing a musket, and is in our power, like

* The Russians, it ought to be observed, also claimed the victory. Certain it is, that the Emperor Napoleon was much displeased with his brother Jerome, who commanded a division, the cavalry of which was cut up by the Cossacs; so much so, that he dismissed him, on pretence that he was unable to stand the fatigues of the campaign.

the other works of the enemy, and like the entrenched camp which he had on the Drissa.

On the 21st of August a severe engagement took place at Inkóbo, in which Sébastiani's division was defeated with loss. Bonaparte having crossed the Boristhenes, for the purpose of attacking Smolensko, which is seated on the left bank of that river, on the 14th, a partial battle took place at Krasnoi, in which the French claim the victory; and on the 16th they arrived within sight of Smolensko. The Russians had placed 80,000 troops in the city, while the main body of their forces lined the right bank of the Boristhenes; their communication with the city being kept up by means of bridges. On the 17th, the attack upon Smolensko commenced, and the principal efforts of Bonaparte were directed to carry the suburbs. The contest seems to have been most obstinate; Smolensko was involved in a conflagration, which, to use the language of the French bulletin, resembled an eruption of Vesuvius. Ultimately, at one in the morning of the 18th, the city was evacuated by the Russian troops, who recrossed the river, and joined their main body. In this desperate conflict, the French acknowledge a loss of 700 killed, and 3200 wounded; General Grabouski being among the former; and Generals Grandeau and Dalton among the latter; while they assert, that on the side of their opponents, the loss amounted to five generals and 4700 men killed, 7 or 8000 wounded, and 2000 prisoners. A subsequent account stretched the loss of the Russians from 25 to 30,000 men. Their loss was no doubt considerable, but they retreated unbroken; while Bonaparte, unable to obtain any of those brilliant victories which distinguished his former wars, was retarded in his progress by the roads being broken up and the bridges destroyed. On the 30th of August he entered the town of Viasma, but not until the Russians had destroyed the magazines and a considerable part of the town was in flames.

In the afternoon of September the 10th, the Russians were perceived formed on the heights, with their right upon

Moskwa, and their left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kologha : a division also occupied a fine position in front flanked by two woods. Bonaparte saw the importance of this height, and immediately determined to take it, which his troops effected after a severe contest that lasted three hours. Two other heights crowned with redoubts, 100 paces distant, still rendered the position of the Russians strong and favourable ; but the redoubts were scarcely half formed, and the Russian army was much inferior to Napoleon's, which might be reckoned at 150,000 men.

The emperor having carefully reconnoitred the Russian line during the 5th, was on the 7th, at two in the morning, surrounded by the marshals in the position taken the evening before. At half past five o'clock the sun rose without clouds ; it had rained the preceding evening. 'This is the sun of Austerlitz,' said Bonaparte. Though but the month of September, it was as cold as a December in Moravia. The army received the omen, the drum beat, and the following order of the day was read :—

'Soldiers ! behold the field of battle you have so much desired ! henceforth victory depends on you ; it is necessary to us ; it will give us plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to our country. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, at Smolensko ; and that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride—that it may say of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'

'At the Imperial Camp on the Heights of Borodino,

'7th Sept. Two o'clock A. M.'

The army answered with reiterated acclamations. The ground on which the army stood was spread with the dead bodies of the Russians killed the preceding day.

At six o'clock this dreadful battle, which can scarcely be equalled in the annals of history, commenced. A thousand

pieces of cannon spread death through the Russian ranks, who from their commanding heights dealt equal destruction among the French columns. But superior numbers and discipline prevailed, and in two hours the Russian positions in the centre were carried, and every effort to retake them frustrated. However, the French troops that stormed the redoubts to the right were successfully attacked and defeated. At this critical moment the Russian commander brought forward his reserve, and commenced a most furious attack on the centre; but the French withstood the repeated shocks they sustained, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the Russians ceased their efforts. The cannonade still continued, but the battle in effect was closed.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the loss of the contending parties, as the French accounts are proverbial for exaggeration; nor does the Russian seem to deserve implicit belief. By taking a medium, the loss of Bonaparte might amount to about 20,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the Russians to about 30,000. The emperor himself acknowledges that his loss would have been greater than the Russians, had not the latter persisted so long in their attacks upon the commanding positions he had gained.

Both armies immediately after the combat seem to have paused, in order to reorganize their shattered divisions. The Russian army was commanded by the gallant Kutousoff,* who

* Field Marshal Prince Kutusoff, the saviour of Russia, the conqueror of Bonaparte, and the worthy rival of our own Wellington, is a Prince of the Russian empire by hereditary descent, and the representative of one of its most ancient and honourable families. He is on all hands acknowledged to be an officer of great experience, and of undoubted bravery, active, vigilant, and enterprising; yet, like the guardian genius of the Peninsula, well qualified by prudent coolness to adopt measures of a very different tendency when absolutely necessary.

In Russia, civil rank is nothing except when regulated by the gradations of the military scale; nor will personal or hereditary nobility give any precedence at court, unless accompanied by military rank—a regu-

had joined the army a few days preceding, bringing with him his veterans from Turkey, with whom the Emperor Alexander had judiciously concluded a peace. Kutousoff, however, after this battle, found his positions occupied; and as there

lation established by the Great Peter, whose comprehensive mind almost foresaw the events of later days.

In consequence of this, the young Prince Kutousoff entered very early into the army, proceeding regularly through the various gradations, in which he had many opportunities of seeing service during the campaigns in Poland, in 1769, and a few years afterwards in the Turkish war, under Romanzow and Gallitzin. In those campaigns he also had the advantages of forming his military character under the Princes Dolgorocki and Repnin, and General Milarodowitz, whose son has since so gallantly seconded him in the late glorious events.

Through scenes like these he, though little known in England till of late years, has risen in his native country to the character of an old and tried veteran, a true Russian patriot, beloved by all ranks of his countrymen, and adored by the soldiers who followed his fortunes, thus fitting himself for that choice which adopted him as the worthiest competitor of Bonaparte himself.

Anxious to ward off the blow, negotiations were begun by the Ottoman Porte, but failed; and in 1787, the war commenced. The Russian army, headed by Prince Potemkin in person, proceeded towards the Crimea, to attack the Turkish and Tartar force assembled near Babada, and was divided into six columns, one of which was led by the gallant Kutousoff. The first column of the army, commanded by Rebinder, came singly in sight of the enemy. They found the Tartar chief with about six hundred of his troops separated from the rest, and entrenched behind their waggons. These, upon the approach of the Russians, repeated a short prayer, and displayed great courage, but it was of no avail, for the trenches were carried, and 400 of their small number left dead upon the spot. The Tartar chief still undaunted, after his escape, collected his whole force during the night, and boldly returned to the charge the next day, and, without regard to their artillery, had the hardihood to attack the Russians in their camp. He was, however, repulsed; but the contest was not yet ended. It seemed, indeed, as if the Tartar courage rose superior to disaster, and the chief having received reinforcements, was proceeding to fresh hostilities, when Major-General Prince Kutousoff coming up with his column, a third action took place, and he gained a complete and signal victory.

were no place that he could safely occupy between Mojaïsk and Moscow, which is twenty-five leagues distant, he determined to abandon the capital to its fate, and to wait for reinforcements.

After this victory, the inhabitants of the Tartar chief, and of his nobility; together with all the Tartar villages within reach, were plundered and destroyed by fire; and it is a curious fact, that the Russian accounts in detailing the plunder, enumerated ten thousand pints of butter, and a large quantity of barley, as the rural spoil upon this occasion.

Early in 1788, Russia began her preparations for the ensuing campaign, directing her views principally towards the Black Sea, and in the month of June, a vast army of 150,000 men, pushed on for the Turkish frontiers, under the command of Prince Potemkin, the gallant Suwarrow leading the left wing, and the other officers of note consisting of Romanzow, Repnin, Stoltikow, Prince Kutousoff, &c. This immense force was accompanied by a field train of 140 pieces of artillery, and supported by an armed flotilla under the command of the Prince of Nassau.

Early in July, Prince Potemkin invested Ochzakow, but as his heavy artillery was not arrived, he did not immediately commence active operations, but merely assailed the garrison at different times, particularly in the night, when repeated attacks, in many of which Kutousoff bore a distinguished part. The garrison consisted of 20,000 chosen troops, and when the siege actually commenced, every foot of ground was bravely disputed, and dearly purchased by the assailants. The siege lasted until December, during which time Kutousoff had many opportunities of signalizing himself; but the winter being then set in, the sufferings of the Russian army were so great, that they were on the point of retiring with disgrace, when Potemkin, on the 17th of that month, ordered a general bombardment with red hot shot and shells, when a red hot shot falling on the grand magazines, it instantly blew up, and demolishing a great portion of the wall, an assault was ordered. The Turks defended the breach, and after it was forced, fought in the streets with the greatest bravery, and refusing all quarter, were cut to pieces. The Russian loss was 4000 killed and wounded; 200 officers fell, and Kutousoff, who led the storming party, was wounded in a most extraordinary manner, a musket-ball having passed through both temples, when he fell from the top of the wall into the ditch. His cure occupied several years before it was complete, and, in fact, asto-

Bonaparte pushed forward with great rapidity, and his advanced guard reached Moscow on the 14th of September; and, after a short resistance, Murat took possession of the Kremlin. But this great city exhibited a scene of confusion,

nished even his medical attendants; but the use of one of his eyes he never recovered.

Yet, even whilst under the hands of the surgeons, he resumed his command in 1790, when the gallant Suwarrow led the Russian army against Ismail. During this bloody siege, Kutousoff commanded the left of the main army. At the assault he led the sixth column, to which was attached the body of reserve. On the fall of the place, he was appointed by Suwarrow governor of that fortress, and remained there at the close of the campaign with his four battalions of Buch Chasseurs, two regiments of infantry, and four of Don Cossacs, whilst the other troops went into winter quarters; but on the commencement of negotiations, was called from his military command, and sent ambassador to Constantinople, where he displayed diplomatic abilities in the cabinet, commensurate with his powers in the field.

In the subsequent operations of the Russian armies in Poland, &c. he was always actively employed, but there were no occurrences which in this slight sketch deserve particular notice.

He thus went on progressively rising in rank until the year 1805, when Russia took part in the German war, at which time, and indeed always, he entertained the most determined hatred against the French, both in their practice and principles, and was then appointed to the command of the Russian army destined for active operations. Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm by the infamous Mack, the most active exertions were made by the French, for the further prosecution of the campaign; and about that period the first division of the Russian forces, under the immediate command of Kutousoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and uniting itself with the Austrians, under Kienmeyer, in that quarter, formed an army of 70,000 men.

To give copious details is here unnecessary; it is sufficient to observe, that it was of great importance to the French to attack this army before the arrival of the second division of Russians; accordingly, Bernadotte with his corps, aided by Marmont, &c. passed the Danube, and on the 27th of November got to Altemarkt, but found the bridge broken down, the Russians being thus obliged to retreat before a superior force, retiring towards Vienna, and having evacuated Brannau, afterwards received a severe check from Murat on the heights of Ried.

horror, and destruction, unparalleled in the annals of any age. The governor, Rostopelin, conformably to the instructions he received, had prepared for this awful event. Under pretence of sending up a balloon filled with combustible matter

Kutousoff now make a stand on the heights of Amstaken, where he was furiously attacked by Murat's cavalry, and Oudinot's division; but, after having repulsed them several times, was at length obliged to retire. On Bonaparte pushing forward his whole force, Kutousoff, then posted at St. Polten, thinking his situation too critical to attempt to maintain it, and apprehensive lest his retreat should be cut off, crossed the Danube at Krems, and destroyed the bridge, when the French proceeded towards Vienna, and took possession of it.

Kutousoff now marched into Moravia, whither he was followed by Bonaparte, and forced to retire from Weiskirchen to Stein; but he, in his turn, attacked the French next morning, and so far succeeded, that Mortier, to avoid being taken, was obliged to cut his way through the Russian lines with great difficulty and considerable loss. The Russians, however, being at length repulsed, were forced to fall back upon Brunn, there to wait for the expected reinforcement under Buxhowden. At Holbrunn, Murat and Lasnes pressed them so hard, that nothing would have saved them but Kutousoff's having recourse to the same stratagem by which the French army had passed the bridge at Vienna unmolested; that was sending a flag of truce, and proposing to separate from the Austrians, by which means he was enabled to hasten and secure his retreat after a sharp action.

The operations of this gallant general in the subsequent retreat, were masterly in the extreme; and in the latter end of November, Alexander joined the army, consisting then of about 50,000 men. On this, Bonaparte, trusting to the impetuosity of Prince Dolgorucki and other young officers about the Emperor's person, by a feigned retreat induced that prince to persuade his master to adopt such measures as led to the fatal battle of Austerlitz; in which, however, Kutousoff still retained his supreme command.

In this action the combined army consisted of about 72,000 men, the Austrians being under Prince John of Lichtenstein; and the French amounted to an equal number. The firing commenced on the 1st of December, and so well prepared was Bonaparte, that when he saw the operations of the combined forces who gave up their defensive position for one of attack, he exclaimed—'Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power;' and for this purpose he kept his troops

to destroy the French army, he had for some time employed a number of workmen, under the superintendence of an English physician, who prepared an immense quantity of fusees, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks. On the ap-

concentrated in many columns, ready to act according to circumstances.

On the third the grand battle was fought; and the Russian and Austrian armies being in open order with large intervals, owing to the nature of the ground, the French pushed through with their heavy columns in spite of a gallant resistance. Kutousoff was thus certainly taken by surprise, for he had considered himself as the assailant; but was now forced to act on the defensive on the heights of Pratzen, on whose summits the fate of the day was decided. The bayonet was now all he had to depend on; a desperate attack took place; for an instant, the right of the French began to give way, but some of the Russian generals being wounded, the troops wavered, when the French, in turn, became assailants, and advancing their artillery, the victory was complete. The masterly dispositions of Kutousoff, however, saved the remnant of the combined army, though he himself was wounded. The emperor behaved extremely well; and Prince Bagration distinguished himself much. An armistice soon after took place, when it was agreed that the Russians should evacuate the Austrian states; after which they returned home, and the war in one campaign was ended.

In the war in Poland, in 1806 and 1807, it does not appear that Kutousoff took an active part, but was, we believe, on the frontiers of Turkey, where he afterwards commanded a large army in the recent war with that power, from which he was now called to take the command of the forces opposed to the invading army; his predecessor, Barclay de Tolli, to whom he is a junior officer, being removed to the cabinet.

So sensible was the Emperor Alexander of his services, that in addition to his previous rank of General of infantry, he was pleased to bestow on the gallant Kutousoff that of Marshal General, to which he added a present of one hundred thousand roubles; the Princess Kutousoff also, in a manner the most gratifying to her meritorious husband, was raised at court to the highest possible rank for a subject, that of *Stahl Dame*, and decorated with the portrait of his Imperial Majesty.

To these honours already bestowed, we may add his recent elevation as Prince of Smolensko, and to the first class of the order of St. George, which is only bestowed on Field Marshals who have defeated Field

proach of Bonaparte's army, every person of respectability were ordered from the city, the French and Germans were arrested, and all the firemen and fire-engines were carried off. In the mean time, according to the French accounts, the populace were amused by the performance of *Te Deum*, for the victory over Bonaparte at Moskwa. But scarcely had the advanced guard of the French army entered the city, when several hundreds of desperadoes set fire to one of the largest and richest cities in the world—the *entrepot* of Asia and Europe. The exchange, the bazar, and other public buildings, soon sent up columns of fire : and when it is considered that five-sixths of the dwelling houses, as well as the warehouses, and even the streets, were formed of wood, some idea may be formed of the terrific scene that this immense city presented.—It appeared like an ocean of fire. All efforts to arrest the progress of the devouring element, which spread with inconceivable rapidity, proved abortive ; and a high wind that arose on the 16th completed the destruction of Moscow. The Kremlin, which contains several fine public buildings, is situated near the centre of the city, and is surrounded by lofty stone walls. This was preserved, and here Bonaparte stood upon a tower contemplating the horrible effects of his ambition. Nearly 1600 churches, 1000 palaces, nine-tenths of the city, an incalculable quantity of merchandise, and, according to the French reports, 30,000 sick and wounded Russians, fell a prey to the flames !

Marshals, and in which he succeeds Tchitchagoff, father of the present Admiral.

It is only necessary further to add, that as an able and accomplished General (as it has been well observed), and in the excellence of his dispositions, in caution, and above all, in that happy presence of mind, which by a sudden and masterly manœuvre decides the fate of a general battle, the gallant Kutousoff is considered as inferior to no officer of the present day, and was therefore a fit, and perhaps the most proper opponent for the able, yet now discomfited tyrant of the continent !

Bonaparte appears to have been much enraged and disappointed at the destruction of Moscow. The governor was represented as a sort of Marat, a monster shunned by all men, tormented by the upbraidings of conscience, and destitute of every kind of consolation, except what arose from the company of the English commissary, Sir Robert Wilson.— The men who burnt the city were held up to universal detestation, as the outcasts of society, who were liberated from prison on purpose to execute this horrible project; and three hundred of these incendiaries, as they were called, were arrested and shot!

The burning of Moscow was certainly a desperate and lamentable alternative, but its policy has been clearly demonstrated. Allowing the act to be as wicked as Bonaparte represented it, yet as it was the will of the Russian government, their subjects, who owed allegiance to none other, were justified in executing the orders they received. The shooting of these three hundred men, is another instance of Bonaparte's disregard for the law of nations. Were his conduct in this instance to be imitated, the consequence would be dreadful indeed.

CHAP. XXXIX.

**BONAPARTE'S EMBARRASSED SITUATION—LEAVES MOSCOW
—HARASSED BY THE RUSSIANS AND COSSACS—DAVOUST'S
CORPS DESTROYED—NEY'S LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS—
DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMY—BONAPARTE
LEAVES HIS ARMY IN THE NIGHT—TRAVELS INCOGNITO
IN A SINGLE SLEDGE—ARRIVES AT PARIS—HIS POLITIC
CONDUCT—ESTIMATE OF HIS LOSS—PROBABLE CONSE-
QUENCES OF HIS DEFEAT—SUMMARY SKETCH OF HIS
CHARACTER.**

BONAPARTE found his situation very delicate and embarrassed after entering Moscow. His army had suffered severely during the long march it had completed, and was much reduced by the terrible battles it had fought, particularly that on the heights of Borodino. He had promised his men repose and good quarters in the city of Moscow, but they found it a heap of ruins. He had even promised them an honourable peace in this metropolis, but his proposals were returned unopened, and the most desperate resolutions seemed to have been taken by his opponents. This increased the chagrin of Napoleon, accustomed as he was to subdue and humble his foes by one decisive blow. To conceal his distress it was pretended that there were found in Moscow 60,000 muskets, 150 pieces of cannon, 100,000 balls, 1,500,000 cartridges, 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 400,000 lbs. of saltpetre and sulphur, besides magazines of sugar, furs, cloths, brandy, &c.; and several thousand carpenters and other mechanics were sent for to Paris in order to erect barracks for the army. The Russians, on the other hand, asserted, that every article of use to an army was either removed or

destroyed ; and considering the preparations that had been made to burn the city, it is very improbable that the removal of the military stores should have been neglected.

Bonaparte, however, could not long continue this deceit. On the 15th of October, he began to send the sick from Moscow. The Russian army, he acknowledged, had received strong reinforcements, the snow began to fall, Moscow was declared to be a bad military position, and it was necessary the army should retire to winter quarters. Bonaparte therefore ordered the Kremlin, which had been saved from the conflagration, to be mined and blown up, and on the 19th he left Moscow. But the mines did not all take effect, and the Baron Winzingerode hastened the departure of the French rear guard. The great conqueror was thus driven, at the approach of a severe season, to wander amidst the inhospitable wilds of Russia, surrounded by a bold, desperate, and active enemy, assisted by a peasantry sworn to effect his destruction. He appears to have been undecided as to the route he should take, but the necessity of crippling the Russian army at the commencement of his retreat was obvious, and to this object he directed his attention.

After Bonaparte had entered Moscow, General Kutousoff disposed his forces in a most masterly manner. The French met a strong party of the Russians in every quarter, while the peasantry incessantly opposed and watched their movements. From want of forage the French horses grew sickly and unfit for action, and the Cossacks kept the cavalry in continual alarm and motion. On one occasion, General Sebastiani with his light cavalry were surprised at the distribution of meal, and suffered severely. On the 24th of October at day-break, Bonaparte attacked the grand Russian army, which occupied a strong position near the town of Malioardslanvitz. An obstinate conflict ensued. Both sides, as usual, claimed the victory ; but Bonaparte continued to accelerate his retreat, surrounded by clouds of Cossacs. On the 2d of November he was again intercepted near Viasma,

and again suffered considerable loss before the road was cleared; but on the 6th the bad weather commenced, the ground was covered with snow, the roads became slippery and difficult, while cold and fatigue rapidly thinned his ranks. On the 16th the Russians turned his advanced guard; and at the same time General Davoust was attacked by Prince Galitzin. The Russian artillery made a most terrible carnage. The battle lasted the whole day, but Bonaparte, who was an eye witness of the destruction of this division, fled to the village of Liadam. Two generals, 58 officers, 9170 men, 70 cannon, 3 standards, and the baton of Marshal Davoust, were taken; and the banks of the Dnieper were covered with the slain. On the following day, Marshal Ney's corps, which formed the rear guard, was intercepted by General Millaradovitch. Ney came upon the Russian batteries in a fog, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and a terrible carnage ensued. The French finding themselves in the trap, and surrounded, repeatedly attacked the Russian artillery with the fury of despair, but could not break through. Column after column advanced, and were mowed down; till, at midnight, the survivors, to the number of 12,000, surrendered themselves prisoners. Their whole artillery, baggage, and military chest were taken, but Marshal Ney escaped.

On the 4th, General Wittgenstein attacked General Victor, in which action the village of Smolna, the depot of Victor's artillery, was six times taken and retaken, but the French were ultimately obliged to retreat. Amidst these complicated disasters Bonaparte reached Smolensko; but the threatening movements of the Russian commander compelled him to abandon this miserable place on the 13th of December. Suddenly the cold increased to 16 or 18 degrees below the freezing point. In a few days above 30,000 horses perished,* and he was obliged to abandon a great part of his

* The details of this calamitous campaign, which is unequalled in history, we give principally on the authority, and nearly in the words of Bonaparte's own account.

artillery, ammunitions, and provisions. In this dreadful situation his men lost their gaiety, and dreamed of nothing but misfortunes and catastrophies. The Cossacs, emboldened by witnessing the frightful calamity that had overtaken this once formidable army, surrounded the columns, and prevented all communications, or attempts to reconnoitre, carrying off the trains and waggons which were separated. The Duke of Elchingen, who was charged with blowing up the ramparts and cathedral of Smolensko, was surrounded, and obliged to cut his way through the Russian columns. Bonaparte was now hastening to pass the Beresina, but was anticipated by the Russians, who burnt the bridge and occupied all the fords. This river is 80 yards wide, had much floating ice in it, and its banks are covered with marches. Bonaparte having manœuvred a whole day in order to deceive the Russians, attempted the passage of the river on the 26th, which he at length effected with the loss of 18,000 prisoners, and about 7000 killed, wounded, and drowned. On the 27th, at night, a brigade of Pataunau's division was surrounded and taken. The contest lasted near three days. Having surmounted this difficulty, Bonaparte pursued his rout to Wilna. 'The army,' says the French report, 'being without cavalry, deficient of ammunition, and horribly fatigued by fifty days march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines. To say that the whole army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery, and its materials, is the result of the *expose*, which has just been made. The generals, officers, and soldiers, have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossacs' ambushes. The Cossacs have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of unattended officers, who were marching without precaution, pre-

ferring running the risk, to marching slowly and along with the convoys.

‘In all these movements, *the emperor has continually marched in the middle of his guards,** the cavalry commanded by marshal Duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the Duke of Dantzic. His majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shewn by his guards; they have always been ready to shew themselves every where that their presence was needful; but circumstances have always been such, that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a case which required them to charge. The Prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp, and military officers of the household, have always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers who had a horse still remaining, in order to form four companies of 100 men each. The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the

* The newspapers have given the following curious anecdote of Bonaparte in this retreat, which, if true, is illustrative of the altered feelings of his soldiers :—

‘For a long time he rode in a close carriage, surrounded by his half-famished and dispirited troops. At length the men, indignant at seeing him sitting at his ease, and feeling no part of the calamities he had so wantonly brought on them, cried aloud *a bas la voiture*. This call was not to be slighted: Bonaparte instantly quitted the vehicle, and mounted his horse, covered with his cloak and muffled with fur. This condescension did not, however, appease his followers, half naked and famishing with cold; they again cried out, *a bas le manteau*. The great Napoleon, in compliance with the mandate of his soldiery, immediately threw off his cloak and fur, and in common with his men, exposed himself to all the inclemencies of the season. However, profiting by experience, the sacred squadron was immediately formed to protect the great Emperor from the rising indignation of his own army, till an opportunity should be afforded him of making his final escape.’

King of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all these movements. The health of his majesty was never better.'

Never did a commander draw so deplorable a picture of the ruined state of an army, and never did Bonaparte so clearly exhibit his real character as in the boldness and cruelty evinced in this dreadful report. He here despises the public feeling, and silences complaint, by undisguisedly avowing the extent of the calamities his army had suffered ; and in order to complete the degradation of the 'great nation' and her allies, by demonstrating his contempt of the abject instruments of his ambition, [he deserted his army while involved in perplexity and ruin ! On the 5th of December, at night he assembled his marshals, and informed them that he had nominated Murat his lieutenant-general to command the army during the rigorous season. He then stole off, and proceeded to Wilna,* travelling with great rapidity in a single sledge under the name of the Duke of Vicenza.] After examining the fortifications of Prague, he passed on to Warsaw, where he remained several hours unknown. On the 14th, at one in the morning, he arrived at Dresden, and alighted at the house of Count Gera, his minister. He had a long conference with the King of Saxony, and immediately pursuing his journey by the road of Mentz, arrived on the 19th, at midnight, at Paris, having performed this long journey in the short space of thirteen days !

From the Russian reports it appears, that from the passage of the Beresina to Wilna, the French army had not one moment's respite. The Russians pressed on every side, and allowed them no repose. Their movements on the flanks and rear of the French, as developed in the execution, were the result of masterly combination, demonstrating that they were

* The Russians report, that a strong division of the French army had halted in a village, where they intended to quarter, during the night of December the 5th. Bonaparte was in bed when the Russians attacked the place, and had just time to mount his horse and escape ; but so great was his apprehension, that he proceeded in full gallop to Wilna.

conducted by superior military science. The deserted army marched at night, and *bivouched* in the day in hollow squares, for their protection against attack. The track of their retreat was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, with cannon, waggon, and every thing that evinced the extreme distress of the army. The frightful picture is still heightened by the official accounts of the Russian commanders, which states, that the French were not only reduced to the necessity of subsisting on horse-flesh, but that they actually lived upon the dead bodies of their fallen comrades. At Wilna great magazines of stores and provisions had been collected, and the harassed, distressed, and woe be-gone army reached it on the 10th of December. But here they experienced only fresh disasters and disappointments. Admiral Tchitchagoff's advanced guard drove them through the town almost without halting; and the indefatigable Platoff, with his Cossacs, occupied the road to Kouno: but the skeleton of the French grand army, although thus reduced to perhaps little more than 20,000 men, rallied, and animated by desperation, cut its way through a cloud of irregular cavalry, after sustaining some loss. At Kouna it passed the Nieman, and effected its escape into the Prussian territory; having lost in the retreat from the Beresina, and at Wilna, above 20,000 men in prisoners, near 200 pieces of cannon, 7 general officers, a great number of staff officers, all their magazines, and a great part of Bonaparte's personal baggage.—Murat, Berthier, and the other principal officers of the grand army, fled to Königsberg, 200 miles beyond Wilna; whence a division was sent to collect the wreck of the army, and assist Macdonald, who had raised the siege of Riga and retreated to Tilsit. The Russians eagerly pressed forward, and 30,000 Prussians, under General D'York, capitulated to their arms; which circumstance seems to have struck deeper into the soul of Bonaparte, than any other disaster that has occurred during this calamitous campaign.

The cost of Bonaparte's last campaign in men and money, to try the question, whether England shall be shut out from the continent; may be estimated as follows:

To France and her Allies in killed, frozen to death, } wounded, &c..... }	86,000
disabled	115,000
prisoners of all descriptions	900,000
Allied men.....	400,000
Their equipment, at 30l. each	L. 12,000,000
Seventy thousand horses, at 35l. each	2,450,000
Artillery, ammunition, military stores, provisions, &c..	15,550,000
Allied property lost	L. 30,000,000
To Russia in soldiers killed, frozen to death, drown- } ed, &c..... }	50,000
disabled	50,000
prisoners	30,000
Soldiers, total	130,000
Inhabitants burnt, starved, frozen to death, and de- } stroyed in different ways	30,000
Russian people	160,000
Equipments of soldiers lost	L. 9,000,000
Artillery; waggons, horses, &c. taken or destroyed	1,400,000
Magazines, &c. burnt or taken	5,000,000
Ten thousand wooden houses burnt, at 150l. each	1,500,000
Four thousand five hundred stone houses, at 500l each	2,250,000
Public works, churches, palaces, &c. burnt	7,750,000
Furniture of houses, palaces, &c.	5,200,000
Merchandise, crops, granaries, cattle, &c.	22,000,000
Russian property lost	L. 50,000,000

The question may now be considered as decided, and Bonaparte's dreams of universal empire dissipated. By his shameful flight, he has forfeited the confidence and esteem of his troops, diminished the gratitude of his subjects, shaken the allegiance of his allies, and tarnished his glory in the eyes of the whole world. While traversing the wilds of

Russia, a report of his death was propagated in Paris, and formed the pretext for a daring conspiracy, which threatened the overthrow of that splendid scheme of aggrandizement which Bonaparte had organized at the expence of so much blood. This movement occasioned the greatest consternation; but the principles in the conspiracy were soon arrested and executed. This circumstance seems to have planted the most painful alarms in the breast of the emperor. Immediately after his arrival in Paris, he received the congratulations of his servile senate; and in his answer, he dwells with expressive minuteness on this partial insurrection, and obliquely censures the magistrates for not evincing more promptness and courage on the occasion. But his apprehensions were not suffered to subside; for the audience in the opera-house rose in an irresistible fervour of indignation, tore down his bust, and trampled it under their feet. The manager was severely fined, and the managers of the other theatres received such cautions as were judged necessary. Bonaparte now appeared in public, reviewed his troops, and attended the theatre, surrounded by his guards and accompanied by an host of police officers, who, as appointed, hailed the great conqueror, that during the recent retreat had eclipsed the glory of Xenophon. A studied silence was observed respecting the fate of the grand army, and the afflicted people of France were left to infer its annihilation. But when intelligence of the defection of the Prussians arrived, Bonaparte testified his fears by requiring the immediate embodiment of 350,000 conscripts. He will now be compelled to act on the defensive, while his operations must be much limited by the want of money to equip his immense levies, at a time too when the public mind is little disposed to bear any additional burthens for the purpose of prosecuting his destructive wars. What the issue of this change of fortune may be it is perhaps impossible to predict, but a sincere attempt on the part of England and Russia to obtain a peace, on such honourable terms to all parties as might ensure its continuance,

would certainly be highly politic and expedient ; and it is probable that Bonaparte would willingly negotiate.

Before we close this account of the eventful life of the most wonderful man that ever appeared on earth, we shall give a brief sketch of his character from the pen of M. Faber, a German, who served in the French armies during the revolution, but retired from the service shortly after the elevation of Bonaparte to the supreme power.

‘I have seen this man whose name is Bonaparte ; I have seen him an officer of the artillery, general in the army, consul, emperor. When yet the Italian ~~as~~ in his name gave him no concern, all then was Italian about him, his physiognomy, his complexion ; he had neither the habits, the manners, nor the agreeable figure of a Frenchman ; the rough motions and the sharp form of the foreigner displeased. A cold reserved air gave his exterior an appearance of indifference for all about him. He always walked concentrated in himself. Careless of the events which awaited him, but always occupied with his glory, he appeared determined to perform whatever could conduct him towards it. Attached to no being but himself, he never joined any party but to serve his glory ; he has been republican, conventional, directorial, moderate. The proofs exist in the public documents ; he is accused of having been a terrorist : this is not proved, but it is proved that he is sworn to all principles, and that he has abjured them all.

‘I have seen this man ; in the midst of the greatest crowd and bustle, in all places and at all times, he appears to be alone and insulated. Men are nothing to him ; they are the means, himself is the end. His mouth is hideous when he smiles on them—it is a smile of contempt, a smile of pity, which cheers cowards in the terrible immovability of the rest of his features. This solitary smile has been given him by heaven.

‘I have seen this man—he is simple in his private manners, in his tastes, and in his wants. An uniform the least

shawy; a black hat, without any other ornament than the cockade—this is his dress. His ostentatious splendour is not for himself but for others. He is a slave to it, in order to reign over others; he is a borrowed character in the imperial mantle, as in the hat *a la Henri IV.* as he is in all costumes; but it is better to be a borrowed character, than not to have consequence. He has neither a taste for the table, nor for women, nor for the fine arts; these tastes would level him with other men: he has only one, that of being above them.

‘He speaks little—he speaks without selection, and with a kind of incorrectness. He gives little coherence to his ideas; he is satisfied to sketch them by strong outlines. His words, pronounced with a sharp voice, are oracles; he does not occupy his attention by the form in which he gives them, provided the thought is weighty, strikes and overturns. Thus frequently something common appears in the turn of phrase he employs. He writes as he speaks. Flatterers have discovered in it the style of Montesquieu. This is comparing two men who have no points of resemblance. The public speeches of Bonaparte have been dry and cold.

‘I have seen this man, when he was the hope of humanity. I have seen him, when he had preferred to be its scourge. It is terror personified, which accomplishes the prediction of heads criminally exalted, that the revolution would make a circuit through the universe, and overturn all the thrones of kings.

‘I have seen this man. I have seen him near. His head is a rare re-union of the most marked characteristics. Every portrait of Bonaparte will be known, even if it should not resemble him. In this they are like the portrait of Frederic the Great; he admits of an overcharged likeness. It requires only lips, where the contempt of men eternally resides, to be placed between the protuberance of such a chin and the concavity of such a transition from the nose to the upper lip. The full length, by Isabey, representing Bonaparte in the

gardens of Malmaison, while it embellishes the form, strongly expresses the character of the original.

‘I have studied the eye of Bonaparte. That eye shuns inspection. A German observer, with the hand of a master, has pointed out the difficulty of describing it. This eye is represented lively, sparkling, open, and deeply arched. Engravings, medals, and coin, represent it as such, but all flatter in approximating the countenance to the antique.

‘This eye suffers nothing to escape of what is passing within; it appears dull and fatigued by the efforts to which it has served as the organ. Eyes I have found none in those deep sockets. I found two places where these had once been. They are two craters, bearing the traces of the lava which has issued from them, and announcing that frightful abyss, whose borders they form. Perhaps at the moment the volcano groans in its recesses, and prepares death and destruction; perhaps at the moment it is breaking out, and is about to annihilate all that is within its reach.

‘How looked this eye, when Bonaparte resolved on the destruction of the throne of Naples—the degradation of Austria—the extinction of the Germanic empire—the humiliation of Prussia? How looked this eye, when Bonaparte resolved on the exile of his benefactor, Barras?—the death of Pichegru? How, when he ordered the young D’Enghien, just entering the suburbs of Paris, to be hurried away to Vincennes, and when Madame Bonaparte was drowned in tears at his knees? I should like to see this eye when it wants sleep. Does it ever close? How sleeps Bonaparte?’

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES.

[*The Editor has collected the following Biographical Anecdotes of those remarkable Personages, who have either opposed or promoted the ambitious projects of Bonaparte, from the most authentic sources; and trusts that they will be found equally pleasing and instructive.*]

JOSEPHINE, *Ex-Empress of France*. We have before given a brief account of the early life of this woman, whose varied fortune will render an object of curiosity to posterity. While she acted the part of wife and empress to Napoleon, she attracted much attention, not from the ostentatious display of royal pomp, which she anxiously shunned, but from the continued exercise of the virtues of humanity. After her divorce she retired for a short time into Italy, but now resides in the vicinity of Paris, where she employs her leisure hours in the cultivation of flowers and plants.

MARIA LOUISA, *Archduchess of Austria, and Empress of France*, being sprung from one of the most dignified houses in Europe, and educated in a court remarkable for its scrupulous etiquette and haughty sentiments, has of course a great influence in restraining the violent passions and natural vulgarity which Napoleon has so frequently displayed. His former empress soothed his raging spirits by her insinuating manners and gentle expostulations, but the present by the playfulness of her wit, or the offended glances of a high bred female; and he knows too well the *political importance* of this connection, to venture to use her with any degree of disrespect.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE, *King of Spain*, is the elder brother of Napoleon. In September, 1795, he was deputed from Liameone to the council of five hundred; but his election was not acknowledged legal till June, 1797. In 1796, he married a young lady of respectable family in Avignon, named Clary, whose sister has been since united to Marshal Bernadotte. On the 14th of May, in the same year, he

was sent to Rome in the quality of ambassador from the French republic, upon which occasion he protested against the nomination of the Austrian general Provera, to the command of the Roman troops, and in this, as in other matters which were discussed during the early part of his embassy, he was successful. Among other things he obtained the liberty of the imprisoned Roman patriots, and prevailed on the pope to grant an audience to his wife and sister. In December, the Corsina palace, where he resided, was invested by a mob, and by an armed force. Joseph, accompanied by General Duphot, went out to induce the populace to withdraw, but several balls were fired at once at the general, who fell dead by the ambassador's side. Joseph Bonaparte immediately left Rome, and went to Florence, in his way to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th of January, 1798, and gave a relation of what had passed to the directors, who declared themselves satisfied with his conduct. On the 24th he became one of the council of five hundred, and took the oaths. On the 21st of June following he was chosen secretary. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, he was made a member of the council of state, for the interior section. He concluded a treaty, in the name of the French republic, with the United States of America, on the 9th of November, 1800, and gave a brilliant *fete* at his villa de Morfontaine, to the American ministers, at which the consuls, ministers, &c. &c. were present. He was afterwards appointed plenipotentiary to treat for peace with the emperor at Luneville, where his operations were crowned with the most entire success; the definitive treaty was signed on the 9th of February, 1801. The following year Joseph Bonaparte again met with the same success at the congress of Amiens, where peace was signed, on the 25th of March, 1802, between France and England, and the allies of France, the Batavian republic, and Spain. In July following he was appointed grand officer of the legion of honour, and called to the conservative senate. In the month of August, 1803, he went to preside over the elective college of Oise, on his return from the waters of Plombieres, where he had staid a month. In April, 1804, he was appointed colonel of the 4th regiment of regular infantry, and became a grand elector and a French prince. The next year he went to Brussels, and made an excursion through the departments of the Rhine. In October, 1805, he was appointed by the emperor to preside over the senate, and direct the administration in his absence. Shortly after he was appointed King of Naples; but when his brother determined to drive the Bourbon family from Spain, he was proclaimed king of that country. The protracted war that has arisen from this circumstance renders his situation highly critical and disagreeable, and has frequently in-

duced him to solicit his soul from that distracted and impoverished kingdom.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE, a senator, and younger brother of the Emperor of the French, was at first employed in the war-office, married at Maximin, became war-commissioner, and was, in March, 1797, deputy of the department of Liame to the council of five hundred; he there appeared in the tribune, on the 18th of July, 1799, and rejected, as tyrannical, the proposal of ordering shops to be shut on Sundays, in order to compel the observation of decades. He was a very active member of this body, and attracted considerable attention. On the 18th Brumaire he contributed materially to the revolution, which his brother Napoleon seemed to want the talents to effect. He was afterwards named minister of the interior, where he was distinguished for his rapacity. In October, 1800, he quitted the administration to go as ambassador to Madrid; and at the end of September, 1801, he signed at Badajoz, a peace between France and Portugal, after having settled the conditions of it with M. Cyr Dibeire Frain, the minister of that kingdom. He returned to Paris in the following month, and was appointed member of the tribunate on the 9th of March, 1802: it was nearly about this period that he lost his wife. Some time after he carried up to the legislative body the wish of the tribunes in favour of the compact. On the 18th and 19th of May he demanded the adoption of the project which created a legion of honour, and on the 7th of July following he was named grand officer of it, and took his place in this rank in the consular senate. On the 3d of February, 1803, he was called to the institute, an academy of the political and moral sciences; shortly after, the senatorship of Treves was conferred upon him. In July, 1803, he went into Holland, and the departments of the Rhine, to take possession there of the property belonging to the legion of honour. On his return he married Madame Jouberteau, the widow of a banker, and left France with her, in the month of April, 1804, to go and reside in Italy. Here he employed himself in collecting pictures and literary curiosities: but his lofty spirit not brooking the indignities offered him by his brother Napoleon, he determined to seek a peaceable asylum in the United States of America. After effecting his escape from Italy, he was detained by the governor of Malta until instructions respecting him arrived from England; and the ministers refusing to permit him to proceed on his intended journey, he was conveyed to this country, where he now resides, with his family, amidst affluence and hospitality. By many it is thought that he really wished for permission to reside in England.

LOUIS BONAPARTE, brother of Napoleon, and a French prince. He entered very young into the service, followed his brother in all his campaigns, and became colonel of the 9th regiment of dragoons, and afterwards general of brigade. In 1802, he married Mademoiselle de Beauharnais, daughter of the Empress Josephine, by whom he had successively two sons, who were held over the font by the emperor their uncle. In September, 1803, he went to preside over the electoral college of the department of the Po, was named counselor of state and general of division in the month of April, 1804, and high constable of the empire immediately after the accession of his brother to the imperial throne. Two months after, the rank of colonel-general of the carabiniers was conferred on him. He accompanied the emperor into Italy at the time of his coronation in May, 1805, and was invested at Turin with the rank of governor-general of Piedmont. His health soon after obliged him to go and take the waters of St. Amand; and returning to Paris, he there filled for a time the place of Prince Murat in the government of that town, and afterwards he went into Holland about the end of November, to assume the command of the army of the north. His services were rewarded by his being some time after declared King of Holland; but the growing distresses of the Dutch rendered his situation inconceivably disagreeable. His merciful and compassionate disposition at last excited the resentment of Napoleon, and he was permitted to abdicate a dependent throne which his virtues disqualified him from filling.

JEROME BONAPARTE, *King of Westphalia*, is the youngest brother of Napoleon. He was intended for the sea, became lieutenant of a vessel, and was employed in that capacity in the expedition to St. Domingo, commanded by Leclerc. He soon returned to France with dispatches from this general, then set out again for Martinique in the frigate l'Everpier, which he commanded, and towards the end of 1803 he placed vessels to cruise before the road of St. Peter, and the island of Tobago. After being on a station for some months, he put into harbour in America, where he married Miss Patterson, the daughter of one of the richest merchants of the United States; which was not approved by the emperor his brother, on account of his minority. The English, who wished to seize his person, blocked up all the ports whence he could depart to return to France; but he at last escaped their watchfulness, and arrived in May, 1805, at Lisbon, which place he then quitted, went to his brother Napoleon, who was then in Italy, and arrived at Genoa, where he received orders from the emperor to go to Algiers, and claim as his new subjects the Genoese who were in slavery there. M. Jerome Bonaparte acquitted himself of this com-

mission in the most intelligent manner, and carried back 250 of these unfortunate persons to Genoa. He immediately after went to Paris, then, in November, 1805, to Nantes, and thence to Brest, where he assumed the command of a 74-gun ship. During the subsequent war with Austria, he commanded an auxiliary corps of Germans, and was, on the fall of Prussia, treated king of the new kingdom of Westphalia. In the recent campaign of Moscow his misfortunes seem to have excited the indignation of his imperial brother.

EUGENE DE BEAUHARNAIS, son of Viscount Beauharnais and of the Empress Josephine. He was little more than a child when his father was conducted to the scaffold, but his misfortunes found a speedy termination; for his mother having married General Bonaparte, he became his aid-de-camp, and attended him to Italy and Egypt. On his return from that expedition, he was appointed head of a squadron of chasseurs in the consular guard, and shortly after became their commander in chief. He constantly accompanied the first consul in his journeys; was promoted to the rank of general of brigade; and then, in August 1804, colonel general of the chasseurs. In the same month he went to preside over the electoral college of Loir and Cher, the place of his nativity; and in February, 1805, he was raised to the dignity of a French prince, of arch-chancellor of state, and grand officer of the legion of honour. A few months after he received the cross of the high order of St. Hubert, which was conferred on him by the Elector of Bavaria; and in June, 1805, he went to Milan, where he was appointed viceroy of the kingdom of Italy. At the time of the return of hostilities against Austria, (September, 1805,) he collected together the national guards of the kingdom of Italy, in various camps of reserve, addressed to them energetic proclamations on the political circumstances in which their country stood, successively visited these different bodies, and, rather by the means of persuasion and gentleness, than by force of arms, reduced the insurgent inhabitants of the mountains of Parma and of the environs. After the peace of Presburg, he went to Munich, where, on the 17th of January, 1806, he married Princess Augusta of Bavaria. The emperor, the empress of the French, and all the court of Bavaria, witnessed this august ceremony, and the new-married pair immediately went into Italy, where they were in every place welcomed with the warmest eagerness. When Murat left the wreck of the grand army in Prussia, Prince Eugene succeeded him in the command.

MURAT, the assumed King of Naples, was the son of a water-carrier at Paris, who for some crime, to save himself from the search

of the police, fled into the mountains of Dauphiny, where he joined a gang of smugglers and coiners, and where General Murat was born in 1764. Being accused of belonging to that corps of brigands commanded by the famous captain of smugglers Mandrin, Murat's father was tried at Valence, and there broken upon the wheel in May, 1769; and young Murat was sent to the orphan-house at Lyons, where he remained, until an actor of the name of St. Aubin took him as an errand-boy, procured him to be a *Garçon du Theatre*, or a servant attached to a theatre in that city, and paid, besides, a master for teaching him to read and write. Being of an insinuating disposition and good appearance, he easily insinuated himself into the favour of the principal actresses, and was in 1780, upon their recommendation, permitted to appear upon the stage, first in the parts of valets, and afterwards in those of *petit maitres*; but in neither was he successful, wanting manners, memory, and application. He was, however, endured until 1786, when, being hissed while playing the Marquis in the comedy called *Le Cercle*, he dared to threaten the spectators by his gestures. From that time hisses pursued him so much whenever he presented himself, that he was obliged to quit the stage; and after leaving Lyons secretly to avoid the demands of his creditors, he enlisted in the regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allernagne*, which was with other corps ordered to the neighbourhood of Paris, when, in 1789, Orleans, La Fayette, and other leaders of the Constituent Assembly, set up the standard of revolt against their king: he was among the few men of that loyal regiment whom their emissaries seduced, and he deserted when it was encamped in the Elysian Fields on the 12th of July. In the plots and disagreements of different factions he always assisted the Terrorists; and in return, Santerre promoted him to a lieutenancy in the battalion of St. Antoine, of which that brewer then had the command. On the 20th of June, 1792, he accompanied his patron and the brigands who insulted the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family in the Castle of the Tuilleries, when he was heard to repeat, 'Louis, thou art a traitor, we must have thy head!' and when the courageous Madame Elizabeth said, 'Are you not ashamed to insult the most patriotic of kings with such language?' he impudently answered, 'Hold thy tongue, otherwise I will cut thee in two.' The next day Santerre advanced him to his aid-de-camp; and as such he was employed on the 10th of August in the attack of that dreadful day. In the spring of 1794, he was ordered to join the army of the Alps, where he continued without distinguishing himself until 1796, when Bonaparte assumed the command over that army; where, hearing of Murat's local knowledge and military intelligence, he appointed him first aid-de-camp, and the second officer in the staff next to Berthier. He now showed not only an un-

daunted courage, but talents which no-body supposed him to possess before the battle of Mondovi, on the 17th of April, 1796, where he caused himself to be particularly remarked; so much so, that when the King of Sardinia, in the latter part of the same month, made overtures for a pacification with the French republic, Bonaparte sent him to Turin with full powers to negotiate, and afterwards gave him, together with General Junot, the honourable commission to carry to Paris, and to present to the directory, the twenty-one colours and standards conquered in several engagements from the combined army of Austria and Sardinia. On the 24th of May he came again to Turin, with dispatches from Paris, concerning the negotiations then carrying on between France and Sardinia; but after a stay of some few days only, Bonaparte ordered him back to the army, where he daily advanced in the good graces of his chief. In June, he accompanied the French minister at Genoa, Faypoult, to the Doge, with a summons, in the name of Bonaparte, to order the Imperial ambassador to leave the territory of the Republic of Genoa within forty-eight hours. He here behaved with such insolence, that it was with difficulty the old and respectable Doge, whom he had so cowardly insulted, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces. On the 18th of June, 1796, General Murat commanded the attack to the left, on the entrenched camp of the Austrians, near Mantua, and succeeded in carrying it. For several weeks he gained almost daily advantages over the Imperial General Wurmser, who commanded an harassed, defeated, dispirited, and inferior army. In the retreat which this general was forced to make on the 9th of September, Murat pursued him at the head of a corps of chasseurs, and tried to cut off his retreat towards Cheva. But after having routed several divisions of the enemy, he was repulsed in his turn, though superior in number. Rallying, however, and continuing the attack, he was wounded in an engagement on the 18th, where the courageous Austrian veteran charged at the head of the light troops of his army. This wound forced him to demand leave of absence, and he resided in Mantua until December, when he re-assumed his former station in the blockading corps round Mantua. During the campaign of 1797, he displayed the same activity, and on the 14th of January, 1799, went to Monte Baldo at the head of a demi-brigade of light infantry, forced the Austrians who occupied the Corono, routed them after a very obstinate engagement, and obliged their cavalry to swim across the Adige. On the 24th of February he drove the enemy from the intrenchments of Foy, which were nevertheless valiantly defended. On the 16th of March he crossed the Tagliamento, at the head of his division, and on the 19th again distinguished himself at the passage of the Lisonzo. In September Bonaparte commissioned him to march with a column to-

wards the confines of the Valteline, to accommodate the disputes between that country and the Grisons, or rather to take possession of it in the name of the Cisalpine republic; in consequence, at the end of the month, he declared that the faults of the Grisons and the wishes of the people had induced him to join the Valteline to the Cisalpine states. In November he preceded Bonaparte in his march through Switzerland and Alsace, hastening on to Rastadt to prepare for him a situation, of which he did not take possession. In March, 1798, he was sub-commander to Berthier at Rome, then marched against the insurgents of Marino, Albano, and Castello, of whom he killed a great number, and caused many prelates and monks, who were enemies to France, to be seized. He next attended Bonaparte to Egypt, served with such success as to merit the rank of general of division, and returning with him to Europe, was one of those who most effectually served him, when, in 1799, he changed the form of government; for, entering at the head of 60 grenadiers the hall at St. Cloud, where the council of five hundred were assembled, he said, 'Let the good citizens retire, the council of five hundred is dissolved.' The command of the posts of the council of five hundred was at first confided to him, and in December that of the consular guard. At the end of the month Bonaparte drew the bonds which united them still closer by giving him his sister in marriage, and afterwards employing him as one of his lieutenants in the army of reserve, the advanced guard of which he commanded. On the 27th of May, 1800, he entered Verceil by main force, crossed the Sesia two days after, went to Novaro, and took post along the right bank of the Tessina. On the 2d of June he entered Milan, and surrounded the citadel, on the 6th he passed the Po at Nocette, and on the 8th took possession of Placentia, with the immense magazines of the enemy. On the 6th of July government presented him with a sabre of honour as a particular mark of the satisfaction he gave the French people. The year following he was commander-in-chief of the army of observation, and in February he and the Chevalier Micheroux signed an armistice at Soligno, between the French republic and the king of the Two Sicilies. After the definitive treaty of peace he addressed a proclamation to the refugees, to inform them that a pacification gave them the power and the right to return home. He then governed the Cisalpine republic under the title of general, and went to the consulta of Lyons, after which, in February, 1802, he installed the new authorities of Milan. Towards the latter end of 1801, the provisory government of that republic offered him a magnificent sabre, which he refused, saying, that the wants of the army were most urgent, and desiring that the value of this present might be expended in supplies for them. In November, 1803, after

his return to Paris, he went to preside in the electoral college of the department of Lot, and soon after became a member of the legislative body. In January, 1804, he was appointed governor of Paris, with the rank and honours of commander-in-chief, and in May following, marshal of the empire. On the 1st of February, 1805, he was, as high-admiral, raised to the dignity of a prince, and afterwards honoured with the order of Prussia and Bavaria. When hostilities broke out afresh with Austria, he crossed the Rhine at Kehl on the 25th of September, with the reserve cavalry, remained posted several days before the outlets of the Black Forest, and went to Bavaria, where, when Ulm was taken and Mack defeated, he, with the utmost activity, pursued the Austrian troops who were endeavouring to retire into Bohemia through Franconia, under the orders of the Archduke Ferdinand and Gerneck. He compelled the forces of the latter to lay down their arms, continued to advance with the same rapidity, arrived among the first on the road to Vienna, first established his head-quarters at the abbey of Moelk, when he marched to St. Polten; made his entrance into Vienna on the 11th of November, and took possession of Duke Albert's house; afterwards defeated the Russians at Hollabrunn; again distinguished himself at the battle of Juttenndorf, where he took 2000 prisoners, seized Brunn on the 18th of November, and having enclosed Kutuzoff, granted him a capitulation, which was not ratified by the Emperor Napoleon. The Prince Murat afterwards contributed greatly to the victory at Austerlitz, and in January, 1806, when this brilliant campaign was ended, returned to the metropolis. On his return to Paris he quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Lucien, challenged, fought, and wounded him. To put an end to these family quarrels, Napoleon Bonaparte promoted Murat to the command in chief over the French army in Italy, or, which is the same, made him viceroy over the Italian and Ligurian republics, and over the revolutionary kingdom of Etruria. During Murat's reign in Italy, his manner of living was more expensive and more sumptuous, his retinue more brilliant, his staff more showy, his palace more magnificent, and his guards more numerous, than those of any lawful European sovereign. He introduced at Milan nearly the same etiquette that prevailed at the Tuilleries and at St. Cloud. Madame Murat had her maids of honour, her routes, her assemblies, and her grand circles; as her husband had his pages, his prefects of palace, his aids-de-camp, his military reviews, his diplomatic audiences, his presentations, his official dinners, his sallies of humour against foreign ministers, and his smiles of complaisance to his minions; with all the farrago of the pedantic, insolent, affected revolutionary *haut ton*. The original occupation of Madame Murat, the present Queen of Naples, seems to have been as humble as

that of her husband's; as to her family, that is of course the same with her brother's, the French emperor. Caroline Bonaparte, in early life, was put apprentice to the mantua-maker Madame Rambaud, at Marseilles. She seems here to have indulged in no splendid visions of a crown, and was perhaps more innocent in her shop than she was likely to be on a throne. Scandal, however, has spoken of her levity in the early part of life, but as she was then scarcely an object of notice, little was of course known of her; and of that little much could not be remembered. It has been too much the habit to cover Bonaparte and his family with every kind of atrocity; to coin new modes of iniquity wherein to array them, and when facts failed, to draw liberally upon invention. It is right that an enemy should not be caressed as our friend; but it is neither charity nor good taste to picture him and his family as fiends, for no other purpose than to increase enmity to abhorrence; and to indispose the nation to that intercourse which may, one time or other, be necessary. When Bonaparte meditated the seizure of the crown of Spain for his brother Joseph, he conferred the vacant throne of Naples upon Murat. Madame Murat was, of course, raised to sovereignty with her husband. Such is her present elevation, and she is likely to retain it as long as the Bonaparte dynasty shall continue. Murat headed the French troops that entered Spain; and when Bonaparte invaded Russia in 1812, he commanded the cavalry. When the emperor deserted his army, he was appointed his lieutenant-general, and led the wrecks of the combined army into Prussia, where he retired under pretence of bad health.

ALEXANDER BERTHIER, war-minister, and Prince of Neuchâtel. He was son to the governor of the war-office, and was joined with him in his employment. Early put on the staff, he served in this manner in America, fought with La Fayette for the liberty of the United States, and obtained the rank of colonel. In the first year of the revolution, he was appointed major-general of the national guard of Versailles, and made himself known there by the most invariable moderation. He went to Metz on the 28th of December, 1791, with the title of adjutant-general, to carry to Generals Luckner and Rochambeau, the staff of Marshal of France. He continued to serve in the army of Luckner, with the title of head of the staff. He passed into that employed against the Vendéans in 1793, gave effectual assistance to Ronsin in taking plans of the revolted country, and had three horses killed under him at the capture of Saumur. In 1796, he was sent to the army of Italy, with the rank of general of division, and contributed greatly to the success of this campaign, filling the important station of head of the staff. In 1797, Berthier was commissioned by General Bonaparte

to bring the treaty of Campo Formio to Paris. In January, 1798, he received the chief command of the army of Italy, and was charged by the directory to march against the Roman states. He then directed his course to Ancona, of which he took possession, and continued his march to Rome, which he entered with his army early in February. The directory having commanded the destruction of the papal government, General Berthier had a consular government organized there; but he did not stay long in this country, and his devotion to General Bonaparte soon carried him to Egypt, still as his head of the staff. The signal services which he did him in this country also are well known. On his return from Egypt, General Bonaparte associated him in his glory and in his success on the memorable 18th of Brumaire, and soon after appointed him war-minister. Berthier was afterwards generalissimo of the army of reserve, and again accompanied Bonaparte into Italy, where he contributed to the success of the passage of St. Bernard, and to the gaining of the battle of Marengo. He afterwards signed the armistice concluded between the French and Imperial armies. During the summer of 1800, he organized the provisional government of Piedmont, visited some places in Holland, and thence went into Spain on an embassy extraordinary: on his return he resumed the war-ministry, which had been confided to Carnot. As soon as Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed emperor, Berthier was appointed marshal of the empire, great huntsman, and chief of the 1st cohort of the legion of honour. In 1805, the king of Prussia made him knight of his orders, and the elector of Bavaria conferred on him that of St. Hubert. Marshal Berthier accompanied the emperor to Milan, at the time of his coronation as king of Italy, in June, 1805, and on his return he went and made a circuit on the coasts of Manche and Holland. In October, 1805, he was appointed chief of the general staff of the great army of Germany, and contributed anew by his talents and his activity to the brilliant successes which opened this campaign. On the 19th of the same month, he signed, with Mack, the treaty for the surrender of Ulm, and the capitulation of the Austrian army. In the succeeding war with Prussia, Berthier also distinguished himself; and afterwards accompanied his master into Spain, where his zeal and knowledge proved very serviceable. During the late campaign of Moscow, he shared in the disasters that overtook the French grand army, but succeeded in escaping into Prussia. During Bonaparte's victorious progress into Russia, report assigned the crown of Poland to Berthier.

NEY, Duke of Elchingen, marshal of the empire, and chief of the 7th cohort in the legion of honour, knight of the Portuguese order of Christ, &c. &c., was born in 1769, at Sarre Louis, entered very young

into the colonel-general's Hussar regiment, and passed rapidly through all the subaltern ranks till he attained to that of adjutant-general, which was conferred on him by Kleber, in 1793. Under the command of this general, to whom he attached himself, he required that reputation for valour and talent, which so many splendid achievements have since increased. In 1796, while yet but an adjutant-general, he belonged to the army of Sambre and Meuse, where he displayed the greatest daring, and no inconsiderable degree of talent, particularly on the 4th of June at the battle of Altenkirchen; likewise on the 9th of July at Obenmersch, on the 26th at Wurtzburg, which he entered with General Championnet, and on the 8th of August at Rorcheim. In that month, after a glorious engagement on the Rednitz, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general on the field of battle, after which he took possession of Rothembourg. In the beginning of April, 1797, he powerfully contributed to the victory gained near Neuwied over the Austrians, whom he charged at the head of the French cavalry; on the 16th, after a very warm contest, he dislodged the enemy at Dierndorf; on the 20th his horse sunk under him near Giessen, when he was exposing himself like a common soldier to save a piece of flying artillery, he was taken prisoner by the Austrians, but soon released on his promise not to serve till he should be exchanged. On the 4th of September, 1797, he declared vehemently against the Clichien party, which then had the ascendancy in the councils; was raised in 1798 to the rank of general of division, and served as such in 1799 in the army of the Rhine. In October he defeated a body of Austrians at Frankfort, crossed first the Maine, and afterwards the Neckar, seized on Mannheim, and thus effected a diversion which was a principal cause of the treaty at Zurich, as it forced Prince Charles to send strong detachments to cover his right wing, which was threatened. In 1801 he distinguished himself at Kilmuntz, Ingolstadt, and Hohenlingen, under the command of General Moreau. In July, 1802, the first consul presented him with a splendid Egyptian sabre, and in October following appointed him envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Helvetic republic. On the 25th General Ney was sent into Switzerland, and having disarmed the confederates, busied himself in arranging the government, as his instructions specified, till he was recalled in October, 1803, to take the command of the army at Compeigne, which he quitted for the camp at Boulogne. On the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to the imperial throne, he was raised to the dignity of marshal of the empire, and in September, 1804, appointed grand officer and chief of the 7th cohort in the legion of honour. On the 1st of February, 1805, the red ribbon was conferred on him, and he was shortly after created knight of the Portuguese order of Christ.

When war with Austria broke out afresh in September, 1805, he was one of the first generals who crossed the Rhine, and contributed to the successes which began this campaign. After the capitulation of Ulm, he was dispatched with a body of 30,000 men to the right of the grand army, and drove the Archduke John from the Tyrol; after having seized on the forts of Scharnitz and Neustadt, he entered Innsbruck and Hall, where he found immense magazines; then still pursuing the Archduke John, he defeated his rear-guard on the 17th of November at the foot of Mount Brenner, and after the peace of Presburg, marched his troops into Upper Suabia. After the destruction of Prussia, Ney received a check from the Russian general Bennigsen, but afterwards contributed to the successful issue of that war. In the late Russian campaign his whole division was taken or destroyed.

SOULT, a French marshal of the empire, served, under the old government, as a subaltern officer in a regiment of infantry. In the beginning of the revolution he enlisted in a battalion of volunteers of the Haut Rhin, and became their adjutant-major, after which he went as adjutant to the staff of the Moselle army. Being appointed adjutant-general, he, as chief of the staff of General Lefevre's division, made the campaigns of 1794 and 1795, in the armies of the Moselle, and of Sambre and Meuse; in 1796 he was appointed general of brigade, then went into Italy, made the campaign of 1798, with distinction, in that country, where he was shut up in Genoa with General Massena. The proofs of talent and courage that he gave on various occasions, gained him in a very particular manner the attention and favour of the government. He afterwards became one of the generals who commanded the infantry of the consul's guard, accompanied the first consul to Brussels in 1803, was appointed commander of the camp of St. Omer, then marshal of France after the accession of the first consul to the imperial throne. In September, 1804, he obtained the 4th cohort of the legion of honour, was decorated with the red ribbon on the 1st of February, 1805, and created a knight of the order of St. Hubert of Bavaria in the month of May in the same year. It was he who, when commanding at Boulogne in the beginning of 1805, announced to the government that the English had just thrown on shore balls of cotton infected with the plague, in order to spread that scourge in France. On the recommencement of hostilities with Austria in September, he commanded one of the divisions of the grand army; passed the Rhine at Spire on the 26th of October; fell upon Heilbronn, then penetrated into Suabia, and seized on Memmingen, which was so shamefully surrendered to him without the least resistance by General Spaengen; this contributed greatly to the capitulation of Ulm. In November, Marshal

Soult put the enemy's right wing to flight, and contributed, by his manoeuvres, to the success of the battle of Juntersdoff. In February, 1806, he was in Prince Joseph's army which took possession of Naples; and was, after the ruin of Prussia, appointed to a command in Portugal, where he narrowly escaped from Lord Wellington, who pursued him into Spain. His present title is Duke of Dalmatia.

MASSENA, a French Marshal, and Prince of Essling. Being a native of the country of Nice, he was at the time of the revolution a subaltern officer in the service of Sardinia, but no sooner did the French troops endeavour to seize on the country, than he joined them, and displaying both talent and intrepidity, was made a superior officer, and afterwards, in the course of 1793, a brigadier-general. During the campaign of that year he gave indubitable marks of genius; on the 24th of November he defeated the Piedmontese at Castel-Geneste, and siezed Figaretto: on the 16th of April, 1794, he defeated a body of Austrians at Ponte di Nera, on the Tanaro; on the 17th made himself master of Ormeo, and on the 29th contributed in a great degree to the victory of Saorgio. In 1795, when he was general of division, he commanded the right wing of the army of Italy, when he continued to signalize himself by his activity, his talents, and his valour. On the 26th of June he firmly repulsed the Austrians who had attacked the posts of Vado and Terasano, and with no less success defended that of Petit Gibraltar on the 20th of September. In 1796 he essentially contributed to the glorious issue of the battles which took place on the 10th, 11th, 14th, 16th, 26th, and 17th of April, which led to the brilliant subsequent campaign of General Bonaparte, who surnamed him, 'the favourite child of victory.' During the latter part of the year 1796, and the beginning of 1797, he distinguished himself in several instances. In April, 1797, General Bonaparte dispatched him to Vienna, on affairs relative to the peace; and on the 1st of May he was sent to Paris by the commander-in-chief to carry the ratification of the preliminaries of peace. His reception in the metropolis was most flattering, and on the 18th of May an entertainment, terminated by a ball and a supper of 800 covers, was given him in the hall of the Odeon. His division was one of those which in August the same year sent the most spirited addresses to the assembly against the majority of the councils, which were designated as the party of Clichy. Massena was one of the candidates who after the 4th of September, 1797, were put on a list as successors to Carnot and Barthelémy. In February, 1798, he was sent to Rome, and there the army rose against him in so tumultuous a manner that he was forced to remit the command to General Dallemagne, and withdrew; he was sometime left unemployed, till in December he received the

command of the army of Helvetia. After having served with such glory as the general of a division, it remained to him to prove his talents as a commander-in-chief, and in the campaign of 1799 he fought the Archduke Charles's army hand to hand for every post in Switzerland; he acquired new glories, and at last completely routed the Russian army before Zurich, under the command of Korsakow. Suwarrow hastened to the relief of his countrymen, but he almost instantly retreated, and thus raised to the highest pitch the glory of Massena, who having clipped the wings of the Russian eagle, re-took St. Gothard, Glaris, and all the vallies, successes which may be said to have then saved France. In December he joined the army of Italy, and his unfortunate campaign of 1800, in that country, far from diminishing, serves to prove the justice of that admiration his military talents inspire. With a handful of soldiers, destitute of money, of provisions, of clothes, and of ammunition, he did all he could do in opposition to the overwhelming numbers commanded by General Melas, and his defence of Genoa does equal honour to the general, who so long, and with so weak a body of troops, succeeded in repulsing the enemy, in governing an immense populace, in making them endure hunger, and in keeping up the spirits of the soldiers in famine, in labour, in misery, and in privation. The first consul, Bonaparte, did justice to his endeavours and his talents, and gave him the command of the army of Italy after the battle of Marengo. Peace at last condemned him to repose, and in July, 1809, the electoral body of the Seine appointed him one of the legislative body; shortly after he went to preside in the electoral college of the maritime Alps; was appointed marshal of the empire on the 17th of May, 1804, then chief of the 14th cohort and grand officer of the legion of honour; in February, 1806, was honoured with the red ribbon, and lastly obtained the order of St. Hubert of Bavaria. When hostilities were renewed with Austria, he was entrusted with the chief command of the army of Italy, arrived at Milan on the 6th of September, 1806, and established his head-quarters at Valeggio. He opened the campaign by taking Verona, and though he met with some checks under the redoubts of Caldiero, pursued Prince Charles's rear-guard, which was obliged to withdraw in consequence of the ill-success of the Austrians in Germany, crossed the Pieve and Tagliamento, and effected a junction with the grand army in November. After signing the treaty of Presburg he returned to Italy, and under the orders of Prince Joseph, directed the march of the army towards the kingdom of Naples. In the succeeding war Massena was entrusted with a command, and displayed great energy and courage. He pursued Lord Wellington to the vicinity of Lisbon, but was in his turn compelled to retire with loss. This seems to have displeased Bonaparte, but he has since been restored

to favour : and, after the defeat of Marmont, resumed the command of the grand army of Spain, but has not been able to retrieve the glory he lost in contending with Lord Wellington.

BERNADOTTE, Marshal of France, and Crown-prince of Sweden, was born at Pau, in Bearn. At the time of the revolution he was a serjeant in the regiment of royal marines, of which M. Merle d'Ambert was colonel. His activity, his talents, and his bravery, advanced him rapidly, and he was commander of a demi-brigade, when Kleber, having distinguished him, employed him in various expeditions, procured for him an appointment to be general of brigade, and soon obtained for him the command of a division of the army of Sambre and Meuse, at the head of which he fought at the battle of Fleurus, 1794. On the 2d of July, 1795, he contributed to the passage of the Rhine, near Neuwied, and in the course of August took the city of Altorf. On the 22d, his division, posted in front of Neumarck, was repulsed, together with the whole army under General Jourdan, but in the retreat Bernadotte distinguished himself as commander of the advanced guard. In 1796 he joined the army of Italy, and shared in the glory of the Tagliamento expedition. General Bonaparte afterwards sent him to Paris, to present to the directory the standards taken at Pischiera after the battle of Rivoli. About the end of September, 1797, he was appointed commandant of Marseilles, but preferred returning to the head of his division. On the 18th of January, 1798, he was sent on an embassy to Vienna, where he did not remain long; for the inhabitants having joined to celebrate a festival to shew their joy at the warlike preparations of their volunteers, designed to combat the French, who the preceding year had menaced their city, Bernadotte thinking this anniversary an insult to his country, on the same day gave a festival in his own palace in honour of the victories of the French arms, and planted on the outside the tri-coloured banner. The people of Vienna exasperated, strove to compel him to remove the banner, the palace was forced, and several guns were fired; shortly after Bernadotte quitted the country, but in his account spoke with respect of the emperor, throwing the whole blame on the Baron de Thugut. About the end of August, 1798, Bernadotte married the daughter of a merchant of Avignon, who was settled at Genoa, named Clary. The young lady, sister-in-law to Prince Joseph Bonaparte, had been originally betrothed to General Duphot, who was killed in a popular tumult at Rome. In 1799, Bernadotte being commander in chief of an army of reserve, bombarded Philipsbourg, and drove from Frankfort the agents of Austria and the emigrants. After that petty revolution of the 19th of May, 1799, Bernadotte was appointed war-minister, and acted with sur-

prising energy in that department. After the 18th Brumaire he was appointed a state counsellor, and commander in chief of the western army. In several engagements he dispersed the remains of the Chevaliers, and on the 6th of June, 1800, prevented the English from landing at Quiberon. In June, 1804, he was nominated to the command of the army of Hanover, and a few months afterwards appointed chief of the 8th cohort of the legion of honour. In March, 1805, the King of Prussia conferred on him the title of knight of the black and red eagles, and his example was followed by the Elector of Bavaria, who sent him the badge of the grand order of St. Hubert. Marshal Bernadotte left Hanover with the chief part of his army about the end of September, 1805, and on the 26th of the same month, after having traversed Hesse and the margravate of Anspach, he reached Wurtzburg, where he joined the Bavarians who had just entered into alliance with France, and soon restored them to their capital, after which he went to the Rhen, and thence against the Russians, subsequently to the important victory gained at Ulm; when, for his services, he was created Prince of Ponte-corvo. After the people of Sweden had dethroned their late king, he became a candidate at the election of a crown-prince, to which high office he was chosen; but, contrary to the expectations of his late master, he has studiously pursued measures for the good of the country which has adopted him, and has with great address avoided waging actual hostilities against his former friends and patrons.

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD, Minister of Foreign Affairs, ci-derant Bishop of Autun, Prince of Benevento, and Vice Arch-chancellor, born at Paris in 1754. As deputy from the clergy to the states-general, he joined the meeting of the commons in the opening of the states-general. He added to talent a great facility of labour and application. His name, his dignity, and his example, operated on a great number of rectors. On the 6th and 7th of July, 1789, he proposed declaring null all authoritative mandates. On the 20th of August he procured the adoption of an article concerning the admission of all citizens, without distinction, to all offices. In August, October, and November, he made speeches on the finances; and in January, 1790, he became a member of the committee of taxes. In February he composed the address to the French, to remind the people what the national assembly had already done for them, and what it still intended to do; and filled the president's chair: on the 14th of July he celebrated the mass of the federation. It was he also who, assisted by the bishops of Lyda and Babylon, consecrated the first bishops, called constitutional; a measure which drew upon him the displeasure of the court of Rome, expressed in a monition from Pius VI. of date of the 7th of

April, 1781. After the session M. de Talleyrand was sent to England with Chauvelli, as private negotiator. After the 10th of August Chauvelli returned to France, and M. de Talleyrand remained in England till the progress of the revolution obliged the English ministry to take measures completely hostile, and then M. de Talleyrand was involved in the effects of the bill against suspected strangers, and was obliged to leave England in 1794. Terrified at the blood which he saw flowing in his country, and informed likewise that, after the 10th of August, 1792, papers had been found at the Thuilleries which might compromise him, he durst not return to France, but retired to the United States of America. After the 9th Thermidor, (27th of July, 1794,) he returned to Europe; in 1795 took steps with the committee of public safety to obtain the repeal of a decree of accusation passed against him, as well as the erasure of his name from the list of emigrants; and these requests having been granted him in the meeting of the 4th of September, he returned to Paris, became a member of the national institute, and on the 18th of July, 1797, entered into the administration of foreign affairs, in the place of Charles Lacroix. From that time he began to acquire great influence in the government. However, on the 20th of July, 1797, that is to say, about a month after Sieyès' entrance into the directory, he gave in his resignation, and was one of those who, with Roederer, contrived the events of the 18th Brumaire, after which Bonaparte recalled him to the administration of foreign affairs. He nevertheless declared against the measures which appeared likely to follow that revolution, and even wrote in favour of Adjutant-General Jorry, by whom he had before been attacked with the greatest violence. He still continued to direct the diplomatic affairs of France with the greatest skill, and in particular presided in the negotiations which preceded the treaties of Luneville and Amiens. In June, 1802, after the public re-establishment of the Catholic worship in France, the first consul obtained for him, from the pope, a brief, which restored him to secular and lay life, and authorized his marriage with Mrs. Greff. In 1803, M. de Talleyrand accompanied the first consul in his journey to the Netherlands; and in 1805, was present at the coronation at Milan. At the end of the same year he went to Strasburgh, and then to Vienna and Presburgh, where he signed the treaty of peace with Austria. In 1804 he was chosen candidate to the conservative senate by the elective college of Cantal; shortly after he was named high-chamberlain, and on the 1st of February, 1805, decorated with the red ribbon. In May of the same year he was made knight of the orders of Prussia and Bavaria. He is said to have remonstrated with Bonaparte against the late impolitic seizure of Spain, which occasioned his dismissal from the councils of the emperor.

As our limits prevent us from giving memoirs of the other distinguished characters whose history is connected with the subject of this volume, we shall present our readers with a list of their new titles, which is highly useful at the present period.

- Sovereign of Holland—Francis Beauharnois.
 Viceroy of Italy—Prince Eugene Beauharnois, (4th corps).
 Princess of Baden—Stephanie de la Pagerie.
 Grand Duchess of Florence—Elisa Bonaparte.
 Grand Duke of Berg—Prince Charles Louis Napoleon.
 Grand Duke of Warsaw—Frederick Augustus IV. King and Elector of Saxony.
 Archbishop of Lyons—Cardinal Fesche.
 Prince of Eckmühl—Marshal Davoust.
 Duke of Abrantes—Marshal Junot.
 Duke of Albufeira—Marshal Suchet.
 Duke of Auerstadt—Marshal Davoust.
 Duke of Bassano—Maret, Secretary of State.
 Duke of Belluno—Marshal Victor.
 Duke of Cadore—Champagny, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 Duke of Castiglione—Marshal Angereau.
 Duke of Cornegliano—Marshal Money.
 Duke of Dalmatia—Marshal Soult.
 Duke of Dantzic—Marshal Lefebvre.
 Grand Duke of Florence—General Bacchiochi.
 Duke of Friuli—Marshal Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace.
 Duke of Istria—Marshal Bessieres, Commander of the Imperial Guards.
 Duke of Otranto—Fonche, Governor of Rome.
 Duke of Padua—General Arighi.
 Duke of Parma—Cambaceres, Arch-Chancellor.
 Duke of Placenza—Marshal Le Brun, Prince Arch-Treasurer.
 Duke of Ragusa—Marshal Marmont.
 Duke of Reggio—Marshal Oudinot.
 Duke of Rovigo—General Savary, Minister of Police.
 Duke of Tarento—Marshal Macdonald.
 Duke of Treviso—Marshal Mortimer.
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CONTINUATION
OF THE
LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
FROM
HIS RETREAT FROM MOSCOW
TO
THE PRESENT TIME :
INCLUDING
MEMOIRS
OF
The Generals Moreau, Platoff, Blucher,
AND THE OTHER HEROES,
WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO LIMIT THE
AMBITION OF FRANCE.

Compiled with the utmost Attention and Impartiality, from
THE MOST AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

By J. W. ROBERTSON, ESQ.

Newcastle upon Tyne,

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN compliance with the general wish expressed by the numerous subscribers to this interesting Work, (two editions of which has been sold with unexampled rapidity) the Publishers are induced to offer a Continuation of the Life and Campaigns of Bonaparte; which will be brought down to June, 1814, before which time, it is probable, that the present eventful conflict will be terminated.

CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, &c.

CHAP. XL.

BONAPARTE'S EXERTIONS TO RETRIEVE HIS LOSSES—RE-CAPITULATION OF THE SUFFERINGS OF HIS ARMY—ESCAPE OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA FROM GENERAL DESAIX—RAPID ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIANS—OPPOSITION EVINCED IN GERMANY AGAINST BONAPARTE—DECLARATION OF RUSSIA—ADDRESS OF THE FRENCH SENATE TO THE EMPEROR—HIS REPLY.

WHEN Bonaparte returned from his disastrous campaign in Russia, he endeavoured to conceal the alarm and anxiety which must have tortured his mind, by hunting exercises, attending the opera, splendid levees, and other similar devices. Yet he was actively, though silently, employed in organizing the means which his empire afforded, in order to resist the impetuous torrent which, gathering additional strength in its progress, continued to roll on towards his frontiers.

But before we proceed to state the wonderful exertions which this extraordinary man exhibited, at this critical juncture, it will be proper to revert to the state of his hitherto invincible army, which he left in the dreadful wilds of Russia.

It is impossible to depict in language sufficiently strong and expressive the losses, privations, and miseries of all kinds

encountered by the French army during its retreat. Every side presented the ruins of an immense army; the soldiers fled, pursued by fear and terror; the roads were choaked with the dead and dying, carriages, cannon, baggage, arms, &c. Condemned to perish far from their own countries, they, in different languages, cursed the ambition that had caused their destruction. Those who remained under the colours of their different legions, followed them without courage, or hope. Worn out with the most unparralleled sufferings, at the first shot they either threw away their arms, or fought from mere desperation. They generally marched at night, and halted during the day in hollow squares, surrounded with Cossacks. Those who lay down to rest their weary and benumbed limbs, seldom arose; death crept through their vitals, and terminated their sufferings. Even when the wreck of this once mighty army reached Wilna, where they hoped to enjoy refreshment, and pause, they found their exasperated enemy at their heels; and they were compelled to continue their retreat, leaving behind above 500,000 lb. of corn and biscuit, which Marshal Mackdonald had collected with inconceivable expedition.

The Russian army during the pursuit also suffered much loss, and sustained many privations; but they were inured to their climate, and animated with feelings of vengeance for the plundering of their towns and villages, the massacre of their countrymen, and the destruction of their boasted capital.

At Konigsberg 70 generals, 10 colonels, and about 1000 other officers arrived, with scarcely any troops; some were on horseback, some on foot, and all in the most wretched condition. Murat also arrived here, at the head of two battalions of French guards, which, however, only contained 150 men each; and these were so much exasperated by the sufferings they had experienced, that they refused to mount guard before the lodgings of the officers. The Duke of Bassano arrived single in a sledge. The only cavalry corps belonging

to the grand army was formed of 600 officers; but these, with all their skill and gallantry, could be kept together but for two days.—One hundred and fifty sledges passed through Posen, at the end of December, which was all that remained of a division of cavalry.

When the severity of the season was in some degree lessened, the disposal of the frozen corpses that covered the ground through which the French army retreated, claimed the serious attention of the Russian government. The frost rendered it impossible to bury them, while the rapid change of season in this country rendered delay extremely dangerous; numerous parties were therefore employed to collect and burn the dead. In the governments of Moscow, Witepsk, and Mohilow, upwards of 200,000 dead bodies of the French and their allies were reported to be burned; and in the city of Wilna and its environs 53,000!

When the exhausted fugitives had escaped from the Russian territory, fresh disasters and dangers awaited them. The Prussians who served under Mackdonald left him in order to join General D'York. In the meantime, the king of Prussia (being still in the power of France) ordered General D'York to be arrested as a traitor, and tried for contumacy, if he did not appear; and General Kleist was sent to take the command of his troops. To prove further to Europe his devotion to Bonaparte, the king sent Prince de Hadzfeld on a mission to Paris, in order to set forth his sorrow and indignation at the disobedience of his troops. All this scene of mockery was got up under the direction of General Desaix, the French commandant. He next attempted to disarm the Prussian soldiery in Berlin, which being resisted, he prepared to carry the king a prisoner to Breslaw; but his Prussian majesty, having been informed of the plot through Prince Ferdinand, saved himself by flight, during the night of January 17th, with two of his adjutants and ten of his own gendarmes. On arriving at Potsdam, he ordered the drums to be beat, as a pursuit was apprehended. His majesty, in con-

sequence, set out on the road to Silesia, with 6600 guards, after having declared the Crown-Prince of age, and given him his benediction.

The Emperor Alexander appears to have known well the enemy he had to contend with: he, therefore, did not consider the retreat of Bonaparte, and the destruction of his army, as a sufficient pledge of security. On the contrary, he seems to have increased his exertions, and ordered a new levy of about 300,000 men. 'The arm of the Giant,' says the Russian monarch, 'is broken, but his destructive strength must be prevented from reviving; and his power over the nations, who serve him out of terror, must be taken away. Russia, extensive, rich, and pacific, seeks no conquests,—wishes not to dispose of thrones. She desires tranquillity for herself, and for all. She will not, however, suffer the wicked so to abuse her moderation, as to endanger the well-being of herself, or of other nations.'

Field-marshal Prince Smolensko addressed a noble declaration to the states and sovereigns of the continent, when his army passed the boundary of Russia, which was followed by a proclamation from his master the emperor—'Ages (says this document) may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to reconstruct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness.'

The Russians advanced with great rapidity: Warsaw, Pilsau, Thorn, Liebau, Posen, Berlin, and Dresden, was successively taken. The whole of the country between the Ems and the Weser also evinced strong symptoms of insurrection. The Russians were every where received with joyous acclamations. The peasantry in Hanover flew to arms. The states of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, were in commotion. In Hamburgh, the cries of 'Down with Napoleon!' resounded on every side; French cockades and flags were

torn down, the police officers beaten, and the French garrison were compelled to a rapid retreat. Even in Vienna, the news of the discomfiture of the French army was hailed with every symptom of joy, and which the government did not seem inclined to repress, although it was loudly complained of by the French ambassador.

During these transactions Bonaparte was exerting himself to retrieve his character. Besides the 350,000 men which were placed at the disposal of the minister of war, the different cities of France was called upon to shew their loyalty by assisting the efforts of their emperor. The municipal corps of Paris set the example, by a *voluntary* offer of 500 cavalry. The senate proposed to provide for the permanence and security of the government, by binding itself by an oath to the infant King of Rome, as heir apparent to the empire. Bonaparte, in his answer, dwelt on the uncertainty of life; thus supporting the recommendation in favour of the King of Rome; talked obscurely of a cowardly soldiery ruining the independence of states, and boasted of what he had done for the regeneration of France.

On Monday the 14th of February, 1813, Bonaparte proceeded from the palace of the Thuilleries to the palace of the legislative body, in great state; and, after the oath had been administered, he delivered the following remarkable speech:

‘ The war again lighted in the North of Europe offered a favourable opportunity to the projects of the English upon the Peninsula. They have made great efforts. All their hopes have been deceived. Their army was wrecked before the citadel of Burgos, and obliged, after having suffered great losses, to evacuate the Spanish territory.—I myself entered Russia. The French arms were constantly victorious in the fields of Ostrowno, Poltosk, Mohilow, Smolensk, Moscow, Malairaslovitz. The Russian armies could not stand before our armies. Moscow fell into our power. Whilst the barriers of Russia were forced, and the impotency of her arms acknowledged, a swarm of Tartars turned their parricidal

hand against the finest provinces of that vast empire which they had been called to defend. They, in a few weeks, notwithstanding the tears and despair of the unfortunate Muscovites, burned more than 4000 of their finest villages, more than 50 of their finest towns; thus gratifying their ancient hatred under pretext of retarding our march, by surrounding us with a desert. *We triumphed over all these obstacles.* Even the fire of Moscow, by which, in four days, they annihilated the fruits of the labours and cares of four generations, changed, in no respect, the prosperous state of my affairs. But the excessive and premature rigour of the winter, brought down a heavy calamity upon my army—*In a few nights I saw every thing change*—I experienced great losses—They would have broken my heart, if, under such circumstances, I could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of my people. On seeing the evils which pressed upon us, the joy of England was great—her hopes had no bounds—she offered our finest provinces as the reward of treason—she made as the conditions of peace, the dismemberment of this vast empire;—it was under other terms to proclaim *perpetual war*. The energy of my people under these great circumstances; their attachment to the integrity of the empire; the love which they have shewn me, have dissipated all these chimeras, and brought back our enemies to a more just consideration of things. The misfortunes produced by the rigour of hoar frosts, have been made apparent in all their extent. The grandeur and solidity of this empire, founded upon the efforts and the love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world.—It is with a lively satisfaction that we have seen our people of the kingdom of Italy, those of ancient Holland, and of the United Departments, rival with Old France, and feel that there is for them no future hope but in the consolidation and the triumph of the Grand Empire.—The agents of England propagate, among all our neighbours, the spirit of revolt

against Sovereigns ; England wishes to see the whole continent become a prey to civil war and all the furies of anarchy ; but Providence has designed her herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war.—I have signed with the Pope a Concordat, which terminates all the differences that unfortunately had arisen in the Church. The French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. I am satisfied with all my allies. I will abandon none of them. I will maintain the integrity of their states. The Russians shall return into their frightful climate.—I desire peace ; it is necessary to the world. Four years after the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens I proposed it in a solemn manner. I will never make but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of my empire. My policy is not mysterious ; I have stated all the sacrifices I could make.—So long as this maritime war shall last, my people must hold themselves ready to make all kinds of sacrifices, because a bad peace would make us lose every thing—even hope—and all would be compromised—even the prosperity of our descendants. America has had recourse to arms, to make the sovereignty of her flag respected. The wishes of the world accompany her in this glorious contest. If she terminate it by obliging the enemies of the continent to acknowledge the principle, that the flag covers the merchandize and crew, and that neutrals ought not to be subject to blockades upon paper, the whole conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, America will have credit from all nations—posterity will say, that the old world had lost its rights, and that the new one re-conquered them. My minister of the interior will explain to you in the *Exposé* of the situation of the empire, the prosperous state of agriculture, manufactures, and of our interior commerce, as well as the still constant increase of our population. In no age has agriculture and manufactures been carried to a higher degree of prosperity in France. I want great resources to meet the expences which circumstances demand ; but, by means of the different measures

which my minister of finances will propose to you, I shall not impose any new burthen on my people.'

Bonaparte, amidst all his warlike preparations, did not neglect any means, however small or remote, which could in any degree serve his purpose. His ambassador at Constantinople was instructed to use his endeavours to prevail on the Ottoman court to break the peace it had just signed with Russia. Honours and rewards were conferred on several officers; and Marshal Ney was created Prince of Moskwa, a principality of Italy, which includes the castle of Rivoli. While the natives of France were receiving repeated assurances of Bonaparte's tender concern for the interests of humanity, in corroboration of which his renewed offer of peace to England was adduced, although the terms were precisely the same as those he offered before the Russian campaign, and which were then indignantly spurned as subversive of the national interests, and insulting to the national honour of Great Britain.

CHAP. XLI.

TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA—BERNADOTTE DECLARES AGAINST BONAPARTE—TREATMENT OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR AT PARIS—VAST PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—THE EMPRESS CONSTITUTED REGENT OF FRANCE—BONAPARTE LEAVES PARIS—JOINS HIS ARMY—POSITION OF THE ALLIES—BATTLE OF LUTZEN—TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SWEDEN—JUNCTION OF THE DANISH AND FRENCH TROOPS—RECAPTURE OF HAMBURGH BY DAVOUST.

THE King of Prussia, immediately after his escape, concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the Emperor Alexander. He also published an energetic address to his troops; and conferred the command of the army, formerly

under General Bulow, upon General D'York, who had so justly estimated the wishes of his sovereign. The gallant Blucher was also called into service. All Prussia was instantly in motion, and young men of the first families joined the ranks of the volunteer battalions. The Emperor Alexander was styled the 'Liberator,' and promised the Germans the restoration of their ancient laws and customs, and of their lawful princes. Saxon, Westphalian, and Bavarian officers flocked to the standard of the allied sovereigns, with the design, as they avowed, of breaking the disgraceful fetters with which Bonaparte had bound the Germanic empire.

To add to the difficulties which now pressed upon Napoleon, his former friend and companion Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, joined the coalition against him.—The rupture was publicly announced by the publication of a series of letters from Bernadotte to Bonaparte, wherein he avows his strong attachment to France, dwells on the miseries which Sweden had suffered in consequence of the war with England, which had been undertaken merely to conciliate the French emperor, and complains of the insufferable haughtiness of the French ambassador. In his last letter he says,—‘Sire! Humanity has already suffered too much. The blood of man has, for these twenty years past, inundated the earth; and there is nothing wanting to your majesty’s glory but to put a stop to it.’

Bonaparte exhibited all his natural irritability when assured of the defection of Sweden. The Swedish minister at Paris, in giving an account of an interview between him and Bonaparte, represents him as haranguing for an hour and a quarter against England; putting forth his menaces also against Sweden, for not having declared war against her; and scarcely giving the Swedish ambassador an opportunity of uttering a syllable in defence of his sovereign. The emperor worked himself up to a pitch of indignation, which, the ambassador says, exceeded all conception; and at the conclusion of the philippic abruptly withdrew without listening to any

reply. On the ambassador's withdrawing from the apartment, he was surprised to find not an individual in the antichamber; even the officers in waiting having gone away.—‘I know not,’ he says, ‘what had occasioned this extraordinary circumstance; whether it was the result of orders, or of the spontaneous discretion of the functionaries; for the emperor had frequently elevated his voice with such vehemence, that it was impossible not to hear him in the adjoining apartment.’

The Emperor Napoleon, to shew further his displeasure at the defection of Bernadotte, conferred the principality of Ponte Corvo, which belonged to the Crown-Prince, upon the second son of Murat, King of Naples. The principality was valued at 40,000 francs a year.

Bonaparte also shewed great anger and chagrin in animadverting on the conduct of the celebrated partisans, who were active in exciting the Germans to take up arms against the French. He pronounced their followers a *mob*, waging war against the landholders; and publicly lamented that two such sovereigns as the King of Prussia, and more particularly the Emperor of Russia, on whom nature had bestowed so many fine qualities, should give the sanction of their names to ‘acts so criminal and atrocious.’

The different French generals at this time emulated the activity of their master. The garrisons of Dantzic, Thorn, Stettin, Custrin, and Spandau, besides Magdeburgh upon the Elbe, were strengthened and provided with provisions and other necessary stores. Reinforcements advanced rapidly, which, joining the different corps which had retreated from the north and east, formed a respectable army, which took up advantageous positions in order to repulse the attacks of the allied Russian and Prussian army, whose light troops literally covered the north of Germany. Military commissions, after a summary trial, ordered several of the inhabitants of Hanover, Bremen, and other places, to be shot, for aiding

insurrections ; and every means was adopted to maintain the country on the borders of the Elbe.

The first serious affair which occurred between the hostile armies was at Luenberg, on the 2d of April. The French were attacked on all sides by a corps of Russians under General Dornberg, and a body of Cossacks under Baron de Tetenborn ; their general, Morand, was mortally wounded, and his whole army, consisting of about 3000 men, and 12 cannon, were taken : not a man escaped to carry off the news of this defeat. This was followed by the defeat of Beauharnois by General Wittgenstein. He intended to make a dash at Berlin, but was intercepted by the Russians, and driven across the Elbe with the loss of above 2000 men.

Bonaparte hastened the march of his troops from all parts of his empire to the scene of action. He had drawn a number of veterans from Spain to organize and discipline his army : 1211 officers, 6000 serjeants and corporals, and 16,000 privates, are stated to have been drafted for this service. They were replaced by new levies.

Not satisfied with the enormous conscription which the senate had granted, Bonaparte caused a plan to be presented for increasing the French force to 800,000 men, in consequence of the war with Prussia. Count Defermont concludes the report thus : ‘ By giving your sanction to this plan, gentlemen, you ensure the defence of our coasts and our ports ; and thus the empire will have an army of 400,000 men on the Elbe, one of 200,000 in Spain, and 200,000 men, partly on the Rhine, partly in the 32d military division, and in Italy. And it is in the view of such forces that our enemies conceive the ridiculous idea of dismembering the empire, and to allow our departments to be given as indemnities in their political calculations. *This struggle is the last ;* Europe will take a definitive situation, and the events of the winter of 1813 will, at least, have been of advantage to France, by causing her *to know her friends and her foes ;* the extent of her own

means, the devotion of the people, and their attachment to the imperial dynasty.'

The French emperor now prepared for his departure. Being seated on the throne, and surrounded by the princes and grand dignitaries, he received a deputation and address from the legislative body. His reply is in the usual strain, but curious when compared with subsequent events. 'Called by Providence,' he says, and the will of the nation, to form this empire, my steps have been gradual, uniform, analagous to the spirit of events, and to the interests of my people. In a few years this great work will be finished, and every thing which exists completely consolidated. All my designs, all my undertakings, have but one object—the prosperity of the empire, which I will for ever render independent of the laws of England. History, which judges of nations as it judges of men, will remark with what calmness, what simplicity, and what promptitude, great losses have been repaired; one may judge of what efforts the French would be capable, if the question was to defend their territory, or the independence of my crown. Our enemies have offered the King of Denmark our departments of the Elbe and the Weser, in compensation for Norway. In consequence of this project, they have formed plots in those countries. Denmark rejected those insidious proposals, the intent of which was to deprive her of her provinces, and draw her, in exchange, into an eternal war with us. I will quickly place myself at the head of my troops, and confound the fallacious promises of our enemies. In my negociation, the integrity of the empire neither has, nor shall be called in question. Immediately that the laws of war shall leave us a moment's leisure, we will recal you to the capital, as well as the great men of our empire, to assist at the coronation of the empress, our well-beloved spouse, and of the hereditary prince, the King of Rome, our dearly-beloved son. The thought of this great solemnity, at once religious and political, touches my heart; it shall hasten the epoch to satisfy the wishes of France.'

Shortly after the empress received a deputation from the same body, with an address on her being appointed **REGENT OF FRANCE**. The sentiments, style, and manner of her reply, shew to whom she was indebted for this composition.—
 ‘Gentlemen.—The emperor, my august and well-beloved husband, knows what love and affection my heart contains for France. The proofs of devotion which the nation daily gives us, increase the good opinion which I had of the character and grandeur of our nation. My heart is much oppressed at seeing that happy peace distant, which alone can render me content. The emperor is heavily afflicted at the numerous sacrifices which he is obliged to demand of his people; but since the enemy, in place of giving peace to the world, will impose shameful conditions upon us, and every where preaches civil war, treason, and disobedience, it is necessary the emperor should have recourse to his always victorious arms, to confound his enemies, and save civilized Europe and its sovereigns from the anarchy with which they are threatened.’

Having completed his arrangements, the Emperor Napoleon set out from St. Cloud, to take the command of his armies, on the 15th of April, at one o’clock in the morning. He passed through Mentz on the 17th, and proceeded with equal rapidity to the head-quarters, where he was preceded by his guards.

Before we proceed to detail the various important operations of Bonaparte during this campaign, it will be proper to revert to the state of preparation in which he found his opponents on his arrival at head-quarters.

The Emperor of Russia had established head-quarters at Kalisch, being a central position, in order to give time for receiving recruits and convalescents, and for supplying the troops with necessaries, which were much wanted, at the close of a campaign of unexampled and uninterrupted series of military operations and marches for eleven months. At the same time, Alexander enforced the most rigid and strict

discipline; and treated the Poles with peculiar favour and forbearance. Though in possession of the keys of Warsaw, he would not permit a single soldier to enter within its walls. He afterwards visited the King of Prussia at Breslaw, and, as detachments of his army had penetrated to Hamburgh and Dresden, the whole combined army were concentrated at Dresden.

On the 29th of April Bonaparte put his army in motion; and, after several smart affairs, drove the advanced posts of the allies from all the positions they occupied upon the left bank of the Saale, and thus effected a junction with the army of the Mein. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, at the same time, put their armies in motion to occupy the plains of Lutzen, where they intended to offer battle; but they were anticipated by the rapidity of the movements of Bonaparte's army, who seized all the commanding positions, where he immediately threw up entrenchments.

Bonaparte seems now to have calculated with some certainty upon the destruction of the allied army, which he proposed to effect on the 5th of May. General Lauriston, whose corps formed the extreme of the left, was ordered to march upon Leipsic, which movement he expected would carry confusion and disorder into the allied columns. But here he was most unexpectedly anticipated by the allies, who commenced the attack about nine o'clock in the morning of the 2d. The Prince of Moskwa commanded the centre; the Viceroy of Italy the left; and the Duke of Ragusa the right. General Bertrand received orders to debouch upon the rear of the allies, while Bonaparte himself, with his guards, supported the centre.

About eleven the hostile armies were generally engaged; and one of the most dreadful cannonades known in the annals of warlike operations took place, and continued until ten o'clock in the evening, when night terminated the battle.—During this cannonade the fire of musketry was nearly uninterruptedly kept up: repeated attacks were made on both

sides with the bayonet, the village of Kaia being repeatedly taken and retaken. The battle embraced a line of two leagues, covered with fire, smoke, and clouds of dust. The Prussians were principally engaged. Blucher and D'York entered into action with an ardour and energy which was participated by their troops. Early in the morning, General Winzingerode, who commanded the allied army, took about 1000 prisoners, ten cannon, and a few ammunition waggons, which were all the trophies he gained. Indeed few prisoners were made on either side ; for the animosity during the fight was so great, that quarter was seldom given. Towards the close of the battle Bonaparte's centre appears to have been broken, but he soon repaired this disaster by advancing with his guards, preceded by a battery of 10 pieces of artillery. By this movement he regained the village of Kaia, and remained master of all his commanding positions.

Both armies claimed the victory, and exaggerated the loss of their opponents. It is however certain that Bonaparte's army was superior in point of numbers, although he was deficient in cavalry, and that he remained in possession of all the advantages he enjoyed when the battle commenced. On the other hand, it must be admitted, that Winzingerode occupied his former position between Pegau and Lutzen the day after the battle ; nor did Bonaparte think proper to leave his entrenchments, and attack the allies. Perhaps the loss was nearly equal, and may be estimated at about 15,000 killed and wounded on each side. The Prussians lost the Prince of Hesse Homburg, and an unusually large number of officers. General Blucher was also wounded, but slightly.—Bonaparte's loss in officers, during these sanguinary conflicts, was likewise great. The first cannon-ball that was fired at Lutzen killed Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria ; it pierced his groin, and killed him instantly. He had, since the first Italian campaigns, that is, for sixteen years, commanded the emperor's guard, and had great experience in managing ca-

valry. General Girard was also killed, and several other officers of rank severely wounded.

Bonaparte, at the commencement of the battle, said to his troops, 'This is a battle like those in Egypt; a good infantry, supported by artillery, should be sufficient for it!' The marine regiments, the old guards, the young battalions, in short, the whole infantry were praised, for having fought with *sang-froid*! 'The field of battle,' says the French report, 'presented a most afflicting spectacle: the young soldiers, on seeing the emperor, forgot their sufferings, and exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur*!' 'It is now twenty years,' said the emperor, 'that I have commanded the French armies; but I have never yet witnessed so much bravery and devotion.' As soon as Bonaparte's bulletin reached Paris, the empress regent ordered *Te Deum* to be sung.

At this time the court of Great Britain was strenuously employed in strengthening the coalition against Bonaparte. It stipulated to assist Sweden, if necessary, in obtaining possession of Norway; ceded to that power the island of Guadeloupe; and granted a subsidy of £1,000,000 sterling. Sweden, in return, agreed to contribute 30,000 men to join the Russian army, and granted certain commercial advantages to British merchants.

This treaty decided the fate of Hamburgh. The French troops seemed extremely reluctant to quit this city. After evacuating it, as before stated, they returned, and shot several of the inhabitants who had been active in opposing them; however, the rapid advance of a party of Russians and Cossacks, compelled them to retreat a second time. A division of the Swedish army shortly after entered the city, and the inhabitants were formed into volunteer battalions; but the allied troops being ordered to retire, the city appeared to be again abandoned to its fate, when a corps of Danes, with some artillery, entered the place, and proposed to assist in saving the city. But when the treaty between England and Sweden was published, the Danish court indignantly

threw themselves again into the arms of Bonaparte. Their troops were instantly ordered to co-operate with Marshal Davoust, and occupy Hamburgh.

Still, however, the Danes were anxious to preserve a city from ruin so closely connected in a geographical and commercial point of view with their own territories. Accordingly, their influence restrained the rage of Davoust, who contented himself, at this time, with again prohibiting the freedom of the press, imposing a contribution of 48 millions of Francs on the citizens, and compelling them to labour at the new military defences which were projected.

CHAP. XLII.

RETREAT OF THE ALLIES FROM LUTZEN—TAKE UP A POSITION AT BAUTZEN—BONAPARTE LEAVES DRESDEN—RECONNOITRES THE POSITION OF THE ALLIES—BATTLE OF BAUTZEN—TURNS THE RIGHT OF THE ALLIES—DIFFERENT STATEMENTS OF THE RESULT OF THIS ACTION—ADVANCE OF BONAPARTE—AGREES TO AN ARMISTICE—MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON'S JOURNEY TO CADIZ—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CORTES—AFFAIRS BETWEEN SUCHET AND MURRAY—WELLINGTON PUTS HIS ARMY IN MOTION—ENTERS SALAMANCA—SEIZES BURGOS—CROSSES THE EBRO—TOTAL DEFEAT OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE AT VITORIA.

LAURISTON'S march upon Leipsic, and the advantageous positions which Bonaparte occupied at Lutzen, determined the allied army to fall back upon the Oder. As soon as they commenced their retreat, Bonaparte put his army in motion, and his advanced guard was almost continually engaged with

the rear of the allies. On the 8th of April, the viceroy entered Dresden. This advance determined the wavering politics of the King of Saxony, who met Bonaparte on the morning of the 12th, when they embraced, and entered Dresden together at the head of the French imperial guard. Of the Saxon troops 12,000 were placed under the command of General Regnier, and the whole of the Saxon cavalry were ordered to assemble at Dresden. The pliancy of the Saxon monarch was not, however, generally approved of: some officers refused to obey his orders, and others took up arms against Bonaparte; declared their king was a prisoner, and, by their activity, greatly harassed the French army.

The bridge at Dresden, which the allied army had broken down, being repaired, Bonaparte crossed the Elbe, and continued the pursuit. The allied generals displayed much military skill, and retired in admirable order; but the determination of the King of Saxony obliged them to evacuate the whole of the Middle Elbe, and to concentrate their forces at Bautzen, where they remained several days fortifying their position. Many smart actions took place between the French and allies, but the latter maintained the advantages of their position with uniform success.

The ground selected by the allies to resist the enemy's approach, on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains which separate Lusatia from Bohemia, through which Marshal Daun marched to the battle and victory of Hochkirch. Some strong commanding heights, on which batteries had been constructed, near the village of Jackowitz, (and separated from the chain of mountains by streams and marshy ground) formed the appui to the left flank of the position. Beyond, and in front of it, many batteries were pushed forward, defended by infantry and cavalry, on a ridge that projected into the low ground near the Spree river. It then extended to the right, through villages that were strongly entrenched, across the great roads leading from Bautzen to Hochkirch and Gorlitz; from thence

in the front of the village of Bourthewitz to three or four very commanding hills, which rise abruptly in a conical shape, and form strong features; these, with the high ground of Krekwitz, were strengthened by batteries, and were considered the right point of the line. The ground in the centre was favourable for cavalry, except in some marshy and uneven parts, where it would impede its operations. Flèches were constructed, and entrenchments thrown up, at advantageous distances on the plain, along the front of which ran a deep boggy rivulet, which extended round the right of the position. On the extreme right the country was flat and woody, intersected by roads bearing towards the Bober and the Oder. General Barclay de Tolly's corps was stationed here, and should be considered more as a manœuvring corps, placed to guard against the enemy's attempts on the right and rear of the allies, than as immediately in position: the extent of the whole line might be between three and four English miles. The different corps occupying it were as follows: General Kleist's and General D'York's corps, in echelon and in reserve, on the right, General Blucher's, Count Wittgenstein's, and General Miloradovitch's formed on the left; and the guards and grenadiers, and all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre.

Bonaparte left Dresden on the 18th, and on the following day at ten in the morning arrived at his camp near Bautzen. He employed all that day in reconnoitring. On the morning of the 20th, the Duke of Reggio was ordered to pass the Spree, supported by the Dukes of Ragusa and Tarentum, while the other corps were to cause a diversion in his favour. His intention was to gain some heights on the right of the allies, from which his artillery could sweep their main position, and under whose fire he might make depositions for the general attack. The action was bravely contested. The Russian infantry and Prussian lancers made several charges; but the Duke of Ragusa succeeded in forcing the heights, and at eight o'clock in the evening Bonaparte entered Baut-

zen, the allies having retired to their second position. 'The enemy,' says Bonaparte, 'began to comprehend the possibility of being forced in his position. His hopes were no longer the same; and he must, from this moment, have had the presage of his defeat. Already were all his dispositions entirely changed. The fate of the battle was no longer to be decided behind his entrenchments. His immense works, and 300 redoubts, became useless. The right of his position, which was opposed to the 4th corps, became his centre; and he was obliged to offer his right, which formed a good part of his army, to oppose the Prince of Moskwa, in a place which he had not studied, and which he believed beyond his position.'

At day-break on the morning of the 21st, Bonaparte advanced to the attack. A lively fire of musketry commenced on the wings, supported by a powerful line of artillery. In the mean time Bonaparte's guards, cavalry, and lancers, and some heavy columns of infantry, deployed in front of Bautzen, which induced Wittgenstein,* the commander of the allied army, to prepare to meet an effort in that quarter; but

* The veteran Prince Kutusoff Smolensko had died, through age and fatigue, shortly after the Russian army had crossed their frontier. On June 12th, his body arrived at the place appointed by his Imperial Majesty for its sepulchre, in the church of our Lady of Casan. The procession left the convent of St. Sergius at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The burgher-corps of St. Petersburg arrived at three o'clock, at the limits of the city, near to the river Tarakanowka, to receive the venerable remains, of which the capital was to be the depot. The nobles and clergy, accompanied by the Metropolitan, and the great civil and military authorities, followed on foot. The people drew the funeral car to the church door. The coffin was placed in a vault under the dome. It was covered by the trophies of the French eagles and colours, accompanied by the Turkish trophies. A genius, with a laurel-crown in his hand, hovered in the air over the hero's corpse. The people went there to render their last homage to the man of their affections.—The tomb was prepared under the picture which represents the deliverance of Moscow.

he was soon convinced of his mistake, by a desperate attack upon his right. The Prince of Moskwa carried the village of Klix, but his advance was checked for some time ; and the Duke of Dalmatia, who moved to his support, found himself furiously attacked by Generals Blucher, Kleist, and D'York. Bonaparte perceived that this was the critical moment in which to decide the battle. He, therefore, marched instantly with the guards, and General Latour Maubourg's four divisions, with a quantity of artillery, to support the attack on the right. General Barclay de Tolly was now opposed by very superior numbers, and was outflanked on the right, while he was pressed upon in front. Bonaparte thus compelled him to fall back, and seized the conical heights of Kerckwitz, which was the key of the position, as it commanded the low ground on the right and centre of it. This decided the battle ; the right wing of the allies being completely turned. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were in every part of the battle, directing the attack of their troops, which displayed such firmness and discipline, that, although Bonaparte opened a most tremendous fire from the heights he had taken, yet the columns retired in echelon, covered by cavalry, in the most perfect order, carrying with them every gun from their batteries. The retreat commenced about five o'clock in the evening.

The pursuit was directed by Bonaparte in person, the allies retiring in two columns, covered with batteries of cannon. At Raichenbach he charged their rear guard with 15,000 horse, which was at first repulsed ; but General Regnier being ordered to gain the heights in the rear of the allies, they were compelled to retire. However, the fatigue of his troops, and the desperate resistance made by the allies at every point, determined Bonaparte to permit them to retire unmolested.

The strength and loss of the contending armies, during these sanguinary conflicts, have been variously stated. Bonaparte estimated the force of the allies at from 150 to

160,000 men ; while Sir Charles Stewart asserted, that the force of the allies engaged did not exceed 65,000 men ! Perhaps Sir Charles did not include the grenadiers and guards, which were not brought into action. There is, however, no doubt but that the army of Bonaparte was much superior in numbers ; and when we consider that the allied army was mostly composed of veteran troops, animated with the best spirit, encouraged by the presence of their sovereigns, and possessing such excellent positions, the loss sustained by the French must have been immense. Bonaparte acknowledges that it amounted, on the 20th and 21st, to from 11 to 12,000 men ; and the allies affirm, that he lost about 6000 men in forcing the passage of the Spree, on the 19th. The loss of the allies it is equally difficult to ascertain, but might probably be equal to that of the French.

Bonaparte indeed acknowledges that he had gained no trophies ; and it certainly was highly credible to the allied troops to traverse an extent of country of near 500 miles, from the plains of Lutzen to the position they finally took, in presence of so active an enemy, contending position after position, and carrying with them between 6 and 700 pieces of cannon, without losing a gun, or sacrificing any of their baggage.

In the battles of the 20th and 21st, Bonaparte lost several officers of distinction : Duroc, Duke of Friuli, was killed, and Generals Brugere, Franquemont, and Lorenzez, severely wounded. There was a sort of theatrical display of Bonaparte's sensibility on the occasion of this tremendous waste of human blood, which was no doubt intended to divert the attention of the French public from his sanguinary ambition. He paid a consolatory visit to Duroc, but the scene was too much for his tender nerves, so that overcome by his feelings he retired to his tent to indulge the luxury of grief alone.—The scene is thus officially described : ‘ As soon as the posts were placed, and the army had taken its *bivouaques*, the emperor went to see the Duke of Friuli. He found him pre-

fectly master of himself, and shewing the greatest *sang-froid*. The duke offered his hand to the emperor, who pressed it to his lips.—“My whole life,” said he to him, “has been consecrated to your service ; nor do I regret its loss, but for the use it still might have been of to you!” “*Durée!*” replied the emperor, “*there is a life to come* ; it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again!”—“Yes, Sire! but that will not be yet *these thirty years*, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of our country.—I have lived an honest man—I have nothing to reproach myself with—I leave a daughter behind me—Your Majesty will fill the place of a father to her!”—The emperor, grasping the right hand of the great marshal, remained for a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand in deep silence. The great marshal was the first who broke this silence. “Ah! Sire,” cried he, “go away ; this sight gives you pain!” The emperor, supporting himself on the Duke of Dalmatia and the Grand Master of the Horse, quitted the Duke of Friuli, without being able to say any more than these words : “Farewell then, my friend.” His majesty returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night.’

Bonaparte issued a decree from the field of battle at Wurtchen, on the 22d of May, directing a monument to be erected upon Mount Cenis. On the front of the monument, looking towards Paris, are to be inscribed the names of all the Cantons of Departments on this side the Alps. Upon the front, looking towards Milan, to be engraved the names of all the Cantons of Departments beyond the Alps, and of the kingdom of Italy. On the most conspicuous part of the monument the following inscription is to be engraved:—
‘The Emperor Napoleon, upon the field of battle of Wurtchen, ordered the erection of this monument, as a proof of his gratitude to his people of France and Italy ; and to transmit to the most distant posterity the remembrance of that celebrated epoch, when, in three months, 1,200,000 men ran

to arms, to insure the integrity of the empire and of his allies.'—Another decree orders the foregoing monument to be erected next spring, and appropriates the sum of 25,000,000 of francs for that purpose.

The allied army continued to retreat on Breslaw and Schweidnitz, during which several severe actions took place. On the 26th, General Blucher gained considerable advantages over the division of General Maison. Several other smart affairs took place; and the partisan corps were active in the rear of Bonaparte. On the 28th, the allied sovereigns proposed an armistice between the armies on the Oder; a suspension of arms was agreed to on the 1st of June, and on the 4th the terms were finally settled. It was to last till the 20th of July. The policy of this measure was afterwards clearly developed; and whether or not Bonaparte perceived all the advantages the allies would derive from this cessation of hostilities, it is evident that he did not feel himself in a condition to dictate terms to his enemies.

Barclay de Tolly had been appointed commander in chief of the allied armies; Count Wittgenstein commanded the Russians, and General Blucher the Prussians. Immediately after the signing of the armistice, their head-quarters were removed to Reichenbach.

During these transactions in the North of Europe, the Marquis of Wellington was indefatigable in putting his army in an effective state, that he might commence the operations of the campaign with confidence and success. In order to rouse the Cortes, and inspire their councils with activity and energy, he left his army, and landed at Cadiz on the 24th of December. He was received with distinguished honour by the Regency, the Cortes, and the people. On the 29th he attended a congress of the Cortes, accompanied by a deputation of the Spanish general staff. He was dressed in the full uniform of a Spanish captain-general, wearing the collar of the military order of San Fernando. Having taken his seat in the congress between the deputies, he made a formal

obedience, and remained standing a few moments. He then read an address, exhorting them to make a determined effort to free the Peninsula from the French. His address was received with great applause by the Cortes, who also concurred with a decree of the Cortes investing the marquis with extraordinary powers as generalissimo of the Spanish land forces. They agreed also to furnish him with an army of 50,000 men, and also to form two armies of reserve, which might keep this force in a state of permanent efficiency.

The gallant marquis at the same time effected several reforms, which were adopted through his recommendation. The inquisition was abolished, convents suppressed, and those departments, formerly occupied by nobles alone. All these measures were violently opposed; the government remained firm; and General Ballasteros, who refused to acknowledge Lord Wellington's authority, was exiled; many of the clergy were punished, and some of the nobility of the ancient regime arrested. Still, however, the ecclesiastics refused to obey, and the regency at last referred their remonstrances to the Cortes. But that body immediately punished them for want of energy by appointing a new regency, at the head of which the Cardinal Bourbon was placed. The first act of this new regency was to compel the refractory clergy to read in their churches the decree for abolishing the inquisition, and which they carried into full effect; but as the Pope's nuncio had secretly encouraged the opposition of the clergy against the decree, his duplicity was openly exposed and condemned.

The Marquis of Wellington, having effected the object of his journey to Cadiz, returned to the army, when he was created Duke of Vittoria, by the Prince Regent of Portugal; and Marshal Beresford, Marquis of Campo Major. The campaign was opened in the east of Spain on the 11th of April, when Marshal Suchet commenced an attack upon the division commanded by Don Fernando Millares, which he defeated with loss; and the same day took the castle of Vil-

lena, containing 2000 Spaniards. On the following day, General Murray collected the allied troops; but being attacked by Suchet, he retired to a stronger position. Next day Suchet again advanced, with about 20,000 troops, and was permitted to advance close to the bayonet, when immediately a dreadful carnage took place. The British charged, and the French were routed at all points. In consequence of the subsequent movements of the allied army, Suchet quitted Valencia, and concentrated his troops on the right bank of the Xucar.

The Marquis of Wellington having completed his arrangements for opening the campaign, found himself at the head of 41,000 British infantry and 6000 cavalry, besides 32,000 Portuguese troops, all excellently equipped and disciplined; his field and battering train was also large and complete. The Spaniards in co-operation was estimated at 80,000, but they were very indifferently officered. His lordship divided his force into three parts, of which the centre, composed chiefly of light troops, was headed by himself. With these he pushed on to Salamanca, which place he entered at full gallop, taking 300 of the French rear guard. The right, under Sir Rowland Hill, moved in a parallel direction with his lordship on the left bank of the Douro. But the grand and judicious feature of his lordship's plan was the throwing the main body of the army, under Sir Thomas Graham, on the north of the Douro, at Braganza; thus superceding the necessity of forcing a passage in face of the French, a plan which appears to have much disconcerted them. On the 2d of June, the 10th hussars, supported by the 18th, attacked a brigade of French cavalry near Toro with irresistible impetuosity, broke both their first and second lines, and pursued them to the heights, where a considerable body of French infantry and cavalry were stationed. Lord Wellington, who continued to push forward with great celerity, reached Burgos on the 12th, when the troops in advance were ordered to attack the position occupied by the French, who, being driven back, retired during the night from Burgos, having destroyed,

as far as they were able, the works of the castle. On the 14th and 15th the allied army crossed the Ebro, and continued to follow the route of the French.

On the 19th, the French army being concentrated, took up a position in front of Vittoria. They were commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, who had evacuated Madrid some time before, under a pretext of being offended with the citizens. He was assisted by Marshal Jourdan as the major-general. The left of their army rested upon the heights which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied, with the right of the centre, a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and their right stationed near Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha.

On the 20th Lord Wellington halted, in order to give time for his columns to close up, during which he reconnoitred the position occupied by the French, and appears to have discovered their faults; for the operations on the following day commenced by Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the left of the French rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division, under General Murillo, the other being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The French, however, soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, as that Sir R. Hill was obliged to detach, first, the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained, possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French to retake them.

The contest here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, and Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan died of a wound which he received. Under cover of the possession of these heights, Sir R. Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in front of the French line, which they made repeated attempts to regain.

Four divisions, forming the centre of the army, passed the Zadora, and were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the centre of the French was placed, while Sir R. Hill should move forward from Sabijan de Alava to attack the left. The French commander, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. The allied troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the mean time Sir T. Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Generals Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and Generals Bock's and Anson's cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa and General Giron. The French had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Maior. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as tetes-de-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. In the exe-

action of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably; the 4th and 8th Cacadores particularly distinguished themselves. As soon as the heights were taken, the village of Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed and carried by General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The Lieutenant-general then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery; and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried. During the operation at Abechuco, the French made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Maior, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under General Oswald. The French had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the centre and left of the French, had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

The movement of the troops under Sir T. Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the retreat of the French by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pampeluna; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the French in their retreat from their first position on Aruney and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. When the rout of the French had commenced,

the British cavalry were brought up, and did considerable execution. The Oxford Blues made three charges in 18 minutes, and broke through the French line on each occasion. The French entered Pampeluna with only one howitzer.

Joseph Bonaparte, by this defeat, lost 152 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all his baggage, treasures, with the colours of the 4th battalion, and Marshal Jourdan's baton; the victors also took 9000 head of cattle. Even Joseph himself was in great danger of being made prisoner, one of his aides-de-camp was wounded near his person, and he was obliged to quit his carriage, when he owed his safety only to the fleetness of his horse. The loss in men was estimated at about 12,000 killed and wounded, and 5000 prisoners. The British loss consisted of 500 killed, and 2807 wounded. The Portuguese had 150 killed, and 899 wounded; 89 Spaniards were also killed, and 464 wounded.

The news of Joseph Bonaparte's defeat was received in Spain, as well as in England, with every demonstration of joy. The regency of Spain promptly carried into execution the unanimous vote of the congress, which ordered a grant of land to be conferred on the Marquis of Wellington, as a solid and enduring monument of the gratitude of their nation.—Three royal estates were accordingly submitted to the British field-marshal for his choice; and with that disinterestedness and taste which are known to temper the splendour of his military fame, he gave the preference to that which was lowest in actual value, but which came recommended to his fancy by the beauty of its situation and the amenities of its scenery. It is situated on the river Xenil, in the kingdom of Grenada, and its annual produce is estimated at 50,000 dollars.

CHAP. XLIII.

REMARKS ON THE ARMISTICE—ITS PROLONGATION—PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA ON THE SUBJECT—CONGRESS PROPOSED TO BE HELD AT PRAGUE—TERMS OF PEACE PROPOSED BY THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA—REJECTED BY BONAPARTE—THE AUSTRIAN DECLARATION OF WAR—LONG CONCEALED FROM THE FRENCH NATION—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND AUSTRIAN MINISTERS—REMARKS ON IT—FACTS ESTABLISHED BY IT—FIRST, THAT AUSTRIA RELUCTANTLY ENGAGED IN THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA—SECONDLY, THAT SHE REJOICED AT THE DISASTERS OF THAT WAR—AND LASTLY, THAT THE FRENCH MINISTER WAS THE DUPE OF THE AUSTRIAN.

BOTH Bonaparte and the allied sovereigns had been pressed by Austria to agree to an armistice, and though the allies first acceded to it, the French emperor appears to have acquiesced with great eagerness. It was, however, extremely unpopular throughout Germany, and especially in the Prussian states; so much so, indeed, that the King of Prussia deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, in which he declared that the armistice was not sought for by the allied powers;—that Bonaparte had requested it;—and that the allied powers would make use of it only to reinforce their armies, and attack the enemy of Germany, at its expiration, with more vigour. Bonaparte, on his part, complained that the armistice was not faithfully kept by the allies: this complaint arose from a circumstance which augured fatally for his future success; for the landwehr of Prussia, and even all the inhabitants who could procure any kind of arms, notwith-

standing the suspension of hostilities, were continually attacking and harassing the French, and in many cases captured their supplies of stores and provisions, and rendered precarious and difficult their communication with France.

It was soon evident that, from whatever motive the belligerent powers agreed to the armistice, they had no expectation it would lead to peace; each party exerting itself to the utmost to recruit and reinforce their army. The comparatively small numbers of the allies in the battle of Bautzen have been already noticed: during the suspension of hostilities, the Emperor Alexander ordered fresh troops to be brought across the Vistula, so that in a short time the reinforcements that joined the allied army from Russia alone, amounted to 75,000 men. The emperor also directed his attention very closely and successfully to re-organise his army; while the King of Prussia contributed as much to the common cause as the exhausted state of his country and of his finances would allow. Bonaparte was equally active: opposite to the main army of the allies, he had collected nearly 130,000 men: this probably out-numbered their force; but in other parts of Germany the belligerent powers were more equally poised. Oudinot was kept in check by Von Bulow: the Crown Prince of Sweden had hitherto done little or nothing; but by the position which he occupied in Pomerania, and by the communication which he kept up with the armies in Mecklenburgh, under the command of Tettenborn and Walmoden, he was able to keep in check, if not actively to oppose, the troops under Davoust and Dumonceau, and the Danes. Such were the force and position of the respective parties at the conclusion of the armistice.

The armistice, according to the first agreement among the belligerent powers, was to have expired on the 20th of July; but it was afterwards prolonged to the 20th of August: still, notwithstanding this prolongation, there was little prospect of the adjustment of their difference. The allies, having opposed Bonaparte with at least less disastrous results than in

any previous campaign, except that in Russia, were naturally full of hope that they should ultimately rescue a great part of Germany from his yoke. They probably knew also the sentiments and feelings of Austria; and the opinions and wishes of their own subjects were decidedly averse to any peace with the French, till they were driven out of that part of Germany which they occupied. But it was on the intentions of Austria that the allied powers endeavoured to fix the hopes of their subjects; and in an official paper published at Berlin after the proclamation of the King of Prussia, to which we have already alluded, these intentions were explicitly stated to be favourable, in the first instance, to the peace and repose of the continent, if it could be secured on an honourable and permanent basis, or, otherwise, to the support of the allies.

In this official paper the congress to be held at Prague was first mentioned; and this also was ascribed to the suggestion or mediation of Austria: the views of the imperial Austrian court, according to this paper, ever since the alliance between Russia and Prussia, had been directed to restore the balance of power, and the pacification of Europe. This the emperor had declared to be his wish; and in order to act in the character of a mediator, he had not only recalled his auxiliary forces from the French army, but assembled a number of troops in Bohemia. Having thus placed himself in a situation to be respected by both the belligerent parties, the Emperor of Austria proposed a congress at Prague: to this proposal the French emperor agreed: and the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia having likewise signified their consent, the armistice was prolonged, for the purpose of affording sufficient time for the meeting of the ambassadors of the respective powers, and the full discussion of the important business that would come before them. After stating that the ambassadors were actually set off for Prague, the official paper concludes with observing that 'the allied powers remain, in this instance, true to their purpose of losing no opportunity of

procuring to Europe a just, lasting and secure peace, for the restoration of which they will labour with indefatigable perseverance ; and use, for that purpose, all the means that Providence has put into their hands.'

This congress was noticed in the French official papers in language which did not augur well for Bonaparte's wish for peace: for, while he announced the assembling of the congress, and stated that ambassadors from the different powers at war would compose it, he inveighed in his usual bitter and intemperate strain against England, and expressly designated the Spaniards, by the name of insurgents. It is not, perhaps, always either politic or just to decide on an adversary's views and wishes by his language ; but if this rule may be safely admitted in any case, it certainly may be admitted in the case of Bonaparte ; and had his mind and ambition been subdued to a real desire for peace, he would have altered the tone of his language accordingly.

Before the end of July most of the members of the congress were assembled at Prague : Bonaparte sent the Count de Narbonne and Caulincourt ; the Emperor of Russia his privy counsellor D'Ansett ; the King of Prussia Baron Humboldt ; and the Emperor of Austria Count Metternich. It is likewise said that an accredited person from England was also there ; but no notice of such a person was ever given in any except the French official papers. Of the proceedings at this congress we are ignorant : little indeed seems to have been done ; and the Emperor of Austria soon found that neither of the belligerent parties were disposed to terminate hostilities on such conditions as the other would accede to. He himself, as well as the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, was naturally and laudably desirous of rescuing Germany from the yoke of Bonaparte, or at least of restoring to its independence that part of Germany which constituted the territories of the King of Prussia : they also wished to guard themselves, as much as possible, against the future aggressions

of Bonaparte: for this purpose, it is said that the Emperor of Austria proposed the following terms to Bonaparte :—

1st. That the Duchy of Warsaw should be abolished.

2nd. That the Prussian fortresses should be given up to the legitimate sovereign.

3rd. That Dantzic should be evacuated by the French troops.

4th. That Austria should be put in possession of Illyrian provinces.

5th. That Hamburgh and Lubec should be restored to their independence; and

6th. That the confederacy of the Rhine should be dissolved.

These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte; and Austria immediately declared war against France.

The state paper which Austria issued on this occasion was remarkably long and elaborate, and drawn up with great care and ability: it went back to the different wars in which Austria and France had been engaged, and dwelt more particularly on those which had occurred since Bonaparte obtained the supreme power. On every occasion the Emperor of Austria had been anxious to remain at peace: he had even made sacrifices, which no consideration but his hope of preserving the tranquillity of his own country, and of Europe, could have drawn from him: nothing, however, which he could do, or sacrifice, or abstain from doing; not even a ready and full compliance with the demands, and an accordance with the views, of Bonaparte, were of any avail. The lamentable conviction was impressed on his mind, that the object of the French emperor extended to the subjugation of Europe; and that, for the attainment of that object, the dignity and honour of sovereigns and the tranquillity and happiness of their subjects must be considered as of no moment. Still the Emperor of Austria persevered in his attempts to remain at peace;

and he resolved to submit to that sacrifice,—which was the greatest he could make as a sovereign—and as a father, the sacrifice of his own daughter—and the junction of his troops with those of Bonaparte in his war against the Emperor Alexander. How reluctantly he agreed to either of these measures, all who knew him must be convinced; and how deeply he repented having agreed to them, when he saw that even they were unavailing towards satisfying Bonaparte, or securing the peace of the continent, might easily be conceived. After the reverses of the Russian campaign, he hoped that Bonaparte would be disposed to peace: he had offered his mediation; he had proposed such terms as he thought fair and equitable for both parties; and which, if they had been acceded to, might have given to Europe that repose which she so dreadfully needed, after having been exhausted by such long and sanguinary wars. But his mediation was of no avail; his terms were rejected by the French emperor. No alternative, therefore, now remained for him to adopt, but to unite his forces with those of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Still, however, he as well as they were going to fight, not for the purposes of ambition or of conquest, but solely for the attainment of a just, honourable, and lasting peace. As soon as ever this could be brought about, they would most cheerfully lay down their arms: till it was brought about, they would continue united in hostilities, and exert themselves to the utmost. Compelled from such causes to go to war; going to war with such an object in view, the Emperor of Austria confidently expected the approbation and the good wishes of Europe: his cause was just, and he doubted not it would prosper.

It would appear that Bonaparte did not expect that Austria would actually join the allies; and the fact was carefully kept out of the French official papers for a considerable length of time, till at last, having occasion for a new conscription, the junction of Austria to the cause of the allies was stated as a reason for this demand of reinforcements. At the same time,

the correspondence between the Austrian and French ministers was laid before the legislative body : it is very long, and a great part of it very uninteresting ; but some important facts may be collected from it.

In the first place, it is evident from this correspondence, as well as from the declaration of the emperor, that Austria very reluctantly consented to enter at all in the war against Russia ; and that she at last consented to send an auxiliary army, only in order to avert the displeasure of Bonaparte. This reluctance accounts for the circumstance of the command of this army having been given to Prince Schwartzenburg, and for the comparative inactivity with which its movements and operations were conducted. In fact, it merely appeared hostile ; and perhaps, on the whole, it was of more disadvantage than service to Bonaparte ; for, reckoning on its co-operation, he neglected, in a great measure, to send French troops to that part where it was stationed : and we know that, when he was compelled to retreat, he complained that the Austrian general had not kept open the communication.

In the second place, it appears from this correspondence that the Austrian court, when Bonaparte's reverses occurred in Russia, so far from offering or agreeing to assist him, could scarcely conceal their satisfaction. The Austrian minister, indeed, affects to condole with the French minister on the misfortunes of his master ; but his condolence is evidently feigned.

Lastly, throughout the whole of this correspondence the French minister appears to have been the dupe of the Austrian minister : we shall not here inquire whether he was justified in deceiving him ; we barely state the fact. The former entertained no suspicion of the hostile intentions of the Austrian cabinet, till they were as clear as noon day ; while he gave implicit credence to the pacific professions of the Austrian minister, even after those professions were belied by the conduct of the Austrian court.

We remarked, in our accounts of the Russian campaign, that Bonaparte's generals seemed to have lost a portion of their military talents: the same fact will appear in the subsequent part of the German campaign; and this falling off seems not to have been confined to his generals; his statesmen also experienced it. It is a well ascertained fact, that Lord Walpole was in the neighbourhood of Vienna for several weeks before Otto, the French ambassador there, knew the circumstance. On the other hand, the generals and the diplomatists of the allied powers displayed increased talent, activity, and zeal; so that it seemed as if the French public men had sunk into that state of mediocrity in which the public men of most of the old governments of Europe were at the commencement of the revolution; while the public men of the allies, excited by the same causes which had brought into action or generated talent at that period, assumed the original character of their opponents.

Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, were now to try their strength against France; and had the result of this momentous contest been anticipated and predicted solely or principally from the issue of all the preceding coalitions against that power, it must have been looked forward to with gloom and apprehension by every friend to the independence and repose of Europe. But the cases were widely different: the former jealousies and selfishness of the allied sovereigns, which rendered impotent their coalition, were absorbed in the deep and awful conviction that now they were fighting for their own existence: besides, in the former contests, the people were averse or indifferent to the cause of their sovereigns; now they were cordial and zealous in their co-operation. The allied powers also very wisely made use of other weapons besides those of war: the most eloquent and popular writers in Germany were employed to rouse the people; to hold out Bonaparte as no longer formidable; as having been conquered; but still as the implacable enemy of the happiness and peace of Germany; as the destroyer alike of the liberty of the

sovereign and the peasant. These writers particularly dwelt on the contrast between Bonaparte before he crossed the Nie-man and invaded Russia, and Bonaparte at the period when Austria joined the coalition against him.

CHAP. XLIV.

**THE CROWN PRINCE TAKES THE FIELD AGAINST BONAPARTE
—MOREAU ALSO JOINS THE ALLIES—THE BATTLE OF
DRESDEN—DEATH OF MOREAU—POSITION AND STRENGTH
OF THE CONTENDING ARMIES—CAMPAIGN IN SILESIA—
BATTLE OF KATZBACH—FRENCH COMPLETELY DEFEATED
—BLUCHER'S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS ON THEIR
VICTORY—BATTLE BETWEEN THE CROWN PRINCE AND
OUDINOT—THE LATTER COMPLETELY DEFEATED—NEY
SENT TO TAKE THE COMMAND—ATTACKS THE PRUSSIANS
THE CROWN PRINCE COMES UP TO THEIR ASSISTANCE—
NEY DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF JUTERBOCH.**

WE have already stated that Bonaparte preserved a profound silence as long as he possibly could respecting the Austrian declaration of war: he was equally silent respecting the Crown Prince of Sweden: but equally from this silence, and from his invectives against him when he could no longer pass him over unnoticed, it might be inferred that he dreaded his talents. Hitherto indeed the crown prince had done little or nothing for the common cause: while the Austrians and Prussians were combating Bonaparte at the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, the Swedish army was stationed at a great distance from the scene of action, in Pomerania: even here, however, they were of some service, for they kept in check the army of Davoust. But as soon as it was determined to recommence

hostilities, the crown prince prepared to take a more active part : and much was anticipated from his talents ; from the excellent state of discipline into which he had brought the troops under his command ; and from the confidence with which his junction would inspire the allies. According to the plan laid down by the allies, the protection of Berlin was assigned to him ; and for that purpose, about the middle of August he removed his head-quarters to Potsdam : at the same time he issued a most energetic and animating proclamation to the troops under his command. He told them, that the extraordinary events of the last twelve years, of that period during which Bonaparte had ruled over France, had rendered it necessary for him to conduct them into Germany : had it not been for those events, Europe would still have remained as one great family, convinced of their mutual dependence, and anxious for their mutual welfare. But those events had rendered it necessary for Sweden to cross the sea that divided her from Germany : the cause of Europe was intrusted to the protection of soldiers from the banks of the Wolga and the Don ; from the shores of Britain, and the mountains of the north. At such a time, when the happiness of a large portion of the civilized world was at stake, rivalry, national prejudices, and antipathies ought to disappear before the grand object of the independence of nations. Why were they called to arms ? Not to gratify ambition, or to achieve conquest ; but for a more justifiable, a nobler object. The Emperor Napoleon could not live in peace with Europe unless Europe was his slave ; but to prevent this, to oppose the restless and unsatisfied desire of conquest which dwelt in his bosom, they were called to arms. Did they doubt that such was the character of Napoleon ? were they afraid to combat with him ? He had proved that this was his character, and that he was not unconquerable, by the 400,000 men whom he carried 700 miles from their country, and the greatest part of whom fell victims to his mad ambition. Had he been a man of common humanity, or even of common policy, after this signal

disaster he would have been disposed for peace: but neither his misfortunes in Russia, nor the defeats which his armies experienced in Spain, effected any beneficial alteration in his character or views. Peace was offered to him; that peace, which all other governments anxiously desired, and which was necessary for the establishment of his own power, and for the well-being of France; but he had indignantly rejected it.—
 ‘Soldiers! it is to arms then we must have recourse, to conquer repose and independence. The same sentiments which guided the French in 1792, and which prompted them to assemble, and to combat the armies which entered their territory, ought now to animate your valour against those who, after having invaded the land which gave you birth, still hold in chains your brethren, your wives, and your children. Soldiers! what a noble prospect is opened unto you! The liberty of Europe; the re-establishment of its equilibrium; the end of that convulsive state which has had 20 years duration; finally, the peace of the world will be the result of our efforts. Render yourselves worthy, by your union, your discipline, and your courage, of the high destiny which awaits you!’

Besides the Crown Prince of Sweden, another Frenchman entered the lists against Bonaparte. General Moreau, after he was liberated by him, had gone over to the United States of America, where, in peace, quiet, and retirement, he had spent some years of his life: but whether he grew weary of his condition there, or whether he considered himself called upon by the voice of patriotism and the duty he owed to his fellow-creatures, or whether both these motives acted upon him, is not certain; but it appears that the Emperor Alexander, as soon as he found that war with Bonaparte was inevitable, sent over a confidential person to America, with whom General Moreau returned to Europe. He joined the allied army soon after the congress at Prague was dissolved.

On two accounts his presence with the allies was deemed of importance: in the first place, his military talents were undoubtedly of the first order; they had been proved such by

his conduct in every campaign in which he had been engaged, and most conspicuously so by his celebrated retreat out of Germany. His military talents were indeed of a different class and description from those of Bonaparte : perhaps there was in him less quickness of conception and combination ; but, on the other hand, he possessed a cool and comprehensive judgment, which penetrated the most obscure and difficult parts of the most intricate plan. On him and on the crown prince the allies depended for the arrangement of the campaign ; and as they each had great military talents and experience, and besides were well acquainted with the favourite plans of Bonaparte, and with the principles on which he conducted his campaigns, it was hoped that they would be able to oppose him with success.

In the second place, some expectation seems to have been entertained that the presence of Moreau with the armies of the allies might induce the French troops to withdraw their allegiance from Bonaparte, or at least might render them discontented with the war in which they were engaged. Moreau had undoubtedly been a great favourite with the French soldiers : but those who indulged this expectation do not appear to have been aware, or recollected, that soldiers of all nations soon lose any attachment which they may have formed to a general ; and that, even if it did continue to exist, it could operate but feebly under the strict discipline of an army, and among men who have scarcely an opportunity either of knowing one another's sentiments, or of acting together.

It is foreign to our purpose to examine minutely or elaborately whether Moreau was justified in taking up arms against his country ; we shall, however, offer one or two remarks on the subject. In the first place, those who contended that he was perfectly justified, grounded their argument on this consideration, that it was not against but for his country he was about to fight : but by thus arguing they admitted virtually, though not directly, that the person himself was the proper judge of what was for the benefit of his country ; or, in other

words, they admitted that in some cases it was lawful to oppose the regal authority; for it will avail them little to contend that Bonaparte was a usurper and a tyrant : still the question recurs, If it be lawful to oppose an usurper and a tyrant, who can be the judge, whether the sovereign deserves those appellations, but the person who is about to oppose him ?

In the second place, those who exclaimed against the conduct of Moreau, for taking up arms against Bonaparte, and yet retained their doctrine, that resistance to tyrants was lawful, were equally inconsistent, unless they were prepared to assert that the rule of Bonaparte was beneficial to France.— But, perhaps, in no former wars was there observable such inconsistency of opinion as in the French revolutionary wars : very many who advocated the cause of the revolution at its commencement, because they conceived it to be advantageous or necessary to France, very strongly and absurdly transferred their admiration from it to the person who opposed the very principles on which it was brought about ; while those who opposed it at first, and, in their mistaken and outrageous zeal against it, exclaimed against the doctrines of liberty, as soon as the people of the continent rose in arms against the tyranny of Bonaparte, became the warm and enthusiastic defenders of those doctrines.

On the 17th of August hostilities recommenced : Bonaparte immediately, with a large force, made a push against the city of Prague ; but when he had advanced within twelve leagues of it he received information that the positions of some of his corps at Goldberg, &c. in Silesia, were in imminent danger by the march of the Russians and Prussians from Breslau.— He was therefore obliged suddenly and rapidly to leave Bohemia ; and on the 21st of August he succeeded in driving his opponents from the line of the Bohr. Scarcely however had he accomplished this, when his presence was absolutely necessary in another quarter : the allied powers had formed a bold and comprehensive plan, by which, if they had succeeded in it, they would at once have placed Bonaparte in a most

desperate situation. The united army of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, amounting to about 150,000 men, under the command of Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Schwartzenberg, made a movement for the purpose of cutting him off from the line of the Elbe, by seizing Dresden. When Bonaparte received information of their design, he was 120 miles from that city: this distance he marched with a strong body of troops in four days, amidst torrents of rain, and in most tempestuous weather; and reached Dresden a few hours before the allies appeared in sight of the place.

The allies entered Saxony from Bohemia by different routes, in order to act on the enemy's flank and rear; while the Prussian army under the command of Blucher was directed to move from Silesia, and to threaten Lusatia in front, but to avoid a general engagement, especially against superior numbers. At first the French advanced to the frontiers of Saxony; but they were beaten back towards Dresden, although they endeavoured to defend every inch of ground. The period was now arrived when the plan of the allies was to be put into complete execution: the different columns of their armies were to *debouche* from the mountains and passes at such periods as would have placed the enemy in a most critical situation; but some of the troops pushed on with so great eagerness that the right corps was brought into action before the other divisions had gained their proper stations. To this corps were opposed 15,000 men under General St. Cyr, supported by 6,000 men under General Bonnet: a sharp action commenced, which lasted for some hours; after which the allied force drove the enemy from all points, and took some prisoners. The French now returned into their entrenched works in the front of Dresden, which placed the allied armies encircled. On the 27th they withdrew from their entrenchments into the city and suburbs. By this time Bonaparte had arrived there.

The allies, having driven the French into the city and suburbs, resolved, if possible, to drive them thence also: this,

however, they were sensible was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, as the natural defence round the town had been much improved by the skill of the French ; and the extreme importance of the position led them to expect a very obstinate defence. At four o'clock in the evening the troops moved to the assault, the Prussians forming the centre attack. The operations were begun by a tremendous cannonade : the batteries being placed in a circular form round the town, the effect is described as magnificent : the troops moved forward with the utmost steadiness, and in perfect order to the assault. Already they were close to the town on all sides : an advanced redoubt with eight guns were taken by the Austrians in the most gallant manner ; the French flying in all directions to shelter themselves behind new defences. It was soon perceived that it would be impossible to effect practicable breaches in the thick wall of the town ; so that the Austrians could not proceed beyond the out-works. Night was approaching : the loss of the allies was great : the French to the amount of 30,000 made a sortie in order to separate the allied troops, and to take one wing in flank and rear. Their design was seen through and prevented ; but at the same time it was necessary to draw off the troops from the assault.

The French, having thus succeeded in repulsing the allies, came out to attack them on the morning of the 28th. They possessed great advantages in their position for attack : in their rear was Dresden lined with guns ; their communications were not intersected : if they were unsuccessful, they could retire ; if they made an impression, they could pursue it up ; while the allies could not pursue them under the guns of the place. The weather was very bad on the day of attack ; it rained almost incessantly. Bonaparte took advantage of all these circumstances, and brought out an immense number of pieces of artillery : the battle consisted on both sides chiefly in heavy cannonading, except where charges were made by the allied cavalry : the main bodies of infantry, in both armies, were not engaged. After several hours of cannonading, the French,

perceiving that they could make no impression on the position of the allies, retired into Dresden. The allies, however, notwithstanding they had succeeded in repulsing the French, could not remain where they were, as they were exposed to the risk of having their rear occupied by the French, if Bonaparte had thought proper to pass a considerable body of troops across the Elbe at Königstein and Pirna. Orders were therefore given to retire; and the allied army took up a position in the valley of Toplitz in Bohemia.

The plan of the allies in their attack on Dresden was undoubtedly masterly; and though the official accounts of the action point out some of the causes of its failure, they do not satisfactorily explain it. The most disastrous event in the course of the battle was the mortal wound of General Moreau. Towards the middle of the day, while he was in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia, on the movements and operations that were going forward, he had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the shot going through his horse. At first he gave a deep groan; but when the agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a segar. He was carried off the field on a litter made of cossacks' pikes, to a cottage at a short distance; but as this was much exposed to the fire, he was removed off to the Emperor of Russia's head quarters, where one of his legs was amputated. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other, he observed, without manifesting any pain or peevishment, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day: but they now put more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippolswalde. Long, however, before he arrived there, he was again drenched with rain: from this place he was taken to Laun, where every attention and care was bestowed upon him.

For some time he seemed to be doing well, and hopes were entertained that he might survive his wounds, till a long conference took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted: soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse.—

‘Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with a heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed, to endure but little pain, from his extreme composure and calmness.’ He died at six o’clock of the morning of the 3d of September.

Bonaparte represented the battle of Dresden as most decidedly favourable to him: according to his account, the Austrian division of the allied army was nearly annihilated: *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung at Paris; and the speedy and glorious termination of the war was predicted. In most of this there was his usual exaggeration and deceit; but he actually appears to have considered the loss and discomfiture of the allies as much more serious than it really was; and in order to intercept their retreat into Bohemia, he dispatched Vandamme with a force, which it would have been madness to have sent against them, had he not believed their army to have been not only much reduced in numbers, but retreating in great disorder. Vandamme himself was not only ignorant of the strength of those whom he was to intercept, but also of their movements. He had under his command two corps and a division, amounting in the whole to about 30,000 men: with this force he crossed the Elbe at Pirna, and had actually gained possession of the mountain passes, when the Russians under the command of Count Osterman forced their way through them with the bayonet. The action continued till late in the evening of the 30th, and was renewed with great obstinacy on the 31st, till the French troops, being attacked on all sides, were compelled to retreat: throwing down their arms in every direction, and abandoning their cannon and standards, they sought shelter among the woods and mountains.—

Vandamme and six other generals were taken prisoners: besides 10,000 men, 60 pieces of artillery, and 6 standards.

In order that our readers may more clearly and thoroughly understand the operations subsequent to the battle of Dresden, it may be necessary to advert to the position and strength of the contending armies previous to that event. Of the French army, four corps were in Silesia; four, besides the guards, near Dresden; three, under the command of Oudinot, threatened Berlin from the south; while the same city was to be approached by a strong force under Davoust from the north. Probably the whole of these forces amounted to 300,000 men. Besides these, Bonaparte had armies of reserve in Franconia, Bavaria, and Italy: the last was under the command of Beauharnois, and had been assembled there in order to invade Austria in that direction.

The grand army of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, which was united in Bohemia, amounted to about 280,000 men: the army in Silesia, under the command of Blucher, to 100,000; and the forces under the crown prince, consisting of Swedes, Russians, &c. to rather more than 100,000 men. Hence it appears that the numerical superiority was on the side of the allies; but their superiority in other respects was more striking and important. The greater part of the French soldiers were conscripts; not merely unused to war, but either very young or very old, and consequently unfit to endure the fatigues of the arduous campaign which had just commenced. The soldiers of the allies, on the contrary, were in a most admirable state of discipline; most of them in the vigour of life, and inured to fatigue and privation. Their confidence in their leaders, too, must have been much greater than that which the French soldiers possessed towards Bonaparte.

We have already adverted shortly to the operations in Silesia; but it will be now proper to consider them more minutely. The campaign opened there on the 18th of August, the allies moving on towards Dresden. They first came up with the

3d French corps under the command of Marshal Ney, which was driven across the Bohr. Bonaparte, alarmed at the approach of the Silesian army, set out to reinforce Ney on the 21st; and the French having then greatly the superiority, General Blucher deemed it prudent to retreat, and re-cross the Bohr: he took up a strong position behind the Katzbach. The plan of the allies being to distract and divide Bonaparte's forces, they fell further back on Janar; while the grand army from Bohemia, as we have seen, marched on Dresden, and drew off Bonaparte to that quarter. On the 25th and 26th the French advanced against General Blucher, with the hope of being able to carry Janar; but on the latter of those days the Prussian general attacked them. The battle was fought near the Katzbach, and from that it takes its name: in it Blucher and his brave Prussians proved their determination to avenge the disgrace which their country had so long suffered by having been under the tyranny of France. They fought with the most unparelled bravery. The French could not stand before them: their enthusiasm was such, that, rushing forward, they actually drove them into the Katzbach. At this period of the battle it was completely dark; the river was swollen with constant rains, and all the bridges were broken down. The condition of the French under these circumstances may be easily conceived: immense numbers of them were drowned: 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of cannon, 280 ammunition-waggons, the camp, hospitals, &c. were taken: among the prisoners were one general of division, and two of brigade; among the trophies, two eagles. Blucher, after this glorious victory, pushed forward after the discomfited French, and on the 2d of September his head-quarters were within the Saxon boundary, near Goerlitz, in Upper Lusatia, having completely delivered Prussian Silesia from the French.

On this occasion he addressed a most eloquent proclamation to his soldiers:—To their valour, to their efforts, and patience in enduring fatigues, the liberation of Silesia was

owing: that beautiful province was delivered from the hands of a rapacious enemy; it was again placed under the mild rule of their sovereign. In the battle of Katzbach, that battle which had restored Silesia to tranquillity and independence, his soldiers had acted in a manner worthy of their character; satisfactorily to him; and in a manner which must make the enemy afraid again to encounter them: with the rapidity of lightning they burst forth from behind the heights; they disdained firing on the French; with the bayonet only they advanced against them, and drove them down the steep banks of the Niesse and Katzbach. Here, however, the exertions of his brave soldiers did not terminate: in pursuit of the enemy, they waded through rivers and swollen torrents; they spent whole nights in the mire; they struggled with cold, hunger, and privations of all sorts: yet did they not repine. 'Thanks to you for such praise-worthy conduct: he only is a true soldier who unites these qualities in himself.— You have seen the plains between the Katzbach and the Bohr; they bear testimony to the terror and consternation of your enemies. Let us send our thanks up to the Lord of Hosts, by whose aid you have defeated the enemy; and, assembled in divine service, prostrate ourselves before him for the glorious victory he has granted us. Let your devotions close with three huzzas; and, then, once more against the enemy!'

Let us now direct our attention to the operations of the crown prince; to whom as has been already stated, was allotted the task of defending Berlin. On the 21st of August he learnt by his spies that Bonaparte was concentrating the corps of the Dukes of Reggio, Belluno, and Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, near Bayreuth; the whole force amounted to nearly 80,000 men. From this movement the crown prince suspected that their object was to march rapidly on Berlin; and he took his measures accordingly.— The 3d Prussian corps, under the command of Bulow, was placed between Herperadorf and Klerin Beren; the 4th Prus-

sian corps were situated at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army was posted at Ruhlisdorf; and the Russian army was in its rear. The Cossacks and light infantry, under the command of General Czernicheff, who had distinguished himself by the extreme rapidity of his movements, were directed to hover round the rear of the French columns.

The battle commenced, on the morning of the 22d, by the French attacking one of the advanced posts of the crown prince's army: as they were greatly superior in numbers, the Swedish troops retired; and the enemy advanced and occupied a large space covered by woods and flanked by marshes. In the morning of the 25th, Bertrand made a desperate attack on the 4th Prussian corps; but he was repulsed, and some prisoners were taken. The principal scene of contest, however, this day, was the village of Grosberen: against it the 7th French corps and a strong reserve proceeded; but here also the 4th Prussian corps were successful, and the village was retaken. By the occupation of this village, the French were at the distance of 1000 toises from the centre of the camp.—The crown prince sent orders to General Bulow to attack it: in executing these orders, the Prussian forces proved that they were the worthy descendants of the soldiers of Frederick the Great: for some hours the cannonade was warm; but the Prussians advancing under protection of the artillery, charged the 7th French corps with the bayonet, and put them to the route. Hitherto the engagement had been principally between the Prussians and the French; for, the other corps of the French remaining in the woods, there had been no occasion for the Swedes and Russians to move from their position in front of the camp. About this time, however, the village of Ruhlisdorf, which was situated in front of the camp, was threatened by the French; and the crown prince deemed it necessary to order some battalions of the Swedes, along with a few pieces of artillery, to reinforce the advanced posts, while the enemy were taken in flank with a battalion of flying artillery. These operations completely decided the fate of the

battle : the crown prince was victorious ; and, as the result of his victory, obtained possession of 26 pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, among whom were 40 officers, and a great quantity of baggage. The French retreated beyond Trebbin, whither they were closely pursued by the light Russian cavalry.

Bonaparte was extremely chagrined at the result of this engagement : besides the mortification of having his troops beaten by the Crown Prince of Sweden, the result of this battle disarranged all his plans, and exposed part of his army to the attack of the victorious troops ; for, Berlin being now safe, the crown prince, if he were not kept in check, would advance to co-operate with the allies in the vicinity of Dresden. It was therefore necessary to send another general to replace Oudinot, who had commanded the French forces in the battle with the crown prince ; and Bonaparte selected Ney for that purpose. He had under him 70,000 men ; and as the Prussian army, at this period, was at some distance from that of the crown prince, the French general hoped to surprise it before the latter could advance to its assistance.—The Prussian army under Bulow was only 40,000 strong ; yet they sustained, undaunted, and unmoved, the attacks of Ney's corps. General Bulow, before the French came up with him at Jüterboch, had received information of their approach, and he accordingly announced the circumstance to the crown prince, who had just begun to move for the purpose of crossing the river Elbe and marching towards Leipsic. But as soon as he heard that the Prussians were likely to be attacked, he changed his route, and arrived at Jüterboch, by forced marches, just as the Prussian army, after having sustained the unequal combat for a long time, were nearly overpowered by the French. For a moment the Russians and Swedes halted, in order to form in the order of battle : as soon as this was accomplished, 70 battalions and 10,000 horse, supported by 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack ; 4000 Russian and Swedish cavalry having preceded

them, at full speed, for the purpose of supporting some points against which Ney directed his attacks. At the sight of this immense army coming up to the assistance of a foe against whom they had scarcely made any impression, the French first wavered, and then fled with the utmost precipitation: the allied cavalry charged them, as they retreated, with great impetuosity, and threw them into the utmost disorder. The result of the battle of Jüterboch was upwards of 5,000 prisoners, 3 standards, 30 pieces of cannon, and 200 ammunition waggons. On the field of battle 6,000 of the French lay dead. They endeavoured in vain to rally, or even to effect their retreat in tolerable order: besides the prisoners taken in the battle, upwards of 2,500 were taken on the evening of the day on which it was fought, in a village on the road to Dresden: so that, before they completely effected their escape, it was calculated that they lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from 16,000 to 18,000 men, more than 50 pieces of cannon, and 400 ammunition waggons. The loss of the Prussians was severe, amounting in killed and wounded to upwards of 5,000. The crown prince, in his official account of this battle, mentions, that General Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of the sharp-shooters in the situation of a man desirous of death. He, as well as most other of the French generals, must have been convinced, that the rank and fortune which they had acquired, as well as their military glory and conquests, were placed in the utmost jeopardy by the insane obstinacy of the emperor.

CHAP. XLV.

BONAPARTE'S CRITICAL SITUATION—HARASSED BY THE REGULAR ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF THE ALLIES—HIS COMMUNICATION WITH FRANCE INTERCEPTED—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE WAR ON THE SIDE OF ITALY—AND IN MECKLENBURGH—BONAPARTE STILL OBSTINATELY CLINGS TO DRESDEN—REMARKS ON HIS CONDUCT—EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE FRENCH SENATE—FRESH CONSCRIPTIONS CALLED FOR—BONAPARTE AT LENGTH LEAVES DRESDEN—THE ALLIES COMPLETELY BETWEEN HIM AND FRANCE—BATTLE OF LEIPSIQ—THE FRENCH COMPLETELY DEFEATED—DEFECTION OF THEIR ALLIES DURING THE BATTLE—BONAPARTE'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

THE situation of Bonaparte was now every day becoming more critical; and yet he did not seem to be sensible of his danger, but still continued at Dresden. The allies, having been defeated in their attempt to take that city, altered their plan; but it was still a plan of the most consummate skill, and it was carried into execution with the most creditable activity, and promptitude. Their grand object was to gather all their forces in the route between Dresden and Leipsic; or, if this could not be effected, to unite before Leipsic, so as completely to cut off Bonaparte's retreat into France. But, in order to carry this plan into execution, it was necessary to distract the attention and the forces of their adversary: and this they accomplished most effectually; for by advancing from the valley of Toplitz, on the side of Bohemia, towards Dresden, and another time from the side of Silesia towards

the same place, they obliged Bonaparte to weaken and harass his troops; and as soon as he came nearly up with them they retreated. While he was in pursuit of one branch of the allied army, another threatened Dresden; so that at last his troops were completely exhausted. In the mean time, the allies were receiving great reinforcements, especially from Russia; the Emperor Alexander exerted himself to the utmost to bring the campaign to a successful termination. Besides large bodies of regular troops, the Cossacks were greatly reinforced; and in the situation of the French army they were of most essential service, intercepting the communication with France, and cutting off their supplies. At this time, and by their means, many letters from the French officers to their relations and friends in France were intercepted, in all of which a most deplorable picture was drawn of their distressed situation: most of them, indeed, represented their condition as equally dreadful with what it had been in the Russian campaign; nor did they hold out any prospect of extricating themselves from it.

Nor were the affairs of Bonaparte more prosperous in Italy; Beauharnois had collected a large army, but it was dispirited; the people of the country where it was stationed manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction: and when the Austrian General Nugent advanced, he found himself compelled, after some ineffectual attempts to keep his ground, to retire from the head of the Adriatic towards Venice. Davout, also, who had advanced from the vicinity of Hamburg into Schwerin, probably for the purpose of co-operating with Oudinot, being held in check by Count Walmoden, and having learnt the fate of Oudinot's army, deemed it expedient to commence his retreat.

These, however, which in ordinary times would have been considered as important events, in the present situation of the continent scarcely attracted the attention of the public; all thought and conjecture being absorbed on what was likely to happen in the vicinity of Dresden; for that city Bonaparte

persisted in retaining, notwithstanding the allies were gradually drawing round him in immense force, and notwithstanding that his own armies were greatly weakened both in numerical and in physical strength. On the side of Bohemia Prince Schwartzenberg continued to advance; while Blücher, by pressing forward on the side of Silesia, about the 7th of September effected a junction with the grand army: by this junction a powerful force was thrown on the right of the French in Lusatia; while several other Austrian divisions, together with the Russians and Prussians under the command of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein (in all about 80,000 men), having re-entered Saxony, moved on to Pirna, within eight miles of Dresden. Thus threatened, Bonaparte was again compelled to leave that city; but as soon as he approached the main Austrian army, it gradually retired, drawing him towards the mountains of Bohemia. Taught, however, by the fate of Vandamme, he did not cross the frontier to any great distance, urging, in his official bulletin, as an excuse for not following them, that he could not get his cannon down the declivities. On the 11th of September he again returned to Dresden. By these movements of the allies, not only did Prince Schwartzenberg open a communication with General Blücher at Gobel, but the crown prince also communicated with the same general at Bautzen. At the former place Prince Poniatowski was posted; but he was compelled to retire within 15 miles of Dresden, while MacDonald was forced to take up a position on the Spree, within 30 miles of the same city. Marmont also, who had occupied the left bank of the Elbe with the 6th corps, was recalled, and sent, together with the cavalry under Murat, to Grossen Hayn, about 20 miles to the north of Dresden, to check the Swedes, who were advancing in that direction. Marshal Ney, after his defeat by the crown prince at Jüterboch, took shelter under the cannon at Torgau. Such were the positions of the armies, and the state of affairs, about the middle of September, to the northward and eastward of Dresden. On

the 14th the grand army of the allies again advanced from the valley of Toplitz in Bohemia, driving back the 1st, 2d, and 14th French corps, which, with the guards, were posted on the frontiers. Again was Bonaparte compelled to leave this city, in order to reinforce his advanced divisions, and to repair the blunders of his generals; the 15th and 16th he spent in driving the allies back to Bohemia; or, to speak more correctly, the allies, having succeeded in drawing him out of the city and in harassing his troops, retired those days into Bohemia.

Bonaparte could no longer conceal his critical situation from the people of France: he had, indeed, in his bulletin respecting the battle of Dresden, represented the allied army as utterly defeated on that occasion, exaggerating their loss as high as 60,000 men, and boasting that they would not be able to resume offensive operations: it was with a very bad grace, therefore, that he acknowledged his inability either to advance, or even to make head against an enemy, who, if his former accounts were correct, were so much weakened and disorganized. But the truth must be told: there was no possibility of escaping out of his perilous situation, unless large reinforcements were sent to him: and, besides, the real state of the case could not be so alarming as that which the Parisians apprehended; for the intercourse with France was so precarious and dangerous, that information respecting the army was obtained only at considerable intervals, and of a very meagre and unsatisfactory description.

On the 4th of October an extraordinary meeting of the French senate was held, at which Cambaceres, after laying before them the long-delayed report concerning the war with Austria and Sweden, distinctly avowed that Bonaparte's means were not adequate to the emergency of his situation, and called on them for a fresh conscription. But it was too late to be of much service to Bonaparte: the allies, long before it could possibly be raised, had carried into full execution their grand plan. By the 9th of October the head quarters

of Prince Schwartzenberg were established near Leipsic; the Prince Royal of Sweden and General Blucher, having crossed the Elbe at different points, were in communication with the main army: thus a complete chain was drawn across this part of Saxony, while General Benningsen advanced towards Dresden on the great road to Toplitz. The Cossacks under Platoff were in advance at Lutzen. Thus the communication of Bonaparte with France was completely destroyed; while his army was in great distress, his magazines were nearly exhausted, and the country which he occupied was utterly destitute of the means of replenishing them.

At length, on the 7th of October, Bonaparte left Dresden, taking with him the royal family of Saxony. It is absolutely impossible to assign any rational motive for his very long continuance in that city; nor can his conduct be accounted for, unless we suppose that he was under the same infatuation which seized him during the Russian campaign, and led him to advance, at the approach of winter, into a hostile and barren country, and to continue at Moscow till retreat was almost impossible. For his conduct in the Russian campaign, however, something like a rational motive may be assigned: he had often, by rapid and daring advances into the heart of his enemy's territory, and especially by occupying their capital, forced them to make peace: he had once already intimidated or cajoled the Emperor Alexander into a disgraceful treaty; and he might hope that he could again effect the same object. But what hope could he possibly have that, by his stay at Dresden, either the fortune of war would become favourable, or peace would be obtained? To every man of common sense, to every man not blinded by passion and obstinacy, it must have been apparent, that by staying at Dresden his own forces would be gradually reduced in numbers and strength, while those of the enemy would be accumulating; and that they would be enabled to cut off his communication with France.

The positions of the two armies, soon after Bonaparte left Dresden, were as follows:—The line of the French fortresses on the Elbe, including Dresden, Torgau, Wittemberg, and Magdeburg, extended about 120 miles, the course of that river being nearly north-west. Torgau is about 45 miles, and Wittemberg 70, from Dresden: 17 miles below Wittemberg, on the left, the Elbe receives the Mulda; and 18 miles further, the Saale: both these rivers in the higher part of their course flow nearly parallel with the Elbe; and Leipsic stands between them, being distant from the Saale 18 miles, from the Mulda 13, and from the Elbe 35. As therefore the united army of the crown prince and Blucher occupied a line along the left bank of the Saale, from its mouth nearly to opposite Leipsic, they cut off all communication between the force collected round Leipsic and the country westward of that line. At the same time, the communications of the enemy, on the same line further to the south, were cut off by the army which was marching from the neighbourhood of Dresden. On the 11th of October the advanced posts of these two armies were in communication, and they greatly outnumbered the army of Bonaparte..

Under these circumstances, the object of the allies was to force Bonaparte to a battle;—his object, to weaken them by drawing off part of their troops. This he attempted to accomplish: the Prussian capital had been left exposed by the march of the crown prince to join the grand army of the allies; and Bonaparte, taking advantage of this, pushed a corps across the Elbe at Wittemberg: but the allies, aware of this movement, had ordered General Tauenstein with 12,000 men to fall back and cover Berlin; so that the French force, having failed in their object, were recalled.

Hitherto the allies of Bonaparte had remained more faithful to him than might have been expected; but about this period the King of Bavaria deserted him, and concluded a treaty of alliance and concert with Austria, by which General Wrede with 35,000 Bavarian troops was immediately to co-

operate with those of Austria, 25,000 of which were to be under his command. But though the sovereigns in alliance with Bonaparte remained in general faithful to him, yet their subjects were animated with a better spirit: the same means were employed, to keep it alive, and to spread it, to which we have already adverted.

On the 13th of October the head quarters of Bonaparte were at Duben on the Mulda: to this place he had advanced from Leipsic, probably with the hope of causing the allies to believe that he meant to threaten Berlin with his whole force; but finding that his manœuvre did not succeed, on the 14th he collected his whole force in and round Leipsic. Ney, with the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps, under the respective commands of Bertrand, Marmont, and Regnier, occupied a line about four or five miles to that city, which protected the roads to Magdeburgh and Dessau. Opposite to him was posted the Silesian army, under General Blucher, whose head quarters on the 14th were on the road to Halle, about 14 miles from Leipsic. On the 15th Blucher attacked the French: the contest was most obstinate and sanguinary: it began at mid-day, and continued till night separated the combatants: the allies however completely succeeded in their object, compelling them to pass the Partha, a river which protects Leipsic to the northward and eastward. The loss of the allies was between 6,000 and 7,000; that of the French about 12,000: 1 eagle and 28 pieces of cannon were taken.

While this contest was going on to the north of Leipsic, a separate and still more furious conflict took place between the grand army of Bohemia, commanded by Prince Schwarzenberg, which advanced towards Leipsic by the converging roads of Lutzen, Zwenkau, Borna, and Colditz—and that part of the French army which was commanded by Bonaparte in person. The position of the centre of the allies was about six miles to the south of Leipsic: against it Bonaparte determined to make a furious attack, either in the hope of cutting his way through, or throwing the allies into confusion. Ac-

cordingly bringing up the cavalry under Murat, he made a desperate push on the centre, and for a short time succeeded in forcing it. The Austrian reserve was now brought up; and the cuirassiers having formed in columns, charged with the most consummate skill and intrepidity, forcing every thing before them. The French cavalry were compelled to give way; and at the close of the day both armies remained on the ground on which the contest commenced.

On the 17th nothing was done. On the 18th the crown prince received a reinforcement from General Blucher of 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery; with which it was arranged that he should attack the French on the Partha river, six miles northward of Leipsic, on the road to Torgau; while General Blucher was to retain his position near Leipsic, and endeavour to gain possession of that place. As the allied generals were well aware of Bonaparte's usual plan of bringing the whole of his force to bear on one point, it was agreed that, if he should have recourse to this measure, the allies were reciprocally to support each other, and to concert further movements.

The first operation was undertaken by the crown prince: that part of the French force which was opposed to him had taken up a strong position on the left bank of the Partha, with its right resting on the heights of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsic: it was therefore necessary to force their right, and gain possession of these heights: in order to effect this, the Russians and Prussians in the crown prince's army were ordered to advance against them; while the Swedes endeavoured to effect the passage of the river at Plosen. The river was crossed with little opposition: and General Winzingerode, who commanded the Russians, took about 3,000 prisoners and some pieces of cannon at Faucha.

Before the infantry of the crown prince's army had sufficient time to make their flank movement, the French infantry abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain to-

wards Leipsie, occupying the villages through which they passed, in order to protect their retreat.

Hitherto the allies met with very little resistance: but General Langeron, with part of General Blücher's army, having attempted to carry one of the villages on the road to Leipsic, which the enemy had occupied in strength, was opposed with great obstinacy: however, he at length carried it, but was driven back. As the possession of this village was of the utmost importance for the further movements and operations of the allies, General Blücher sent the most positive orders that it should be reoccupied at the point of the bayonet; and this was accomplished before it grew dark. There was attached to the crown prince's army a rocket brigade, which was brought into action with such effect as to paralyze a solid square of infantry, which after one fire from Congreve's formidable weapons delivered themselves up as if panic struck.

About this period of the battle, 22 guns of Saxon artillery, 2 battalions of the same nation, and 2 Westphalian regiments of hussars, quitted the ranks of the French and joined the allies: the artillery were immediately turned against them; and the crown prince headed the men in a charge against their former oppressors.

The immediate result of the success of the allies to the north of Leipsic was, that the communication was established between the grand attacks; and several officers from the Bohemian army took advantage of this circumstance to inform the crown prince of the operations which had occurred to the south of that place. In this direction, and to the south-east and south-west of Leipsic, the resistance of the French was much more determined and persevering than it was to the north: but the plan and arrangements of the allies were laid down with so much judgment and skill, and executed in such a masterly manner, that the French were at length compelled to retreat. In the battle of this day, the French lost at least 50,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides 65 pieces of artillery.

Bonaparte was thus driven from every part of his position, into a circle within cannon shot of Leipsic, from whence a column had already begun its march towards the southwest. In the night the villages of Stetteritz and Probsteyda were abandoned, and occupied by the allies; but he still continued to hold Leipsic, and the villages connected with the suburbs, with a strong rear-guard towards the allies.

Bonaparte seems to have counted upon the presence of the Saxon electoral family, and the solicitations of the inhabitants to preserve the city, to gain time, and to provide for his own security, but he was disappointed. The Emperor Alexander received a flag of truce, sent in the name of the King of Saxony, offering to capitulate to save the town. His imperial majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity: he said, in substance, that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations for the town; that, therefore, the gates must be immediately opened, and, in that case, the most strict discipline should be observed; that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in this army, they should be received as brothers; but that he considered any proposal sent, while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he well knew the enemy he had to deal with; that, as to the King of Saxony personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication.

The heavy cannon and columns of attack were ordered to advance. In the mean time, the prince royal attacked and stormed the city on the other side, a Prussian corps being the first in the square.

General Toll, who had been sent with the Saxon flag of truce to ensure the correct delivery of the message, was, at that moment, in the Elector of Saxony's apartment, and, running out, called to the Saxon guards to lay down their arms, which they instantly did; their example being followed

by the Baden and Wurtemberg troops. The action continued some time in the farther part of the town, and, before it ceased, the emperor and the king entered with the field marshal, and met the prince royal at the door of the Elector of Saxony's quarters. The Elector of Saxony appeared at the balcony, and bowed to the allied sovereigns, but they did not deign to notice him.

The result of this splendid victory was summed up, by the crown prince :—‘ The allied armies have taken 15 generals, and amongst them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d’armee. Prince Poniatowski was drowned, in attempting to pass the Elster. The corpse of Dumourrestier, Chief of the Staff of the 11th corps, was found in the river, and more than 1000 men were drowned in it. The Duke of Bassano escaped on foot. Marshal Ney is supposed to have been wounded. More than 250 pieces of cannon, 900 caissons, and above 15,000 prisoners, have fallen into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy has abandoned here more than 23,000 sick and wounded, with the whole of the hospital establishment. The total loss of the French army must amount to near 60,000 men.—According to every calculation, the Emperor Napoleon has been able to save from the general disaster not more than 75,000 to 80,000 men. All the allied armies are in motion to pursue him, and every moment are brought in prisoners, baggage, and artillery. The German and Polish troops desert from their standards in crowds ; and every thing announces that the liberty of Germany has been conquered at Leipsic.’

It will now be curious to examine Bonaparte’s account of this affair. He asserted in his bulletins that the allies were foiled in every attack. ‘ Even at 3 o’clock p. m. !’ says he, ‘ the victory was ours, as well on this side against the army of Silesia, as on the side of the emperor against the grand army. But at this instant the Saxon army, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and the Wurtemberg cavalry, passed over in a body to the enemy. Of the Saxon army there remained only Ge-

neral Zeschan, the commander in chief, and 500 men. This act of treason not only caused a vacancy in our lines, but also delivered up to the enemy the important debouche confided to the Saxon army, who carried their infamy so far as instantly to turn their 40 pieces of cannon against the division of Durrutt. A moment of disorder succeeded; the enemy passed the Partha, and marched upon Reidnitz, which they occupied; they were now therefore only half a league from Leipsic. The emperor sent his horse guards, commanded by General Nansouty, with 20 pieces of artillery, to take in flank the troops that were advancing along the Partha to attack Leipsic. He proceeded in person with a division of the guards to the village Reidnitz. The promptitude of these movements restored order. The village was re-taken, and the enemy driven to a great distance. The field of battle remained entirely in our power, and the French army remained victorious in the field of Leipsic, as they had in those of Wachan. At night fall, the fire of our cannon had, at all points, repulsed that of the enemy to the distance of a league from the field of battle.—The generals of division Visl and Rochambeau fell gloriously. Our loss on this day may be estimated at 4000 men killed and wounded; that of the enemy must have been considerable in the extreme. They took no prisoners from us, and we took from them 500 men.

‘At six in the evening, the emperor ordered his dispositions for the following day. But, at seven o’clock, Generals Sorbier and Dulanloy, commanding the artillery of the army and of the guards, came to his bivouac to inform him of the expenditure of the day; 95,000 cannon balls had been fired. They informed him that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted, and that there remained only 16,000 cannon balls; that this would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after when no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired upwards of 220,000 cannon balls, and that a further supply could only be furnished at Magdeburg or Erfurt. The state of things rendered neces-

sary a prompt movement upon one of our two largest depots. The emperor decided for that of Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to come to Leipsic, to enable him to appreciate the defection of Bavaria.

‘The emperor immediately gave orders that the baggage, the parks, and the artillery, should pass the defiles of Lindenau; he gave similar orders with respect to the cavalry, and the different corps of the army, and then repaired to the Prussian Hotel, in the suburbs of Leipsic, where he arrived at nine o’clock in the evening. This circumstance obliged the French army to renounce the fruits of the two victories which they had, with so much glory, beaten troops greatly superior in numbers, and the armies of the whole continent. But this movement was not without difficulty. From Leipsic to Lindenau there is a defile of two leagues, with from five to six bridges on the road. It was proposed to place 6000 men and 90 pieces of cannon in Leipsic, which is a walled town; to occupy that town as a *tete de defile*; to burn its vast suburbs, in order to prevent the enemy from effecting a lodgment therein, and to give full scope for our artillery on the ramparts to play. However odious the treason of the Saxon army was, the emperor could not resolve to destroy one of the finest cities of Germany; to deliver it up to the disorders of every kind inseparable from such a defence; and that too under the eyes of the king, who had been pleased to accompany the emperor from Dresden, and who was so sensibly afflicted by the conduct of his army. The emperor chose rather to expose himself to the loss of a few hundred waggons than to adopt this barbarous measure. At break of day, all the parks, the baggage, the whole of the artillery, the cavalry, guards, and two-thirds of the army, had already passed the defile. The Duke of Tarentum and Prince Poniatowski were charged to hold the suburbs, and to defend them long enough to allow the whole to debouche, and then to execute, themselves, the passage of the defile towards eleven o’clock. At six o’clock in the morning, the magistrates of Leipsic sent a deputation

to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, to beg that he would not make the city the scene of an action that would occasion its ruin. At nine o'clock the emperor mounted his horse, entered Leipsic, and paid a visit to the king. He left this prince at full liberty to do as he pleased, and not to quit his dominions, leaving them to be exposed to that seditious spirit which had been fomented amongst the soldiers. A Saxon battalion had been formed at Dresden, and joined the young guards. The emperor caused it to be drawn up at Leipsic, in front of the king's palace, to serve him as a guard, and protect him from the first movement of the enemy. Half an hour after, the emperor repaired to Lindenau, there to await the evacuation of Leipsic, and to see the last troops pass the bridges before putting himself in march. Meanwhile the enemy was speedily apprised that the greater part of the army had evacuated Leipsic, and that there remained there only a strong rear-guard. They briskly attacked the Duke of Tarentum and Prince Poniatowski; they were repeatedly repulsed; and in the act of defending the suburbs, our rear-guard effected its retreat. But the Saxons that remained in the city fired upon the troops from the ramparts, which obliged them to accelerate their retreat, and occasioned some disorder.

‘ The emperor had ordered the engineers to form fougades under the grand bridge which is between Leipsic and Lindenau, in order to blow it up at the latest moment, and thus to retard the march of the enemy, and give time for our baggage to file off. General Dulanloy had intrusted this operation to Colonel Montfort. This colonel, instead of remaining on the spot to direct it and to give the signal, ordered a corporal and four sappers to blow up the bridge the instant the enemy should appear. The corporal, an ignorant fellow, and but ill comprehending the nature of the duty with which he was charged, upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the foudages and blew up the bridge. A part of the army was still on the other side, with a park of 80 pieces of artillery, and some hundreds of wag-

gons. The advance of this part of the army, who were approaching the bridge, seeing it blow up, conceived it was in the power of the enemy. A cry of dismay spread from rank to rank—"The enemy are close upon our rear, and the bridges are destroyed!"—The unfortunate soldiers dispersed, and endeavoured to effect their escape as well as they could. The Duke of Tarentum swam across the river; Count Lauriston, less fortunate, was drowned; Prince Poniatowski, mounted on a spirited horse, dashed into the water, and appeared no more. The emperor was not informed of this disaster until it was too late to remedy it. In fact, no remedy would have been possible. Colonel Montfort, and the corporal of sappers, have been handed over to a court martial.

‘It is impossible as yet to ascertain the losses occasioned by this unfortunate event, but they are estimated at 12,000 men, and several hundred waggons. The disorder which it has occasioned in the army has changed the state of affairs. The French army, though victorious, is arriving at Erfurt, as a defeated army would have arrived there. It is impossible to describe the regret which the army feels for Prince Poniatowski, Count Lauriston, and all the brave men who perished in consequence of this fatal event. We have no accounts of General Regnier; it is not known whether he is taken or killed. The profound grief of the emperor may be easily conceived, who sees from inattention to his wise dispositions the results of so many fatigues and labours completely vanquishing.’

CHAP. XLVI.

BONAPARTE'S DISASTROUS RETREAT—INTERCEPTED BY GENERAL WREDE—BATTLE OF HANAU—ESTIMATE OF HIS LOSS—RECROSSES THE RHINE—PURSUIT OF THE ALLIES—THEY ENTER FRANKFORT—BONAPARTE ARRIVES AT PARIS—HIS HUMBLE SPEECH TO THE SENATE—DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS.

BONAPARTE, pursuing his retreat from Dresden, passed the Saale at Weissenfels, on the 20th October, and pushed rapidly forward to Erfurt, where he arrived on the 23d, and where he found a seasonable supply of provisions, ammunition, and cloathing, which, in some degree, revived the drooping spirits of his soldiers.

The haughty despot, it will be seen in the preceding chapter, was compelled to revert to falsehoods to gloss over his defeat. He found, in the spirit which actuated the combined forces, the direful presage of his subsequent misfortunes.—In the action of the 16th, he owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, or he would have been made prisoner by the Austrian cuirassiers, and from that time the overwhelming force and fury of his enemies pressed upon him; and the pursuit of the victors was impeded, not by the gallantry and discipline of his armies, but, by the roads being choaked up with dead bodies, carriages, baggage waggons, and equipages of every description.

General Wrede, with the Austro-Bavarian army, advanced with great celerity, in order to cut off Bonaparte's retreat to Frankfort: and in a series of engagements harassed the retreating army.

In an engagement that took place on the 19th, between Rottenbach and Geluhausen, General Delamotte took from

the French 2 cannon and 2000 prisoners, among which were 2 generals and 150 officers. On the 30th October, General Wrede made a reconnoissance, and having ascertained that Bonaparte, who was approaching, had still from 60 to 80,000 men, while his own force, in consequence of having sent out large detachments, was only 30,000 men in front of Hanau, he determined to impede the retreat, which he could not wholly prevent. Having made the necessary dispositions, he was attacked by Bonaparte in person, who brought up 180 pieces of cannon, to compel him to give way. In this object Napoleon failed, as the combined army retained possession of the field of battle until night, when the left wing was withdrawn behind Hanau. He then commenced his retreat, and, to cover it, attempted to carry Hanau by assault. To spare the town from bombardment, General Wrede withdrew the garrison on the morning of the 31st October; but the French having, on their entrance, begun a general pillage, the allied army recovered it by assault, but with the loss of its Commander-in-chief, Wrede, who was mortally wounded in the attack. This irreparable loss so incensed the Austro-Bavarian troops, that they put every Frenchman in the town to the sword. The Austro-Bavarian troops was computed at 7000 killed and wounded, and some missing. That of the French was 15,000 killed and wounded. The greater part of the latter perished in the wood of Lampner, the rapidity with which they effected their retreat not having permitted them to carry them off. The road from Hanau to Frankfort was covered with dead bodies, dead horses, and dismounted ammunition waggon.

Besides the loss which Bonaparte suffered at Hanau, 15,000 stragglers were brought in, who were unable to keep up with the army; while his route was marked by the carcasses of dead and dying horses without number, and the bodies of men who had been either killed or perished through hunger, sickness, or fatigue. The incredible number of blown up or destroyed ammunition waggon, also attested the sufferings of his army,

whilst pillaged and burning towns and villages marked, at the same time, the ferocity with which he conducted himself.—The number of the dead bodies on the road had been considerably augmented, from a resolution that had been taken to carry off all the sick and wounded, not resulting surely from any principle of humanity, but probably as matter of boast, in the relations that might be given to the world of the event, as several of these men were found abandoned on the road, in the last gasp of hunger and disease, the dead and the dying frequently mixed together, lying in groups of six or eight, by half-extinguished fires, on the road side. Several of these men must have been compelled to move on foot, as their bodies were found on the road with the sticks with which they had endeavoured to support their march, lying by their sides.

Bonaparte, however, at last escaped from his pursuers, and carried the remains of his guard, and some other corps, to the left bank of the Rhine, leaving but few troops in Frankfort, before which the advanced guard of the allies soon appeared.

The Emperor Alexander made his entry into the city of Frankfort on the Maine, at noon, on the 8th October, at the head of the horse artillery and about 50 squadrons of the cavalry of the Russian Imperial guard and reserve; and some squadrons of the Prussian guard, amidst the loudest acclamations of many thousands of inhabitants. His imperial majesty stopped near the quarter prepared for him to see his cavalry pass, which they did in the most perfect parade order, after a march of one hundred English miles (cantoning and assembling from cantonments included), which they performed in 48 hours; viz. from Schwinfurth, by Wutzburgh and Aschaffenburg, to this place. On the following day the Emperor Francis arrived. The Emperor of Russia met his imperial and royal apostolic majesty at some distance from Frankfort, and both sovereigns proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and *Te Deum* sung.

The remains of the French army having reached Cassel, opposite Mayence, Bonaparte hastened to Paris with his usu-

sual rapidity. For the first time he appeared astounded and humbled. His language implied despondency. His fond dreams of universal empire were dissipated; and the preservation of his throne now became the object. On Thursday, December 30th, Bonaparte, being seated on the throne, received the senate in a body; when Count Lacedepede, the president, presented the following address:—

‘SIRE,—The senate comes to offer to your imperial majesty, the tribute of its attachment and gratitude for the last communications which it has received by the medium of its committee. Your majesty adheres to the proposals even of your enemies, which have been transmitted by one of your ministers in Germany. What stronger pledges could your majesty give of your sincere desire of peace? Your majesty certainly believes that power is strengthened by being limited, and that the art of favouring the happiness of the people, is the chief policy of kings. The senate thanks you for it in the name of the French people. It is also in the name of this same people, that we thank you for all the legitimate means of defence which your wisdom may take to insure peace. The enemy has invaded our territory; he designs to penetrate to the centre of our provinces. The French, united in sentiment and interest, under a chief like you, will not suffer their energy to be cast down. Empires, like individuals, have their days of mourning and of prosperity; it is in great exigencies that great nations shew themselves. No, the enemy shall not tear asunder this beautiful and noble France, which for these fourteen centuries has maintained itself with glory through such diversities of fortune, and which for the interest of the neighbouring nations themselves, ought always to throw a considerable weight into the balance of Europe. We have for pledge your heroic firmness and the national honour. We will fight for our dear country between the tombs of our fathers, and the cradles of our infants.

‘Sire, obtain peace by a last effort, worthy of yourself and of the French; and let your hand, so often victorious, let fall

your arms, after having signed the repose of the world. This, Sire, is the wish of France, the wish of the senate,—this is the wish and want of the human race.’

Napoleon replied—‘I am sensible of the sentiments which you express towards me. You have seen by the documents which I have caused to be laid before you, what I do for the sake of peace. I will make without regret the sacrifices implied by the preliminary basis which the enemy has proposed, and which I have accepted; my life has but one object, the happiness of the French. Meantime, Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comte, Brabant, are invaded. The cries of this part of my family rend my heart; I call the French to succour the French. I call the French of Paris, of Bretagne, of Normandy, of Champagne, and of the other departments, to the succour of their brethren. Shall we forsake them in their distress? Peace and the deliverance of our territory ought to be our rallying cry—at the sight of all this nation in arms, the enemy will fly, or will sign peace on the basis which he has himself proposed. The question is now no more; to recover the conquests we have made.’

From Frankfort the allies published a declaration, which, from its moderation and good policy, is perhaps the noblest production that ever issued from the cabinets of conquerors. Its promulgation was no doubt of infinite service to their cause. It unnerved the arm of France, by opening the eyes of the nation to appreciate the folly and ambition of their leader, whose entreaties and proclamations could no longer rouse his subjects to oppose a partition, which they believed was not in contemplation. It runs thus:—

‘The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the *Senatus Consultum* to that effect, contain an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war, the principle which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.

‘The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance, which, to the misfortune of Europe, and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

‘Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which their imperial and royal majesties have made use of victory, has been to offer peace to his majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the sovereigns and princes of Germany, has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, honourable to each.

‘The allied sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wish that France may be happy,—that French commerce may revive,—that the arts, those blessings of peace, may again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The allied powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory, which France under her kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.

‘But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy, themselves. They desire a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforth preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.

‘The allied powers will not lay down their arms until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms until the

political state of Europe be re-established anew,—until immoveable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions,—until the sanctity of treaties shall have at last secured a real peace to Europe.'

CHAP. XLVII.

HANOVER EVACUATED—DENMARK MAKES PEACE WITH THE ALLIES—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE RESTORED—THE VICEROY OF ITALY DEFEATED—MURAT'S DEFECTION FROM BONAPARTE—ST. CYR CAPITULATES AT DRESDEN—DANTZIC SURRENDERS—SUCCESSSES OF WELLINGTON.

BONAPARTE's affairs at this time appeared to be completely deranged. One disaster followed another with unexampled rapidity, and every courier brought news of some unexpected defection, some disastrous engagement, or some fresh instance of internal dissatisfaction.

After the battle of Leipsic, the Crown Prince of Sweden directed his march to the north, in order to cut off Davoust from Holland; and to free Hanover from the remaining French troops. On the entry of the allies into his majesty's electoral dominions, Jerome Bonaparte fled, and the inhabitants received his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, with enthusiasm, loyalty, and unbounded joy. The old authorities were instantly restored, and measures adopted for arming the people, and supplying the allies with every requisite necessary. At the same time the Duke of Brunswick was reinstated in his territories.

The Crown Prince continuing his march, took possession of the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe, in which he was ably assisted by a squadron of English ships. On entering Holstein, Davoust shut himself up in Hamburgh; while

the Danes stood upon the defensive ; but after suffering severely in several attacks, and experiencing the mortifying coolness of their own people, the Danish general was compelled to sue for a cessation of hostilities, which ended in a treaty of peace on the following terms:—‘ All conquests to be restored, except Heligoland.—Prisoners of war on both sides to be released.—Denmark to join the allies with 10,000 men, if England will give a subsidy of 400,000*l.* in the year 1814.—Pomerania to be ceded by Sweden to Denmark in lieu of Norway.—Stralsund still to continue a depot for English produce.—Denmark to do all in her power to abolish the Slave Trade.—England to mediate between Denmark and the other allies.’

The news of the defeat of Bonaparte was received in Holland with indescribable joy, and a revolution was immediately organized, by the principal gentlemen and merchants of Amsterdam. The French commandant, with his followers, accepted the offer of an unmolested retreat, and the cry of *Oranje Boven*, was re-echoed from every considerable town in Holland. The citizens flew to enrol their names as volunteers; arms of every description were seized, and the French astonished, and terrified, fled in every direction. But the chief hopes of the Dutch seemed to be placed on England, where the account of this revolution was received with transports of joy. Troops, arms, and ammunition, were embarked with the utmost dispatch, in order to secure the chief places against the return of the French. The Prince of Orange also landed in Holland, on the 1st of December, and was received by the Dutch people with a degree of enthusiasm, such as the virtues of the House of Orange would naturally command. On his landing he issued a proclamation, pregnant with moderation and good sense. On arriving at the Hague, he took upon him, in consequence of an address from the principal actors in the revolution, the title of ‘ Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands;’ while measures were taken for assembling the deputies of the people, and framing

a new constitution. The French in the mean time abandoned Schowen, Breda, and Williamstadt. The latter place was taken by a party of Cossacks, who had entered Holland, and by their approach inspired the French with dread and alarm. Concluding that they were the advanced guard of a Russian army, the garrison retreated rapidly to Bergen-op-Zoom, leaving 600 prisoners in the hands of these active fellows.—In short, never was a revolution effected with less bloodshed; although in one instance the French evinced their rage and disappointment in the cruelest manner.

Bonaparte was equally unfortunate in Italy. There the Austrian General Nugent, assisted by a detachment of English troops, and the fleet under Admiral Freemantle, forced the viceroy, after a series of engagements, to seek his safety in flight, with about 20,000 men, having lost an equal number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. But what must, under these circumstances, have wrung the heart of Bonaparte, was the defection of Murat, who concluded a treaty of peace with the allies on the 20th of February, after which he took possession of Rome in their name, and sent 6000 troops to join Count Nugent.

When Bonaparte retreated from Dresden, he left St. Cyr with 25,000 men in garrison, from what motive it is not easy to conjecture. Finding a retreat impossible, the French commander offered to capitulate on conditions that he and his troops should be permitted to retire to France, engaging not to serve during the war. These terms were acceded to by the Russian general, but Alexander refused to ratify them, or to grant any terms except those of unconditional surrender. St. Cyr, who was on his march, was offered the alternative of returning to Dresden, which he refused; submitting to necessity, and surrendering his army as prisoners of war.

The fortress of Dantzic, which had long resisted the attacks of the besieging army, capitulated to the Duke of Wurtemberg, after all hopes of relief had vanquished. The garrison of 11,800 men were sent to Russia, except such as were sub-

ject to the allied powers, and who were placed at the disposal of their respective sovereigns. The exactions of the French had reduced the most respectable inhabitants from a state of affluence to comparative indigence. But they received every assistance from the English, and the other allies employed in the siege.

The states of Hesse, Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden, hastened to throw off the yoke of Bonaparte, and having renounced the confederation of the Rhine, implored the mediation of the British ministers at Frankfort, with the allied powers, expressing at the same time a desire to join the alliance. Other states followed their example, and thus was effected the complete dissolution of that formidable confederacy, instituted by Bonaparte for the double purpose of proving either an impregnable bulwark to France in the event of foreign invasion, or the instrument in his hands of the subjugation of the rest of Europe.

While these operations were going on, in various parts, against the great enemy to the repose of Europe, Britain had additional cause of exultation, in the brilliant triumphs of the Marquis of Wellington, in the south-west of France.—After the battle of Vittoria, the British and their confederates mounted the Pyrennees, where the French made a most desperate attempt to maintain the strong positions they occupied; and all the military skill of Marshal Soult, who succeeded in the command of the army, was exerted to retard the progress of Wellington, and to save Pampeluna. But all efforts were unavailing when opposed to the courage of the British army. Soult was driven with great loss from all his positions, the French garrison of Pampeluna was compelled to surrender, and St. Sebastian was taken by storm, by the army under Sir Thomas Graham, after exhibiting instances of gallantry and devotion, never surpassed in the military annals of any people. The gallant Wellington, having thus secured his rear, descended into France, where he established his winter-quarters,

after addressing a proclamation to the French, honourable to himself and the government under whose auspices he acted.

While the state of the weather and the roads rendered active military operations impossible, Soult was indefatigable in strengthening his position in front of St. Jean de Luz, in disciplining his troops, and collected every thing necessary for the complete equipment of his army. However, in the beginning of November, the noble-marquis began his operations, by attacking Soult's positions, which he completely turned, the French being of course obliged to abandon their whole line, which they had fortified with much care and labour; while the British pursuing their success, established themselves in the rear of their right, Soult was thus compelled to retreat to a strong position in front of Bayonne, which during six months had been entrenched with great labour.—The combined army approached this position about the middle of December, when the French made repeated and desperate attacks upon the right, under Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope, in all of which they were repulsed with great loss, and so desponding were the prospects of the French, that two regiments, that of Nassau and Frankfort, came over to the allies, and Soult retreating before inferior numbers took shelter in his entrenched camp.

CHAP. XLVIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE RHINISH CONFEDERACY—NEUTRALITY OF SWITZERLAND REJECTED—INVASION OF FRANCE—BONAPARTE PREPARES TO RESIST—FAILS IN ROUSING THE NATION TO ARMS—LEAVES PARIS—ATTACKS BLUCHER AT TRANNES—RETREATS ACROSS THE AUBE—CHALONS TAKEN BY THE ALLIES—BLUCHER BEATEN BY BONAPARTE—ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF SCHWARTZENBERG.

THE allies having collected their columns at Frankfort, drawn closer the bonds of the confederacy, and received an assurance of liberal assistance from England, prepared to attack the lion in his den. The French had retained a position at Hockheim, and was employed in restoring the old lines, which passed from the tête-de-pont at Cassel, round that position, and back to the Rhine. Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg determined to put a stop to this work, and to occupy the position himself. With this view an attack was made, in which the lines were carried by assault. Four pieces of cannon were taken, and the commander of the town, the aide-camp of General Guilemeau, various officers, and several hundred men, were made prisoners.—The remainder of them (the corps of General Bertrand) retreated upon Costheim and Cassel, and occupying the intervening wooded ground, maintained for the rest of the day, a sharp tirailleur fire, but in which they must have suffered much, as the Austrian cannon played on them from a height above their position, and other guns on the left bank of the Maine threw their fire in flank. The sight of the Austrian flag, again waving victorious over the Rhine, and of the great military dépôts of the French,

whence issued those armies that have caused so much desolation and misery in Germany, excited an interest which every individual felt, and which was finally expressed by peals of enthusiastic acclamations as the prince marshal passed.

As France was most vulnerable on the side of Switzerland, Bonaparte declared that country neutral; but this pretended neutrality being disregarded by the allies, Prince Schwartzberg entered Switzerland at the head of his army, and by a proclamation in the name of the allies, restored the cantons in the same state of integrity and independence as before the French revolution; while the Swiss instead of attempting resistance, agreed to assist the allies in their struggle for the peace and independence of Europe.

Other armies passed the Rhine at Dulsendorff and Coblenz. The route which they took through Franche Compté and Lorraine, is the most vulnerable part of France. The Emperor of Russia, with the last of his reserves, crossed the Rhine, at Basle, on the 13th of January, the anniversary of his crossing the Niemen (the extreme boundary of his empire) in pursuit of the French, who had presumed to invade him. On this occasion, all means were taken to impress on the minds of the enthusiastic Russians, that the two events were interwoven together by the hands of Providence itself; the formal passage of the sacred river was not effected by the Czar till the auspicious day; an appeal to the God of Hosts preceded the undertaking; Heaven itself seemed thus, to the Russians, to have opened the way to national revenge; and the same enthusiasm, by which their country was saved, excited their bravery in the cause of Europe, at 1500 miles from their native land. The Emperor of Austria, who had arrived at Basle the preceding evening, went to meet the Emperor Alexander at some distance, and their imperial and royal majesties entered Basle on horseback, at the head of the Russian and Prussian guards, and some other regiments of the reserve. This part of the allied army was thus described by Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Stewart:—‘The Russian and Prus-

sian guards and reserves, to the amount of 30,000 men, crossed the Rhine yesterday at this place, and defiled before the allied sovereigns. It is quite impossible to give an idea of these troops by any description. Their warlike appearance, their admirable equipment, their military perfection; and when one considers what they had undergone, and contemplates the Russians, who have traversed their own regions, and marched in a few short months from Moscow across the Rhine, one is lost in wonder and admiration. The condition in which the Russian cavalry appeared, reflects the highest reputation on this branch of their service; and their artillery is not to be surpassed.'

The grand army of the allies under Prince Schwartzenberg crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen, on the 21st of December; on the 3d of January his head quarters were at Altkirch; on the 14th at Vesoul.

The right wing under General Wrede, pursuing a more northern route, but in a parallel direction, through Lorraine, met with more opposition. Its advanced guard was driven out of St. Diez on the 10th by General Milhaud; but Wrede, having seasonably arrived with reinforcements, regained the town and took some hundreds of prisoners. About the same time an intermediate column under the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg and the Hetman Platoff, cut its way through a corps of French cavalry at Epinal. From Vesoul the main army moved towards Langres, which was evacuated on its approach by Marshal Mortier, who retired to Fontaine, where he posted himself, in order to cover Bar sur Aube. From this place he ventured on the 24th of January to attack the advanced guard of Prince Schwartzenberg; but being repulsed with considerable loss, he retired on Bar sur Aube, which town, also, he thought fit to evacuate in the night of the 25th.

The career of the Silesian army, as it is denominated, under Field-Marshal Blucher, was still more rapid. The forces under his orders passed the Rhine on the 1st and 2d of January. The centre composed of the corps of Generals Von

York and Langeron, having crossed at and about Caub, took the strong post of Bingen, put Mentz under blockade, and entered Kreutznach on the 4th of January. The left wing, under General Sacken, crossed near Malbeim, and secured Frankenthal and Worms; while the right, under General St. Priest, made good its passage close to Coblenz, which city it took, after a slight resistance. Marmont, who was opposed to the gallant Blücher, found himself too weak to make any stand; the position of Kayerslautern was abandoned; and Treves, with a garrison of 1000 men, was taken on the 6th of January by a detachment under Colonel Henckel. The field-marshal, having repaired the bridges over the Saar, which were destroyed by the French to secure their retreat, and left detachments to blockade Saar-Louis, Thoraville, and Luxembourg, directed his course towards the Moselle. On the 14th of January General Sacken took possession of Nancy, which had been evacuated, and set at liberty some hundreds of Spanish prisoners, and on the following day the Silesian army accomplished its junction with that of Prince Schwartzberg, whose right wing under Wrede had arrived at Charmes.—Toul, with a garrison of 400 men only, surrendered on the 17th without resistance; the Silesian army moved on towards the Meuse, which river was likewise abandoned by Marmont, and arrived about the 25th in the vicinity of the Marne.

During this advance of the formidable force of the allies, Bonaparte neglected no means of rousing the spirit of the French to resist their invaders. The Russians were compared to those hordes of barbarians, which the valour of the Gauls had in former times opposed and destroyed. France was represented as the last resource of the civilized world, and as the power destined to repel these modern Vandals, and to perpetuate the knowledge of the arts and sciences. But as the people remained unmoved by these flattering compliments, the emperor, in order to accelerate the levy of troops in the departments, had recourse to a very hazardous measure, and by a decree, dated December 26, he appointed 26

commissioners, each invested with absolute power in the province entrusted to his direction. By another decree of the 8th of January, he called out the national guard, and himself assumed the chief command over it. The pressure of the invasion soon began to be felt in the French metropolis, in the failure of mercantile houses; and on the 20th of January, the bank of Paris, in consequence of the deficiency of specie, thought fit to limit its payments in coin to 500,000 francs (about 20,000*l.*) a day; but as no person could receive a portion of this limited sum without a special ticket from the mayor of his quarter, it was shrewdly suspected that this limitation was tantamount to a complete stoppage. The calling-out of the levy en masse having entirely failed, it became necessary for the French emperor to put himself at the head of such regular troops as he could muster, in order to check their unobstructed progress to the capital of his usurped dominions.

Bonaparte accordingly prepared to leave Paris on the 26th of January, a city which he may probably never behold again. His empress and his son appeared before the Parisian mob, to whom they were recommended for protection. He even admitted that amidst the grand manœuvres that would take place, it was probable that Paris itself might for a short time fall under the power of the allies; but, he assured them, that ultimately their invaders would be annihilated; for it had been often observed, that there were several ways by which her enemies might enter France; but no way had been discovered out of it. Having then taken a public farewell of the empress and his son, with theatrical parade, he set off for Chalons sur Marne, on which side he apprehended the greatest danger.

The force collected by Bonaparte at this point is estimated at 70,000 men. From the preceding account it appears that Blucher's army had crossed the Marne, after which he marched upon Brienne, and was preparing to pass the Aube, when Napoleon unexpectedly came up from Chalons, attacked his rear at St. Dizier, on the 27th of January, and drove it upon

the main body. The French now followed their retreating enemy, whom they overtook at Brienne. Here an obstinate conflict ensued, and terminated in the conflagration of part of the town, and its recovery from the allied troops. The corps of the Prince of Wurtemberg and Count Giulay were sent by Prince Schwartzberg to reinforce Blucher; and the Prussian general being now nearly upon an equality with Napoleon, determined to give him battle.

The allies had taken a position at Trannes. The centre of the French army was posted at La Rothière, with its right on the Aube at Deinville, near Brienne, and its left extending to Tremilly, and occupying the village and woods of La Giberie. The action commenced at noon, on the 1st of February, and after some skirmishing an obstinate contest began on the left, where the Prince of Wurtemberg at length succeeded in carrying the Bonaparte's position. During the struggle, Napoleon sent a corps to his left with a view to remedy this disaster; on which Blucher, having drawn the whole of Sacken's corps to the centre, left Count Giulay, to act against Deinville, while he himself made a most furious attack on La Rothière, which formed the key of Napoleon's position. A most obstinate conflict, in which he is reported to have led on the young guard in person, and to have had a horse shot under him, ensued at La Rothière; it lasted till ten at night, when the Russians remained masters of the place. Giulay was equally successful, though it was not till midnight that he drove the French from their position at Deinville. The Prince of Wurtemberg had, meanwhile, advanced beyond La Giberie, and formed a junction with Wrede, at Chaumenil, so that the victory was complete in every quarter: 36 pieces of cannon, which number was increased by the following morning to 78, and 4000 prisoners, were left in the hands of the allies. Napoleon, immediately after the action, commenced his retreat across the Aube, harassed by the victorious troops of Blucher. He first withdrew to Troyes and then to Nogent. The former place was entered on the 7th, by the Prince of Wurtemberg.

During these operations in Champagne, the corps of Macdonald having been recalled from the Lower Rhine, in pursuance of Bonaparte's general plan of concentration, hastened, by forced marches through Liege and Namur, to join the main army. To prevent this junction General Von York's corps was dispatched to the northward. They met on the 5th of February, at La Chaussée; and Macdonald being worsted in an action, which took place there, retired to Chalons, pursued by Von York, who bombarded the town. It surrendered the following day, by capitulation, in consequence of which, Macdonald, with his corps and those of Sebastiani and Arrighi, was allowed to evacuate Chalons and to retire to the left bank of the Marne.

On the 6th Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were at Sandron, and on the 8th at Etoges. At the same date the corps of Sacken, Von York, and Kleist, were respectively at Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, and Chalons, the whole advancing upon the retiring force under Macdonald. Bonaparte, it seems, determined to oppose their movements. On the 10th the Russian corps of General Alsuffief was attacked by a very superior force from Sezanne and compelled after an obstinate resistance, to retire with considerable loss. According to the accounts of the French, the general himself was among the prisoners taken by them on this occasion. On the 11th the corps of Sacken and Von York, marching upon Montmirail, fell in with Bonaparte himself. A severe engagement followed; the village of Marchais was thrice taken and recovered, and General Sacken lost 4 pieces of cannon. Both armies maintained their positions; but, two days afterwards the allied chiefs thought it advisable to retire behind the Marne. At this time Marmont's corps, amounting to about 10,000 men, were at Etoges. Blucher advanced to attack him; but the French general, not prepared to cope with such a powerful antagonist, fell back, closely pursued by the allied troops, to Janvillieres. Here, however, he was joined, on the 14th, by Bonaparte, who in the night had made a forced

march with all his guards, and a considerable corps of cavalry. A severe action took place; when Blucher finding himself opposed to a greatly superior force, formed his infantry into squares and maintained the unequal contest during a retreat of near four leagues. The most furious charges of Bonaparte's cavalry were successfully resisted; the veteran forced his way through a corps which attempted to intercept him, and, at length, towards night reached Etoges in safety. His loss in this movement was estimated at 3,500 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and that of the French was reported to have been considerable from the tremendous fire of artillery, in which Blucher was superior. The latter subsequently retired to Chalons, where he was joined on the 16th by Sacken and Von York. At this date the corps of Langeron and St. Priest having reduced Bonn, Cologne, Juliers, and other towns, were rapidly advancing to bring a great accession to the force under this active and enterprising leader. His troops, between 50 and 60,000 strong, on the 20th, marched southward to join the grand army at Troyes.

The grand army had in the mean time sustained some reverses. On the 11th, Sens was taken by assault by the Prince of Wurtemberg: the French abandoned the left bank of the Seine, and Prince Schwartzenberg, after repairing the bridges broken down by them, established himself on that river, while the corps of Wrede, Wittgenstein, and Bianchi, pressed forward on the other side to Melun, and Fontainebleau. On the 17th, this last town was stormed by Hardegg, Thurn, and Platoff, and the advanced posts of the allies pushed on towards Paris, to which they must of course have made a near approach. The vigilance of Bonaparte, however, prevented their farther advance. With a large corps of cavalry he met the van of Wittgenstein's corps, which was pressing forward in concert with Blucher's movement beyond Etoges, but was repulsed with considerable loss both of men and artillery. This check, and as it may be presumed the intimation of Blucher's retreat, determined Prince Schwartzenberg to

withdraw his army behind the Seine. On the 19th, Bonaparte made a desperate attack on the corps of the Prince of Wurtemberg, posted at Montereau, and charged with the defence of the bridge at that place. In three assaults he was repulsed with loss; but late in the evening he succeeded in carrying the position, and made himself master of the bridge, over which a considerable part of the army passed. Prince Schwartzemberg in consequence deemed it expedient to continue his retreat to Troyes, in order to join the army of Blücher.

CHAP. XLIX.

REMARKS ON BONAPARTE'S CRITICAL SITUATION—NEGOTIATIONS AT CHATILLON—TROYES RETAKEN BY BONAPARTE—MOVEMENTS OF BLUCHER—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH AT LAON—ADVANCE OF SCHWARTZENBERG—WELLINGTON DEFEATS SOULT—PASSES THE ADOUR—SIR W. BERESEFORD ENTERS BOURDEAUX—REVOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

BONAPARTE, even by his most inveterate enemies, has always been ranked amongst the first captains of his age, and now when he was called upon to defend his crown, and even his life, there can be no doubt but that he must have exerted his utmost abilities. Indeed his activity was almost incredible. He was scarcely ever off horseback, and he seems to have inspired his old companions in arms, with a considerable degree of his own ardour. Yet it was evident to every reflecting mind, that he was now engaged in the same disastrous game, which he played at Dresden and at Leipsic. The Austrians, the Russians, and the Prussians, were hemming him in more and more, on the east and south-east, whilst the Crown Prince

of Sweden, relieved by the treaty with Denmark, was proceeding from the north with a formidable force. The centre of his army under Winzingerode, had already reached the scene of action and stormed Soissons. In the mean time the allies were organizing large armies of reserve, and immense bodies of Russian troops were traversing Germany with great rapidity in order to join the grand army.

During these active operations, Caulincourt, Bonaparte's minister, was engaged with the ministers of the allied powers in negotiations at Chatillon sur Seine, and which were continued with great apparent activity.

No sooner had Blucher arrived on the 21st of February, at Mery on the Seine, and relieved Wittgenstein's corps, which had been posted there, than the place was attacked by two corps of the French under Oudinot, from the opposite side of the river. During the action, the town itself fell a prey to the flames, but nothing decisive ensued, and Blucher maintained his position. The reasons which induced the Prussian marshal to proceed so far southward to join Schwartzemberg, and having effected that junction, to separate so hastily again, have not been explained. It was, perhaps, a feint to draw off the attention of the French from the reinforcements arriving in a more northern direction, and tended at any rate to cover the retrograde movement of the grand army, which was weakened by a detachment to the southward against Augereau.

On the 21st the head-quarters of the French were at Nogent, and on the 23d the city of Troyes was invested by Bonaparte. The Austrian generalissimo threatened to set fire to the town for the purpose of securing his retreat, upon which it was agreed that he should evacuate it unmolested in the night of the 23d. The next morning Bonaparte entered the city, and having issued a decree for the occasion against persons convicted of assuming the badges of the ancient dynasty, caused a poor emigrant officer to be shot, because he had worn the cross of St. Louis during the occupation of the

city by the allies. Prince Schwartzenberg continued his retrograde movement as far as the Aube and Chaumont, to which places the head-quarters were withdrawn.

Blucher had, in the mean time, received advice of the approach of the different corps by which he expected to be joined, and learned that Marmont, emboldened by his absence, had advanced to Sezanne. He broke up from Mery in consequence of this information, and having made a march in the night between the 23d and 24th, without being observed, he threw three bridges over the Aube at Auglure, and went to meet Marmont, whose object apparently was to get in the rear of the allies. At his approach he retired to La Ferté sous Jouarra, on the Marne, where he was joined by the corps under Mortier, who had previously been stationed at Chateau Thierry, to observe General Winzingerode. Their united force amounted to near 20,000 men. By a skilful demonstration upon Meaux, which was occupied on the 27th by the advanced guard of General Sacken's corps, Blucher menaced the communication of the French with Paris, and compelled them to evacuate La Ferté, where he crossed the Marne without opposition on the 29th. At Soissons, which had previously been retaken by the French and again recovered, the army of Silesia as it was still denominated, accomplished its junction with the corps of Winzingerode and Bülow on the 3d of March.

This army, though already thrice annihilated, according to the official reports of Bonaparte, whose modesty and love of truth was now displayed as conspicuous as ever, seems to have been an object of his jealous attention. Being apprised of its movements, he hastened from Troyes on the 27th with the flower of his troops, leaving a force to observe the grand army of the allies. On the 4th of March he arrived on the Aisne, and on the following day endeavoured to regain possession of Soissons. Repulsed in this attempt with great slaughter by a body of 10,000 Russians, to whom the defence of the town was entrusted, he moved off to the right, and on the 9th suc-

ceeded in crossing the river higher up at Bery-le-Bac. He immediately attacked the left of the position of the allies, near Craon, but from the judicious dispositions of his able antagonist, he was repulsed. The following morning he renewed the attack with all his force, calculated at more than 60,000 men, against the point where the infantry of the corps of Winzingerode was posted. This position was defended with the most determined obstinacy by Counts Strogonoff and Woronzoff, who, however, being at length obliged to retire, fell back in admirable order to Laon. Blucher, in consequence, took up a fresh position in front of Laon; the elevated plateau, on which the town itself is situated, being occupied by the corps of General Bülow. Here he was again assailed under cover of a thick fog, before day-light on the 10th. Favoured by this circumstance, the French obtained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, close under the town. The Prussian commander, as soon as he could observe their position, ordered his cavalry which had been placed in reserve to turn the left flank; and at the same time directed part of Bülow's corps to advance against the village of Ardon, from which they were compelled to retreat. While the cavalry was taking a circuit to execute his directions, a column was observed approaching along the road from Rheims. Generals Von York and Sacken were ordered to oppose it. In this quarter the battle now became most obstinate. The French opened a formidable battery of 40 or 50 pieces of artillery, and advanced with a confidence indicative of the certainty of success. He was moving forward at a *pas de charge* to the village of Althies, but was met and overthrown by Prince William of Prussia. The French then commenced their retreat, which soon became a flight; and were pursued by their opponents to Corbeny, losing artillery, baggage, and prisoners by the way. On the right, no particular advantages were gained beyond the expulsion of the enemy from the villages, of which he had gained possession in the morning. Notwithstanding the discomfiture of Bonaparte's right on the

9th, he renewed and continued his attacks with the rest of his force during the whole of the succeeding day. The plain below the town of Laon is interspersed with villages and small woods, which soon became the scene of very obstinate contests. A wood near the village of Clacy, on the right of Blücher's position, was taken and recovered five different times, and finally remained in possession of the allies. In the centre and left the French maintained themselves, but towards evening a body of troops which they had pushed forward to attack the village of Semilly, was met by a battalion of Bülow's corps, and compelled to retire in disorder, with considerable loss. Thus terminated the attacks of two succeeding days; in which Bonaparte experienced nothing but defeat and discomfiture. The absence of the corps of Von York, Kleist, and Sacken, which were still in pursuit of the fugitives, prevented any active offensive operations on the second of these days; but success crowned the efforts of those corps in other respects, by the capture of between 3 and 4,000 prisoners, 45 pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition and baggage. During the night of the 10th, Bonaparte retired towards Soissons, pursued by the cavalry of Blücher's advanced guard.

Prince Schwartzberg availed himself of the absence of Bonaparte to advance again upon Troyes. The possession of Bar-sur-Aube seems to have been obstinately contested. That town was twice retaken by the French, but on the 27th of February remained in the hands of the allies, after an action which cost their opponents between 2 and 3,000 men. During the following days, the French continued to retreat; and on the 2d it was ascertained that they were in position along the Brace, on the right bank of the Seine, and at La Maison Blanche, on the left of that river. On the 3d a general attack was made upon them; and after an action in which they sustained a loss of 10 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 prisoners, Marshal Oudinot, who commanded, withdrew his force along the road towards Troyes. That city was summoned on the

following day, and they agreed to evacuate it without opposition.

On the south-eastern frontier of France, Augereau, who was dispatched to check the advance of Count Bubna upon Lyons, having in February received considerable reinforcements, especially from Suchet's army in Catalonia, was enabled about the 18th of that month to commence offensive operations with 25,000 men. This force he seems to have formed into three divisions: one column proceeding against Savoy, repossessed itself of Chamberri; another marching along the Saone recovered Macon, Bourg, and Lons le Saunier, where Augereau had his head-quarters on the 2d of March; while a third made its appearance in sight of Geneva. To check the progress of this force upon his flank and rear, Prince Schwartzenberg detached the corps of General Bianchi to the support of Count Bubna.

During these operations of the allies in the north, the movements of the Marquis of Wellington inspired Bonaparte with dread and alarm, inasmuch as the marquis had gained in a great measure the good opinion of the French inhabitants in those districts of the south, which had always evinced a predilection for the ancient order of things. The Marquis of Wellington, whose winter-quarters had been fixed at St. Jean de Luz, was prevented by the state of the weather and the roads, from re-commencing active operations against the French army under Marshal Soult, till the middle of February. On the 14th, he put in motion his right wing, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir Rowland Hill, who drove in Soult's picquets on the Joyeuse river, and forced a division under General Harispe to retire from Hellette to St. Martin; while part of General Mina's troops formed the blockade of St. Jean Pied de Port. On the 15th, Sir Rowland Hill continued the pursuit of the French, who had retired to a strong position in front of Garris, where Harispe was joined by the division of General Paris, which had been recalled from its march for the interior of France.

At the same time, the second English division under General Sir William Stewart, and the Spanish division under General Murillo, attacked and drove the French from the very strong position of St. Palais, where they retired on the night of the 15th across the Bidouze. They were followed on the 16th by Sir Rowland Hill, who the next day drove them across the Gave de Mouleon. This post also was carried with considerable loss to them; and on the 18th, our troops were established on the Gave d'Oleron, another of the tributary streams of the Adour. During this movement, Field-marshal Sir William Beresford, who had remained with the 4th and 7th divisions in observation on the Lower Bidouze, attacked them on the 23d in their fortified posts at Hastings and Oyergave, on the left of the Gave de Pau. On the 24th, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton with their divisions passed the Gave d'Oleron, the former at Ville Nave, and the latter between Monfort and Laas, and moved towards Orthes, where the hostile force having destroyed all the bridges, assembled on the 25th. The various divisions of the British army having passed the Gave de Pau on the 26th and following day, found the French in a strong position near Orthes, with their right on the heights along the high road to Dax, and occupying the village of St. Boes, which he carried after an obstinate resistance; but the ground was so narrow, that the troops under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton could not deploy to attack the heights on which Soult's centre and left were posted. The Marquis of Wellington then ordered a simultaneous assault on the right and left, by three divisions under Generals Picton and Clinton, and Lieutenant-colonel Colborne, which dislodged him, and secured the victory. Meanwhile, Sir Rowland Hill having forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes, moved forward upon the left of the French, who at first retired in good order; but finding themselves thus threatened, soon fled in the utmost confusion. In the action and pursuit, which was continued till dusk, they suffered severely; the whole country was covered by their

dead, and the victors took six pieces of cannon and a great number of prisoners. Many soldiers threw away their arms in their flight, 'and the desertion,' says our illustrious commander, 'has since been *immense*.' The loss on our part in this achievement, was 273 killed, 1891 wounded, and 70 missing.

During these operations on the right of the army, Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope availed himself of an opportunity which offered on the 23d, to cross the Adour below Bayonne, by means of rafts made of pontoons, and to take possession of the river at its mouth. The vessels destined to form the bridge could not get in till the 24th, when the difficult, and, at this season of the year, dangerous operation of bringing them in was effected with a gallantry and skill rarely equalled. The citadel of Bayonne was invested on the 25th; on the 27th, the bridge being completed, Sir John Hope attacked and carried the village of St. Etienne, and established his posts within 900 yards of the outworks of the place.

The day after the conflict at Orthes, the Marquis of Wellington pursued the fugitive army; and the 1st of March he passed the Adour. Sir William Beresford advanced upon Mont de Marsan, and Sir Rowland Hill upon Aire, of which towns, together with the large magazines established there, they made themselves masters.

On the 12th of March, Marshal Sir William Beresford, with the division under his command, entered Bourdeaux, and was warmly welcomed by the mayor and population.—When the approach of the marshal, at the head of the allied troops, was known at Bourdeaux, Mr. Lynch, the mayor, advanced on the way to meet him, attended by the constituted authorities, the principal inhabitants, and an immense multitude, in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. In his capacity of mayor, he was decorated with the insignia of Bonaparte's government; but, on his drawing near to Marshal Beresford, he tore them, and trampled them under foot. The white cockade was instantly substituted for them. This con-

duct was greeted with universal acclamation, and the mayor immediately addressed Marshal Beresford in a prepared speech. He then at the head of the procession conducted the marshal into the city, in which were found 84 pieces of cannon, and 100 boxes of secreted arms.

On the day following, his royal highness the Duke of Angoulême approached the city of Bordeaux. He was met at two leagues' distance by a troops of 200 young men of the first families in the neighbourhood, mounted on horseback, and adorned with white cockades and sashes.

CHAP. L.

NEGOCIATIONS AT CHATILLON TERMINATED—BONAPARTE DEBOUCHES ACROSS THE AUBE NEAR VITRY—REJUNCTION OF THE ALLIES—MARCH TO PARIS—OPERATIONS OF THE VARIOUS ARMIES—CAPTURE OF A LARGE CONVOY—ARRIVAL BEFORE PARIS—ITS DEFENCES STORMED—CAPITULATION OF THE FRENCH CAPITAL—ENTRY OF THE ALLIES.

THE negotiations at Chatillon were, at first, conducted in such a manner as to justify the hope of a favourable termination; but when Bonaparte had obtained some partial successes in the field, the discussions assumed a different aspect; and Caulincourt remained a considerable time without instructions. The allies offered to restore to France her ancient limits, colonies, and commerce, and even to enlarge her frontier; but on the 15th of March Caulincourt delivered a *contre-projet*, demanding that members of the Bonaparte family should be placed on foreign thrones, and other terms totally

incompatible with the liberties of Europe; and here the negotiations terminated.

Marshal Blucher, after the sanguinary conflict he sustained at Laon against Bonaparte, was joined at that place by the corps of General St. Priest, which had been driven out of Rheims after an obstinate resistance, in which its commander was severely wounded, with a loss of 2,000 men and 8 pieces of cannon. On the 18th, the Prussian general again put his army in motion, and the following day the Russian division under the orders of Woronzow, Citzernicheff, and Benkendorff, once more made themselves masters of Rheims, whence Bonaparte retired to Chalons and Epernay.

Prince Schwartzenberg, who on the 15th, had his headquarters at Pont sur Seine, resolved to advance upon Chalons to the support of Blucher. In this operation he took up a position at Menil la Comtesse, before Arcis sur Aube, where Bonaparte had a considerable force, which, on the 21st, made a feeble attempt to prevent the junction of the columns, but lost 3 guns in a bold attack by the corps of Count Pahlen.— Foiled in this attempt, he withdrew towards Vitry, leaving a strong rear guard at Arcis, which, after a spirited defence, was carried, with immense loss to him, by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg.

Bonaparte having failed in his attempt to debouche from Plaucy and Arcis, across the Aube, and having abandoned his idea of attacking Prince Schwartzenberg in his position at Menil la Comtesse, seems to have been guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in this object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and make it as circuitous as possible. It is further manifest, by intercepted letters, that Bonaparte was of opinion that the movement he determined on, on the right of Prince Schwartzenberg, might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communica-

tions—that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better situation to cover Paris.—It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head of an army; but Bonaparte, in his present undertaking, seems to have pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube with his whole army near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted. Bonaparte put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepeuis; on the following day the advanced corps of his army arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place; but the brave Prussian commandant resolutely refused, and held the town, which induced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Bonaparte here passed his whole army on the 23d and 24th, and was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of St. Dizier.

Three objects might be now in his view, by the movements round the right of the allies: to draw them back; if this failed, to operate upon their communications, and even proceed to form a junction with Marshal Augereau; or finally, by moving to his fortresses at Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed them in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of the capital.

The allies on the 22d having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeded with a united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.—In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Fontenoy, and Arcis on Vitry, and his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of 8 and 10 leagues, established his head-quarters with those of the marshal at Vitry on the 24th of March.—A very brilliant

capture of several pièces of cannon, 1,500 prisoners, and a large number of caissons, was made by General Augerauski, of the cavalry of the Russian guard, on the 23d; and on this day and the preceding, several advanced guard affairs took place between General Wrede's corps, the Prince of Wurtemberg's, and the French.

So soon as Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg took this decision, he made his dispositions accordingly, by forming a corps on the Bar-sur-Aube line, which he committed to the care of General Ducca, to protect the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, his supplies, &c. and carry them, if necessary, towards the army of the south, and also, by vigorously pressing forward in his operations toward the capital, to secure his rear, while he pursued his objects in front.—The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne.

Marshal Blücher arrived with a great part of his army at Chalons. Generals Winzingerode and Gzernichoff, with all their cavalry, entered Vitry on the 25th, and were immediately detached to follow up Bonaparte's march to St. Dizier, threatening his rear. General Winzingerode's infantry had remained at Chalons with Marshal Blücher, together with Generals Woronzoff's and Zachen's corps. General Bülow had marched to attack Soissons, and Generals Von York and Kleist had moved on the line of Montmtrail.—By these general movements, had Bonaparte even not crossed the Aube, and passed between their two armies, he probably would have found himself in a similar position to that at Leipzig, and the result would have been of the same nature.

It appears that the corps of Marshals Marmont and Moritier, who had been retiring from before Marshal Blücher, were moving down towards Vitry, to connect themselves with Bonaparte's operations, ignorant of his intentions, which may not have been fully formed until he found himself too far committed; these corps of his army were much perplexed in

finding themselves close to Prince Schwartzenberg's army when they expected to meet their own. It is a singular but a curious fact, that Marshal Marmont's advance was within a very short distance, on the night of the 24th, to Vitry, without the French knowing it was in the occupation of the allies.—On the morning of the 26th, the 6th corps, under General Reusske, fell in with their advance, drove them back to Conantray and through Fere Champenoise; in the former place a large number of caissons, waggons, and baggags, were taken. In the mean time on the left the Russian cavalry of the reserves under the Grand Duke Constantine, was equally successful, charging the French, and taking 18 pieces of cannon and many prisoners.

But the principal brilliant movement of this day occurred after the allies troops in advance had passed through Champenoise; a detached column of the French, of 5,000 men, under the command of General Ames, had been making its way, under the protection of Marmont's corps, from the neighbourhood of Montmirail, to join Bonaparte with his grand army. This corps had in charge an immense convoy with 100,000 rations of bread and ammunition, and was of great importance, by the force attached to it. The cavalry of Generals Kort and Basitschikoff's corps, were detached after them, and they were driven upon Fere Champenoise, as the cavalry of the grand army was advancing. Some attacks of the cavalry were made on this corps, who formed themselves in squares, and defended themselves in the most gallant manner, although they were but young troops and national guards; when they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies, some officers were sent to demand their surrender, but they still kept marching on and firing, and did not lay down their arms; a battery of Russian artillery opened upon them; and renewed charges of cavalry completed their destruction; and General Ames and Pathod, generals of division, five brigadiers, 5,000 men, and 12 pieces of cannon, with the convoy, were taken.

Marmont and Mortier's rear guards drew off in the direction of Sezanne, and every disposition was made to harass and surround them.

In the advance Generals Von York and Kleist were seriously engaged on the 26th, and nothing but continued forced marches saved the French army from being annihilated. The grand allied army proceeded to advance in three columns with the most astonishing rapidity. The passage of the Marne at Meaux was effected with little resistance, every opposition being surmounted in the most gallant and instantaneous manner. On the 30th of March, the allies appeared in front of the heights of Fontenoy, Romanville, and Belleville; defended by the French army, under Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Marshals Mortier and Marmont. Their left was on Montmartre, with redoubts on the centre, and on the whole line an immense artillery of above 150 pieces. These heights are very commanding, the ground being covered with villages and country seats, and the whole had been fortified with the utmost skill and labour. Marshal Blucher was directed to attack Montmatre, while the grand army attacked the heights on the right of their position. Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg's division, supported by the reserves of grenadiers, carried the heights of Romanville, after enduring a very galling fire of artillery. In the mean time the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg supported the attack more to the left. Marshal Blucher experienced the most determined resistance; but as the heights of Romanville exposed the right of the French line, the contest ended in their complete discomfiture on all sides. The heights that commanded Paris and 69 pieces of cannon, were already taken, when a flag of truce was sent to demand a cessation of hostilities, with an offer to give up all the ground without the barrier of Paris, until further arrangements would be made. The King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzemberg wishing to save the city from being sacked and destroyed, acceded to the proposition.

At 2 o'clock, on March 31st, the capitulation of Paris was signed, allowing five hours for the troops of the lines to evacuate the city. The cavalry of his imperial highness the Grand Archduke Constantine, and the guards of all the different allied forces, were formed in columns, early in the morning, on the road from Bondi to Paris. The Emperor of Russia, with all his staff, his generals, and their suits present, proceeded to Patin, where the King of Prussia joined him with a similar cortége; these sovereigns, surrounded by all the princes of the army, together with the prince field-marshal, and the Austrian etat-major, passed through the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and entered the barrier of Paris about 11 o'clock, the Cossacks of the guards forming the advance of the march. Already was the crowd so enormous, as well as the acclamations so great, that it was difficult to move forward, but before the monarchs reached the Porte de St. Martin, to turn on the Boulevards, there was a moral impossibility of proceeding; all Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated in one spot—one animus or spring evidently directed all their movements, they thronged in such masses round the emperor and king, that with all their condescending and gracious familiarity, extending their hands on all sides, it was in vain to attempt to satisfy the populace. They were positively eaten up amidst the cries of 'Vive l'Empereur Alexandre,' 'Vive le Roi de Prusse'—'Vive nos libérateurs;' nor did the air alone resound with these peals, for with louder acclamations, if possible, they were mingled with those of 'Vive le roi,'—'Vive Louis XVIII.'—'Vive les Bourbons,'—'A bas le tyran.' The white cockade appeared very generally; many of the national guards wore them. The clamorous applause of the multitude was seconded by a similar demonstration from all the houses along the line to the Camps Elisées, and handkerchiefs, as well as the fair hands that waved them, seemed in continued requisition. In short, to have an adequate idea of such a manifestation of electric feeling as Paris displayed, it must have been witnessed. The sovereigns

halted in the Champs Elisées, where the troops defiled before them in the most admirable order, and the head-quarters were established at Paris.

CHAP. LI.

DEPOSITION OF BONAPARTE BY THE SENATE—RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS—CONDUCT OF BONAPARTE UNDER HIS DEGRADATION—BANISHED TO ELBA—REFLECTIONS.

THE Emperor Alexander, immediately on entering Paris, issued a declaration, stating the determination of the allies not to treat with Napoleon Bonaparte; after which the members of the senate met, and, under the presidency of M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, established a provisional government. On Saturday, April 2d, the sitting was resumed, whence a decree was passed, stating that ‘the Emperor Napoleon and his family have forfeited all right to the throne, and consequently absolved the French people and the army from their oath of allegiance.’

During the same evening, the Emperor of Russia, at an audience given by the senate, thus expressed himself:—‘A man who called himself my ally,’ said the Emperor Alexander, ‘entered my states as an unjust aggressor; it is against him that I have made war, not against France. I am the friend of the French people; what you have just done redoubles this sentiment; it is just, it is wise, to give to France strong and liberal institutions which may be comfortable to the present state of knowledge; my allies and myself come only to protect the liberty of your decisions.’ The emperor stopped a moment; then his majesty continued with the most

affecting emotion, 'As a proof of the durable alliance which I mean to contract with your nation, I restore to it all the French prisoners who are in Russia: (near 200,000 men) the provisional government had already asked this of me: I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolutions which it has taken to-day.' The senate withdrew, penetrated with sentiments of gratitude and of the highest admiration.

Previous to the deposition of Bonaparte, he sent Caulincourt to Paris, offering to accede to the terms the allies had offered at Chatillon; but was answered, that the time for treating with Bonaparte, as Sovereign of France, was past. On the 3d Marmont acceded to the wish of the senate, only stipulating that Bonaparte's life should be spared. So late as the 4th Bonaparte had the folly to send Ney and Macdonald with an offer to abdicate in favour of his son. This offer was also rejected, and Bonaparte after a violent struggle, signed on the morning of the 6th the following form of abdication, in which his habitual hypocrisy is clearly exhibited: 'The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe; the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.'

In the mean time Monsieur entered Paris in great pomp, and was invested with the regency, until the arrival of Louis XVIII.

It will now be proper to return to Bonaparte, and to review his conduct during these great events. When he had ascertained the march of the allies, he followed their route by Troyes with great rapidity. On the 28th at night, he came incog, and travelled post to the very gates of Paris, where he had a secret interview with a general from the city, and endeavoured to concert means for forming an army, out of the wrecks of the different corps. He then returned to his army,

which had reached Fontainbleau, where after the capture of Paris, he was joined by Marmont and Mortier, when his army might amount to about 40,000 men. The allies did not press upon him here, as there existed a strong hope of effecting their purpose by negociation alone.

On the 1st of April, in the morning, Bonaparte reviewed the troops, which he seemed to consider as his own; the marshals and generals, who had learned from the papers the resolutions of the senate and the provisional government, conversed on the subject loud enough to be heard by Napoleon; but he appeared to pay no attention to what they said, and the review passed quietly. When it was over, Marshal Ney, as had been settled, entered the palace with him, and followed him into his cabinet, where he asked him if he was informed of the great revolution that had taken place at Paris. He replied, with all the composure he could assume, that he knew nothing of it, though he was doubtless well informed of the whole. The marshal then gave him the Paris papers, which he seemed to read with attention; but he was only seeking to gain time to form an answer. Meantime came Marshal Lefebre, who, addressing his late emperor in a feeling tone, said, 'You are undone; you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants; and now the senate has declared that you have forfeited the throne.' These words made such an impression on him, who was used to consider himself above all laws, that he immediately burst into a flood of tears, and, after some minutes reflection, wrote an act of abdication in favour of his son.

On the 5th, about 11 o'clock, several generals sent to the Duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the emperor, to dissuade him from appearing on the parade; but he would not refrain from it. About half-past 11 he formed a plan, which he made the Duke of Bassano write and sign with him, to repair, with 20,000 men that he had still with him, to Italy, and join the Prince Eugene Napoleon. He repeated several times, 'If I choose to go there, I am certain that all

Italy will declare for me.' On the parade he looked horribly pale and thoughtful; and his convulsive motions shewed his internal struggles; he did not stop above eight or ten minutes. When he got into the palace, he sent for the Duke of Reggio, and asked him if the troops would follow him?— 'No, Sir,' answered the Duke, 'you have abdicated.' 'Yes, but upon certain conditions.' 'The soldiers,' resumed the duke, 'don't comprehend the difference: they think you have no more any right to command them.' 'Well then,' said Napoleon, 'this is no more to be thought of; let us wait for the accounts from Paris.' The marshals returned in the night between twelve and one. Marshal Ney entered first, 'Well, have you succeeded?' exclaimed the emperor. 'Revolutions do not turn back; this has begun its course; it was too late. To-morrow the senate will recognize the Bourbons.' 'Where shall I be able to live with my family?' 'Where your majesty shall please, and for example, in the Isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions' (24,000*l.* sterling). 'Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier, as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions in arms.'

Throughout the whole of these circumstances which preceded Bonaparte's abdication, there does not appear a single circumstance to give him credit for fortitude, or characterize him as a hero. His fall was distinguished by pusillanimity and hypocrisy; and what he has done through fear, he wished to have it thought proceeded from a love of the French nation! Had he accepted the liberal terms proposed to him by the allies at the congress held at Chatillon, he would have saved an immense effusion of human blood, and the lives of many heroes; he would now have reigned the sovereign of the fairest portion of Europe, instead of being a degraded outcast, and execrated by the world. The dazzling lustre of this man's character as a general, for a series of years, is now dimmed by his mean and paltry conduct in the hour of trial and of danger. His character presents a strange mixture; of which perfidy, obstinacy, cruelty, arrogance, ambition, and pusil-

lanimity, are the leading features. Had his soul possessed its boasted Roman virtue, he would not have survived the disgrace by which he has been overwhelmed: nor become the pauper of those whom, in his days of prosperity, he treated with the most audacious arrogance and unwarrantable insult.

We are bewildered in the contemplation of such changes. They seem rather the illusions of magic deception, than facts substantially realized. That Bonaparte, the Emperor of the French—the Protector of that vast fabric the Confederation of the Rhine—the Mediator of Switzerland—the King of the finest portion of Italy—the Creator of Nine Kingdoms, each acknowledged by the general consent of Europe—a Captain (till lately) of undisputed pre-eminence—who spread the devastation of his victories to a greater extent over Europe than any preceding conqueror had ever done:—that this man, whom not a month ago France would acknowledge as her Chief, and whose government Europe would have recognized as legitimate, should sink at once, with no ‘gradation of decay,’ into absolute insignificance and obscurity,—yet secure in his person, and unmolested in his retreat,—is an event that we believe to be unparalleled in the annals of the human creation.

The British were much and unfortunately engaged during the termination of this grand and terrible drama. General Sir Thomas Graham failed in an attempt to storm Bergen-op-Zoom, and his troops which displayed unusual gallantry suffered severely. Sir John Hope, who besieged the fortress of Bayonne, seized the earliest opportunity to inform the French commander of the revolution at Paris, who it appears disbelieved it, and during the night of April 15th, made a most furious sally. Whatever his intentions were, he failed, being driven back with great gallantry; but Sir John Hope in the dark, fell among a party of the assailants, by whom he was wounded and taken prisoner. It is also to be lamented that the intelligence at Paris was retarded in its progress to the

south, in consequence of which Lord Wellington attacked Soult and Suchet in a most formidable position, which they occupied in front of Toulouse, and after a sanguinary action defeated the French, who were compelled to evacuate Toulouse. But on the evening of the day that Lord Wellington entered the city, he received intelligence from the French government, when a suspension of hostilities took place.—About the same time intelligence arrived of the capture of Genoa, by the English, under Lord William Bentinck.

When the approach of the grand allied army to Paris was ascertained, the empress and her son were sent to a place of safety; and after the deposition of Bonaparte, the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were settled upon her and her infant son, and this unfortunate princess was again called the Archduchess Maria Louisa. An estate in Normandy was also assigned for the support of the ex-empress Josephine, who shortly after died universally and deeply lamented for her many amiable qualities.

Joseph and Jerome Bonaparte retired to Switzerland, and Louis for Gratz, in the Austrian dominions. The latter also renounced, for himself and family, all right to the pensions and estates allotted to him by the allies. Lucien, who had for some time resided in England, chose Italy for his retreat, where he might prosecute his favourite studies in the fine arts.

Napoleon had seized the crown, jewels, and regalia, and also the national treasury before the allies had entered Paris, but the greater part of them was recovered. He was, however, permitted to retain a great quantity of valuables, which were to be conveyed safely to his retreat. At last he prepared to depart from Fontainebleau, previous to which he addressed the guards in an affecting style, kissed an eagle, and, turning from his companions in arms, proceeded on his journey, under a military escort, and accompanied by an officer from each of the great allied powers. After several adventures he arrived at Frejus, on the 27th of April, where he had his

choice of embarking in the Undaunted, English frigate, or a French corvette. He chose the former, and reached the Island of Elba on the 3d of May, 1814.

Napoleon affects the utmost indifference and composure in his banishment. He has promised to write his own life, and only regrets the absence of his wife and son, between whom a mutual attachment seems to exist. His surprising activity continues undiminished, and every day he is industriously employed in forming roads, erecting fortifications, and inspecting his small band of troops. He still holds *his court*, and has put money in circulation, bearing on one side his head, and on the other the following inscription:—*Napoleon I. Imperator atque Rex umbricumque felix. Isola d' Elba 1814.* He treats the English with peculiar favour and attention, viewing them, no doubt, as the only *great people* that had the courage and the wisdom to persevere in resisting his plans of aggrandisement and subjection, an acquiescence in which had successively rendered every continental nation contemptible, even in the eyes of Napoleon Bonaparte.

* * The Editor begs leave to acknowledge the assistance he has received from William Burdon, Esq. of Hartford, near Morpeth; a writer well known in the literary world, and who also a few years ago, published an accurate delineation of the character of the modern *Scourge of Europe*.

FINIS.

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Newcastle.***

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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
MOST STRIKING AND WONDERFUL EVENTS
IN THE LIFE OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
FROM HIS
SAILING FROM ELBA
TO HIS
LANDING AT ST. HELENA:
COMPRISING A
CIRCUMSTANTIAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE MEMORABLE
BATTLE OF WATERLOO,
AND OF THE
SINGULAR ISLAND
To which the Ex-emperor has been banished.

EMBELLISHED WITH A
VIEW OF ST. HELENA.

Newcastle upon Tyne:

PRINTED BY MACKENZIE AND DENT, ST. NICHOLAS
CHURCH-YARD.
1816.

The following interesting narrative of events, in brilliancy, rapidity, and importance, eclipse all that is recorded in the history of man. The resumption of the imperial dignity, by Bonaparte, resembled more a scene in Eastern romance, than a real occurrence; while the second downfall of this wonderful man was equally sudden, astonishing, and complete. The events that preceded and followed the bloody and decisive battle of WATER-LOO, will be viewed with interest by future ages; and when the British empire shall have experienced the fate of all sublunary things, the courage and gallantry of her sons, in that memorable conflict, will be quoted with admiration.

This historical sketch, it may be proper to observe, is compiled from the best and most authentic documents; and where any circumstance is doubtful or obscure, the accounts of both parties are impartially given.

STRIKING
AND
WONDERFUL EVENTS,
IN THE LIFE OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

WHEN Napoleon Bonaparte was hurled from the most splendid elevation ever occupied by a prince and a conqueror, and banished to the isle of Elba, he seemed under reverses that would have deranged an ordinary mind, to exhibit the same composure, as if he had occupied his usual situation. His days were apparently passed in the most pleasant occupations. 'Often he rose,' writes one of his suit, 'before day, employed himself for three hours, till seven or eight o'clock, then took some repose; then he went out and visited all the works; almost always he was in the middle of his workmen, who reckoned among them many soldiers of the guard.

'Often after breakfast he reviewed his little army. He required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse for his morning rides. Among his principal officers were distinguished Marshal Bertrand and General Drouet, who scarcely ever quitted him. On his way he gave audience to all those whom he met. All those who were admitted to his table were received by him with frankness, cordiality, and perfect ease. The emperor appeared to have found the secret, without losing any of his dignity, of becoming a simple individual among individuals; and around him the conversation had all the liberty and all the careless freedom which

can be enjoyed at the table d'hôte. The evenings were dedicated to family parties. Among the persons of the city who were most usually received, were found the mayor of Porto Ferrajo, the governor of the island, the chamberlain Vantini.

‘ When the emperor received the visit of any stranger, which frequently happened, he entertained him with grace and familiarity. He conversed with philosophers and savans, of the Institute of the Royal Academy of London, and also of the discoveries made in our times in the profound sciences, in chemistry, galvanism, electricity. He congratulated the rich English landholders on the progress of their agriculture and the liberality of their country’s laws; in fine, he talked with the military of the historical memoirs which he was writing of his campaigns. Some merchants of different countries disembarked one day while the emperor was at the port: he asked them what they came to see. “To see the country, to see the mines.” “Why,” said he to them, smiling, “why not at once avow that it is myself whom you come to see? Well, here I am.”

‘ Amongst the strangers who frequented the island of Elba, the English, in particular, appeared to attach the greatest value to seeing and hearing him. Often were they seen on the road from Porto Ferrajo to St. Martin, waiting for his majesty for five or six hours, and after seeing him they embarked immediately.

‘ Others stopped, in the first instance, at Ajaccio, visited the house where his majesty was born, uncovered themselves with a feeling of respect before the portrait of him whom they looked upon as a great man, and carried away on their departure a fragment of stone or brick taken from the house, which recalled all that the history of the age will offer most remarkable to posterity.

‘ Lord Bentinck, Lord Douglas, and a great number of other English lords, were admitted, courted, and, as it were, treated with fetes by his majesty: all carried back with them the most interesting recollections of the reception they had

met with. One of them, one evening, accompanied his majesty, who after dinner was visiting on foot the works of Porto Ferrajo. The emperor met the grand marshal, who was coming from the port, and going towards the palace, with papers under his arm. "Are they the French journals?" "Yes, sire." "Am I well cut up?" "No, sire, there is no mention of your majesty to-day." "Come, we shall have it to-morrow; it is an intermitting fever, but the fits will pass away." The emperor amused himself with discoursing with his grenadiers. Like all old soldiers, they appeared never to be perfectly contented; and by one of those expressions, which shew to the soldier the affection which is borne to him better than the finest phrases, he called them *his grumblers*.

"One day, towards the latter times, "Well, grumbler," said he to one of them, "you are moped." "No, sire, but I am not amused too much always." "You are wrong; you must take time as it comes, and get rid of it by jingling your money in your pocket, and humming a tune; this will not last for ever."

"The number of works begun and finished in the space of ten months, is inconceivable. Not far from the castle a long-neglected barrack became, when embellished by him, by turns, a hall for receiving company, a ball-room, or a theatre; and the officers of the guard, and the ladies of honour of the princesses, there once performed *les Fausses Infidelites*, and *les Folles Amoureuses*. His majesty caused several roads to be made fit for carriages. All those roads were planted with trees; as they are extremely rare in the island, the emperor procured a great number from Italy, especially mulberries. The town of Porto Ferrajo being in want of water, the emperor himself discovered a spring in its vicinity, and caused the water to be conveyed into the town. These works were far advanced when he quitted the island."

While Bonaparte was thus apparently amusing himself, he was not an inattentive observer of European politics,

and they exactly suited his views. The French nation was agitated with the deepest discontent, and the army feeling their glory was lost, openly expressed their dissatisfaction, which was considerably increased by above 300,000 prisoners of war, that returned home in a state of the greatest poverty. In fact, France resembled a large barrack of discontented soldiery. Nor did the conduct of Louis XVIII. who had ascended the throne, under the auspices of the conquerors of France, tend to conciliate the public mind. By pretending to have reigned nineteen years, and rejecting the charter presented by the Senate, he insulted the national pride, and excited the jealousy and fears of a numerous party, who, tired of the military despotism of Bonaparte, expected the establishment of a liberal government under the Bourbons; as it was hoped, they had from misfortune learned knowledge and moderation. But it was principally the injudicious zeal which the Bourbons evinced in favour of the Clergy, that spread an alarm amongst the proprietors of national estates, who form four-fifths of the French landholders; and these were not inactive in exciting the apprehension of the peasantry, respecting the revival of feudal domination. Italy also exhibited the utmost agitation at the conventions of the congress of Vienna, while Murat, king of Naples, at the head of a well appointed army, formed a rallying point for those that wished to contend for Italian independence.

In this alarming state of affairs, the treatment which Bonaparte experienced, was eminently calculated to excite the sympathy of his enemies, and the indignation of his friends. After being torn from family and domestic affections, Maria Louisa and her son were deprived of the Duchies of Parma and Placentia, guaranteed to them by the treaty of Fontainebleau, and an exchange offered without her approbation. The pension promised Bonaparte, was withheld by the French government; and his life was attempted by assassins: it was even proposed at the congress of Vienna, to remove him either to St. Lucia or St. Helena, though the

island of Elba had been assigned to him in perpetuity. These imprudent measures afforded Bonaparte a strong pretext for violating the treaty he had signed, and determined him to make a desperate effort to recover his dignity and his glory. This bold and desperate resolution he executed with a secrecy and address, that astonished all Europe.

On the 26th of February, at five in the evening, Bonaparte embarked on board a brig carrying 26 guns, with 400 men of his guard. Three other vessels which happened to be in the port, and which were seized, received 200 infantry, 100 Polish light-horse, and the battalion of flankers of 200 men. The wind was south, and appeared favourable; Captain Chaubart was in hopes that before break of day, the ~~isle~~ of Capraia would be doubled, and that he should be out of the track of the French and English cruisers who watched the coast. This hope was disappointed. He had scarcely doubled Cape St. Andre, in the Isle of Elba, when the wind fell, and the sea became calm; at break of day he had only made six leagues, and was still between the Isle of Capraia and the Isle of Elba, in sight of the cruisers. The peril appeared imminent; several of the mariners were for returning to Porto Ferrajo. Bonaparte ordered the voyage to be continued, having for a resource, in the last resort, to seize the French cruisers. Towards noon the wind freshened a little. At four in the afternoon he was off the heights of Leghorn; a frigate appeared five leagues to windward, another was on the coast of Corsica, and further off a vessel of war was coming right before the wind, in the track of the brig. At six o'clock in the evening, the brig, which had on board Bonaparte, met with a brig which was recognized to be Le Zephir, commanded by Captain Andrieux, Bonaparte gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and conceal themselves on the deck, preferring to pass the brig without being recognized, and reserving to himself the measure of causing the flag to be changed, if obliged to have recourse to it. The two brigs

passed side by side. The Lieutenant de Vaisseau Taillade, an officer of the French marine, was well acquainted with Captain Andrieux, and from this circumstance was disposed to speak him. He asked Captain Andrieux if he had any commissions for Genoa; some pleasantries were exchanged, and the two brigs going contrary ways, were soon out of sight of each other, without Captain Andrieux having the least knowledge of who was on board this frail vessel.

During the night between the 27th and 28th, the wind continued fresh. At break of day, a 74-gun ship was observed, which seemed to be making for Saint Florent or Sardinia. The 28th, at seven in the morning, the coast of Noli was discovered, at noon Antibes, and at three on the 1st of March this small squadron entered the Gulph of Juan. Bonaparte ordered that a captain of the guard, with 25 men, should disembark before the troops in the brig, to secure the battery on the coast, if any one was there. This captain took into his head the idea of causing to be changed the cockade of the battalion which was at Antibes. But the officer who commanded at this place, caused the draw-bridge to be drawn up, and took the whole party prisoners. At five in the afternoon, the disembarkation was effected, and a bivouac established on the sea-shore until the moon arose. The following proclamation was immediately dispersed:

Gulph of Juan, March 1.

*Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the constitution of the Empire,
Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.*

To the Army.

‘Soldiers!—We were not conquered; two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

‘Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and controul our eagles, on which they have not dared even to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labour—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and

our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and, if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

‘Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you; come and join him.

‘Tear down those colours which the nation has prescribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the tri-coloured cockade; you bore it in the days of our greatness.

‘We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but, we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

‘Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moskow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there, if they please, they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your professions, your rank, your glory—the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children—have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

‘The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, and of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes; those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

‘Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against their country and us.

‘Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief: his existence is only composed of your’s, his rights are only those of the people and your’s; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charging-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour: then you will be able to glory in what you

have done: you will be the deliverers of this country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds: you will be able to say with pride:—And I too was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it.

‘Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with foreigners to tear the bosom of our country.

NAPOLEON.

At eleven at night Bonaparte issued orders to depart, and mounted on horseback. His small body of troops followed him, drums and music at their head, preceded by four field-pieces and a superb carriage. He took the rout to Cannes, where his advanced guard had arrived some hours before. But the inhabitants of this place observed a most discouraging silence. From thence he proceeded to Grasse, which he did not enter, as the people did not appear favourable to his views. In order to facilitate his march, he left his cannon and carriage at the gate of this town, and on the evening of the 2d, arrived at the village of Corenon, having marched 60 miles in the course of the first day.

The 3d, Bonaparte slept at Bareine; and on the 4th, he dined at Digne. On the 5th, he slept at Gap, with ten men on horseback and forty grenadiers. The inhabitants of the Lower Alps seemed to be struck with fear and surprise, and received him very coldly, while some of his men deserted, and others sold their necessaries in order to purchase clothes from the peasantry, in which, in case of a reverse of fortune, they might escape in disguise. Still, however, Bonaparte pushed on in proud confidence of success, and at Gap several proclamations were issued, amongst which, was one addressed to the French nation.

While Bonaparte slept at Gap, General Cambronne, with his small advanced guard met a division of 6000 men coming from Grenoble to stop their march. All parley or communication was refused, as being forbidden. The advanced guard, however, fell back three leagues; Bonaparte repaired to the spot. He sent his orderly officer, chief of the squadron, Roul, to communicate the intelligence of his arrival, but was again answered by a prohibition. Under these circumstances, he alighted: the party opposed being about 800, of which was a battalion of the 5th of the line. He advanced, followed by his guard, shouldering their arms. He made himself recognised, presented himself to their bayonets, and said, "Soldiers, you have been told your emperor fears death: the first man who pleases is at liberty to plunge his bayonet into this bosom." An unanimous cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was their answer. The 5th tore off the white, and with tears of enthusiasm they replaced the tri-coloured cockade. The guard and the soldiers embraced. This regiment had been under his command from his first campaign in Italy.

When they were arranged in order of battle, Bonaparte said to them—"I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you—the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it has not been raised by the nation; it is contrary to the national will, because it is contrary to the interests of our country, and exists only for the interest of a few families. Ask your fathers, ask all the inhabitants who arrive here from the environs, and you will learn from their own mouths the true situation of affairs; they are menaced with the return of tythes, of privileges, of feudal rights, and of all the abuses from which your successes had delivered them. Is it not true, peasants?"—"Yes, Sir," answered all of them with an unanimous cry, "they wish to chain us to the soil—you come as the angel of the Lord to save us!"

Fatigued as Bonaparte was, he wished to enter Grenoble, that night the adjutant-major of the 7th of the line, came to

announce that Colonel Labedoyere, deeply disgusted with the dishonour which covered France, had detached himself from the division of Grenoble, and had come with his regiment by a forced march, to meet Bonaparte. Half an hour afterwards this brave regiment doubled the force of the imperial troops. At nine o'clock in the evening Bonaparte made his entry into the Faubourg de ———.

The troops had re-entered Grenoble, and the gates of the city were shut. The ramparts which defended the city were covered by the 3d regiment of engineers, consisting of 2000 sappers, all old soldiers covered with wounds; by the fourth of artillery of the line, the same regiment in which, 25 years before, Bonaparte had been a captain; by the two other battalions of the 5th of the line, by the 11th of the line, and the hussars of the 4th.—The national guard and the whole population of Grenoble were placed in the rear of the garrison, and all made the air ring with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*. They opened the gates, and at ten at night Bonaparte entered Grenoble, in the midst of an army and a people animated by the most lively enthusiasm.

The next day Bonaparte was addressed by the municipality and all the departmental authorities. The military chiefs and the magistrates were unanimous in their sentiments. All said that princes imposed by a foreign force were not legitimate princes, and that they were not bound by any engagement to princes for whom the nation had no wish.—At two Bonaparte reviewed the troops, in the midst of the population of the whole department, shouting, *A bas les Bourbons! A bas les ennemis du peuple! Vive l'Empereur, et un gouvernement de notre choix!* The garrison of Grenoble immediately afterwards put itself in a forced march to advance upon Lyons. It is a remark that has not escaped observers, that every one of these 6000 men were provided with a national cockade, and each with an old and used cockade, for, in discontinuing their tri-coloured cockade, they had hidden it at the bottom of their knapsacks: not

One was purchased, at least in Grenoble. It is the same, said they in passing before Bonaparte,—it is the same that we wore at Austerlitz. This, said the others, we had at Marengo.

The 9th Bonaparte slept at Bourgoin. The crowd, and the enthusiasm with it, if possible, increased. “We have expected you a long time,” said they, “you have at length arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the noblesse, the pretensions of the priests, and the shame of a foreign yoke.” From Grenoble to Lyons the march of Bonaparte was nothing but a triumph. Bonaparte, fatigued, was in his carriage, going at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants, singing songs. “Ah,” said Bonaparte, “I find here the sentiments which for 20 years induced me to greet France with the name of the Grand Nation; yes, you are still the Grand Nation, and you shall always be so.”

The Count d’Artois, the Duc d’Orleans, and several marshals, had arrived at Lyons. Money had been distributed to the troops, and promises to the officers. They wished to break down the bridge de la Guillotiere and the bridge Moraud. Bonaparte gave orders, however, to General Bertrand to assemble the boats at Misbel. At four a reconnaissance of the 4th hussars arrived at la Guillotiere, and were received with shouts of *Vive l’Empereur!* The passage of the Misbel was countermanded, and Bonaparte advanced at a gallop upon Lyons, at the head of the troops which were to have defended it against him. The Count d’Artois mounted his carriage and quitted Lyons, escorted by a single gen d’arme. At nine o’clock at night Bonaparte traversed the Guillotiere without troops, but surrounded by an immense population.

The following day, the 11th, he reviewed the whole division of Lyons, having General Broyer at their head, and put them in march to advance upon the capital. The sentiments which the inhabitants of this great city and the peasants of the vicinity, during the space of two hours, evinced

towards Bonaparte, that says a witness it was impossible for him to express his feelings otherwise than by saying, "People of Lyons, I love you." On the 13th, at three in the afternoon, Bonaparte arrived at Villefranche, a little town of 4000 souls, which included at that moment more than 60,000. He stopped at the Hotel de Ville. A great number of wounded soldiers were presented to him.—He entered Macon at seven o'clock in the evening, always surrounded by the people of the neighbouring districts.

At Chalons, which during 40 days resisted the force of the allies, and defended the passage of the Saone, Bonaparte took notice of all the instances of valour; and not being able to visit St. Jean-de-Lone, he sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the mayor of that city. On that occasion Bonaparte exclaimed,—“It is for you, brave people, that I have instituted the Legion of Honour, and not for emigrants pensioned by our enemies!” Bonaparte received at Chalons the deputation of the town of Dijon. On the 15th he slept at Autun, and from Autun he went to Avallon, and slept there on the night of the 16th. On the 17th, Bonaparte breakfasted at Vermanton, and went to Auxerre, where the prefect remained faithful to his post. The 14th had trampled under foot the white cockade. Bonaparte likewise heard that the 5th regiment of lancers had likewise mounted the tri-coloured cockade. At Auxerre, Count Bertrand, Major-general, gave orders to collect all the boats to embark the army, which was already four divisions strong, and to convey them the same night to Fossard, so that they would be able to arrive at one o'clock in the morning at Fontainebleau. Before he left Auxerre Bonaparte was rejoined by the Prince of Moskwa. This marshal had mounted the tri-coloured cockade among all the troops under his command.

On the 20th, at four in the morning, he entered Fontainebleau. He had with him 15,000 veteran troops: other flanking divisions were advancing to support him on the

right and left of his line of march. Early on the morning of the 21st, preparations were made on both sides. On that of the Bourbons, the rencounter was expected on the plains of Melun, where the national guard of 100,000 was drawn up, *en etages*, as the ground favoured the position, in three lines: the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries; the centre occupying the road to Paris. The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continued declivity, so that on emerging from the forest you have a clear view of the country in front; while, on the other hand, those below can easily discern whatever appears on the eminence.

An awful silence, broken only at times by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops, by repeating the royal airs, "*Henri Quatre*," and "*La Belle Gabrielle*," or by the voice of the commanders and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation; the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops perhaps secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau, no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard. If the enemy were advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. At length, a light tramping of horses became audible. It approached. An open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest: it drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning; it reached the advanced posts—"Long live the Emperor!" burst from the astonished soldiery. "*Napoleon Napoleon the Great!*" spread from rank to rank; for, bare-headed, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course; now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called, "his friends, his companions in arms; whose honour, whose glories, whose country, he now came to restore." At these

words, and at the voice and the sight of him who uttered them, the commanders in chief appointed to oppose him lost all command, all authority, all power, and took flight; thousands rushed on his passage; acclamations rent the air. At that moment his own guard descended; the imperial march was sounded; the eagles once more displayed; and those whose deadly weapons were to have been aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers and joined in the universal shout.

The first news of Bonaparte's disembarkation reached Paris on the 5th of March. It spread consternation and alarm through the palace, and the Duc d'Berri, Monsieur the Duc d'Orleans, Marshal Macdonald, and General Gouvion St. Cyr, immediately set out to collect a force to oppose the invader. The king also issued a proclamation, declaring Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and rebel, and enjoining all sovereigns as well as his own subjects to run him down, to arrest him, and to bring him forthwith before a court martial, which, after having ascertained his identity, should adjudge him to suffer the punishment prescribed by law. This royal ordinance was strengthened by the following order of the day, from the ministry of war.

Order of the Day—To the Army.

'Soldiers!—The man who so lately abdicated, in the face of all Europe, an usurped power, of which he made so fatal a use, Bonaparte, has landed on the soil of France—a soil to which he should have never returned. What does he want? Civil war!—Who desires it; Traitors! Where shall we find them? Should it be among the soldiers whom he has deceived and sacrificed so many times? Should it be in the bosoms of those families whom his very name is sufficient to affright? Bonaparte mistakes us enough to believe, that we can abandon a legitimate and well-beloved sovereign, to partake the fate of a man who is no more than an adventurer.—He believes it.—What stupidity! and his last act of madness places it beyond doubt. Soldiers! the French army is the bravest in Europe—it will prove itself also the most faithful. Let us rally then round the banner of the Lily, to the voice of the father of his people, of the worthy inheritor of the virtues of Henry IV. He has prescribed to you

the duties you have to fulfill. He has put at your head a Prince, the model of French chivalry, whose blessed return to our country has chased away the usurper, and who this day goes by his presence to destroy his last and only hope.'

Paris, March 8.

'DALMATIA.'

In this moment of alarm, the Peers and the chamber of deputies were convened. The most false and flattering accounts were industriously published. Bonaparte was represented as wandering with a handful of wretched troops in a state of deep dejection. Vast armies were enclosing him on every side. Grenoble was stated to have been retaken from the small garrison he left to occupy it. His reception at Lyons was represented as most melancholy, and Marshal Macdonald, who had retreated to procure a few cannon, was ready to re-enter that loyal city, while Marshal Ney with his veterans was advancing against the traitor by forced marches. Yet though Napoleon was said to have but 4000 troops under his command, the French nation was called upon to rise *en masse* to oppose him! The students of law at Paris, petitioned to be allowed to march against him, and 40,000 citizens volunteered their services for the same purpose. Immense crowds, it was said, assembled in the court of the Thuilleries, and cries of *Vive le Roi*, were heard at *different times*.'

When the defection of the troops sent to intercept Bonaparte in the south was heard, the king on the 16th, repaired in great state to the chamber of deputies, where, being placed on the throne, he spoke in the following terms:—

'GENTLEMEN,'

'In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into a part of the kingdom, and threatens the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the State; I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes. I have visited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations, who will,

without doubt, maintain with the utmost fidelity those Treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit for my people, I have received, and still continue daily to receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I, then, at 60 years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence?—therefore, I fear nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who comes to light again amongst us the torch of civil war, brings with him also the scourge of foreign war; he comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke; he comes, in short, to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given you—that charter, my brightest title in the estimation of posterity—that charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard! The descendants of Henry the Fourth will be the first to range themselves under it; they will be followed by all good Frenchmen, in short, Gentleman, let the concurrence of the two Chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove by its happy termination, what a great nation, united in its love to its king and its laws, can effect.

‘There are some impressions’ says a French writer, ‘who describes this scene ‘which the pen dares not trace for fear of weakening them: who, in truth, could describe the feelings which seized all hearts, the real and touching transports which burst forth on all sides during his Majesty’s sublime discourse, frequently interrupted by an enthusiasm which respect could not restrain? The firm tone, the calm expression, the energetic and serene physiognomy of our august Monarch, conveyed to all hearts at once confidence and emotion, admiration and respect.—The whole assembly, electrified by the sublime words of the King, stood up, their hands stretched towards the throne. Nothing but these words were heard, *Long live the King! we will die for the King! the King in life and death!* repeated with a transport which all French hearts will participate at this feeble recital of a scene the most touching and the most honourable to the national character.’

After some more acclamations and swearing, and theatrical exhibitions of feelings and transports, the king retired. The

most active measures continued to be pursued, in order to defend the Bourbon throne. The Duke of Feltre (General Clarke) replaced the Duke of Dalmatia (Soult), whose fidelity began to be suspected. Marshal Macdonald was appointed commander in chief, under the orders of the Duke of Berri, of the army assembled for the defence of Paris : and his majesty at the same time, addressed the following proclamation to the French army :

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS,

‘ I have answered for your fidelity to all France ; you will not falsify the word of your King. Reflect that, if the enemy should triumph, civil war would soon be lighted up among you, and that at the same moment more than 300,000 foreigners, whose arms I could no longer check, would pour down on all sides of our country. So conquer or die for it—let this be our war-cry.—And you, who at this moment follow other standards than mine, I see in you only deluded children : abjure, then, your error, and come and throw yourselves into the arms of your father ; and I here engage my faith, every thing shall be immediately forgotten. Reckon all of you on the rewards which your fidelity and services shall merit.

March 18, 1815.

LOUIS.

However, on the 19th, his majesty announced the necessity that existed for his leaving the capital, but stated his determination to remove to some other point of his kingdom, where his loyal subjects might rally around him.

The Court had placed much confidence in Marshal Ney, who had in the effusion of loyalty repaired to the Thuilleries, and proffering his services, had assured the king on receiving his commission, that he would bring Bonaparte to Paris in an iron cage ! On leaving Paris, he had carried with him a million of livres for the pay of the troops. In proportion to the hopes entertained from his honour and bravery, was the disappointment experienced at the news of his defection. Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso, also on repairing to his head-quarters at Lisle, met on the road 10,000 troops marching to Paris. The astonished Marshal demanded where they

were going, and found that they had received orders to march to Paris to save the city from pillage, and rescue the king from the hands of the populace. The order was forged, and the troops of course were ordered back to their quarters. General Lefebre Denouettes, had also entered Le Fere in Picardy with troops, but the commander of this place being joined in the cry of *Vive le Roi* by the soldiery, Lefebre and Lallemand were arrested. These circumstances convinced the court, that Bonaparte's friends were active in every quarter, and that no confidence could be placed in the fidelity of the troops.

Shortly after midnight, on the morning of the 20th, Louis XVIII. left his palace, amidst the tears and regrets of his household, accompanied by a number of priests, and his *gardes du Corps*. Indeed a very sincere sentiment of commiseration, appears to have been felt for the Bourbon family, whose private virtues were universally acknowledged, whatever opinions might be entertained respecting their political conduct.

On the evening of the 20th, the king arrived at Abbeville, where he intended to await the arrival of his household troops, but Marshal Macdonald advised him to proceed further, and to shut himself up in Lille. On the 22d, he reached this place, being preceded by the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Treviso. The latter immediately recalled the garrison, which rather increased the danger of his majesty, for all the troops that composed it remained cold and reserved, and maintained the most gloomy silence. But when it was known that the Duke of Berri was about to arrive with the household troops, and two Swiss regiments, the whole garrison evinced a determination to mutiny. To avoid the consequences that might follow, his majesty left Lille, with a picquet of the national guard of that place, and a detachment of the Royal Cuirassiers, and Chasseurs. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke of Treviso, accompanied the king

for some distance, and then returned after solemnly declaring their determination to remain faithful to their oaths.

Monsieur and the Duke of Berri, on being informed that his majesty had retired from Lille, directed their troops to proceed towards the frontier. Marshal Marmont conducted their march, but many of them being unaccustomed to fatigue, were unable to proceed; and at Bethune the whole corps were surprized and obliged to disperse, but the princes effected their escape. The king in the mean time had arrived at Ostend, intending to join his household troops at Dunkirk; but, when informed that his orders had not been received, and that this body of troops, from whom he expected so much, were dispersed, he proceeded to Ghent, in order to await the issue of the contest, between the allies and his faithless subjects.—

When Bonaparte had received the congratulations of the army on the plains of Melun, as before related, he hastened to Paris, and having passed amidst the acclamations of the numerous troops that had left the capital to welcome his return, he arrived almost alone, at nine in the evening, at the palace of the Thuilleries. Thus, in the space of three weeks, did this daring soldier transfer the seat of empire from his rocky exile to the metropolis of France, without shedding one drop of blood, or experiencing one single obstacle. Beholding him again seated on his throne, seemed to be almost a delusion of the senses. The rapidity of his march appears a prodigy, of which history affords no example: the enterprise seems unparalleled in all that is great and daring, and his pacific triumph, bears the stamp of the general assent of the nation. Nor can this conclusion be totally denied, however much may be attributed to military influence.

Early in the morning of the 21st, the shop-keepers of Paris were busily employed in changing their signs. Every where the crested lily disappeared, and the victorious eagle again stretched over the portals his terrific wings. The newspapers, bearing the stamp of the eagle, proclaimed in

pompous style; the entry of the Emperor Napoleon on the preceding evening into his capital. The streets were filled with newly arrived troops, who, with the populace, were decorated with a bunch of violets; the badge of fidelity to Bonaparte. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the restored Emperor held a review of all the troops that composed the army of Paris. After passing through their ranks, he ranged them in square battalions—'Soldiers,' said he, 'I arrived in France with 600 men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrances of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectation.—Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you!—Soldiers, the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers, because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights.—Soldiers, the imperial throne can only secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests—our glory.—Soldiers, we are now to march to hunt from our territory these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculated upon you. *We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!*'—This speech was received with acclamations by the people and soldiery.

An instant afterwards, General Cambronne and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba appeared, with the ancient eagles of the guard. Bonaparte continued, and said to the soldiers—'These are the officers of the battalion that has accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart!—Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army, for among these 600 noble

fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles! In loving them, it was you, soldiers, the whole French army, that I loved! They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve as a rallying point! In giving them to the guard, I give them to the whole army.—Preason and unhappy events have covered them with a melancholy veil, but thanks to the French people and to you, they now re-appear, glittering in all their glory!—Swear that they shall be present wherever the interest of the country may require them! that traitors and those who would invade our territory, shall never be able to endure their sight!’ ‘We swear it!’ cried every soldier, with a burst of enthusiasm. The troops then defiled to the sound of music, the bands playing—*Veillons au salut de l'Empire.*

In twenty days Bonaparte's battalion of guards, had marched from the gulph of Juan to Paris, a distance which at the ordinary rate of marching, would have required forty-five days. Bonaparte also on his arrival, re-organized the municipal government of the empire. The Prince Arch-Chancellor was appointed Minister of Justice. The Duke of Gaete, Minister of Finances. The Duke of Bassano, Secretary of State. The Duke Decres, Minister of Marine and Colonies. The Duke of Otranto, Minister of General Police. The Comte Mollien, Minister of the Imperial Treasury. Marshal Prince D'Eckmühl, Minister at War. The Duke de Rovigo, Principal Inspector General of Gendarmerie. The Comte de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine. The Counsellor of State, M. Rial, Minister of Police.

When Bonaparte had entered Lyons, he decreed that the charges made in his imperial administration were to be regarded as null and avoid; that all generals and officers who had taken service in the army or navy, and who had been

emigrants, should give in their dismission, and return to their homes; that the white cockade and the order of St. Lewis, of the Holy Ghost, and of St. Michael, should be abolished, and that the national three-coloured flag and cockade should only be displayed; that the military establishment of the king should be suppressed; that the goods and chattels of the princes of the house of Bourbon should be sequestered; that the nobility and feudal titles were abolished; that the emigrants who had entered with the king should quit the French territory; and that the chamber of peers and deputies were dissolved.

On the flight of Louis XVIII. the Duke of Bourbon made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the country on the banks of the Loire. While the Duke of Angouleme, proceeded to the south, where having collected a few partizans, he held possession for several days of two or three departments. But being surrounded by the Emperor's troops he was obliged to surrender, with liberty to embark at Cette, first giving a pledge that he would restore the crown jewels and regalia, which had been taken away by Louis. The Duchess of Angouleme in the mean time, had repaired to Bourdeaux, where she was favourably received by a strong party, who made a shew of vigorous resistance. On the approach however, of General Clausel, a division arose amongst the inhabitants, and after some resistance the necessity of surrendering became apparent. The Duchess mounted on horseback, rode through the ranks encouraging her followers, and when she saw the advance of her enemies she ordered a general to conduct her to the Château de la Trompette. The general hesitated, assuring her that she would be in danger. 'I do not ask you, sir,' said she, 'if there would be danger, I only order you to conduct me.' She rode up to a circle of officers on the esplanade, whom she harangued, exhorting them to fidelity and the renewal of their oaths of allegiance in presence of the enemy. Observing their coldness and hesitation, she exclaimed, 'I see

your fears, you are cowards; I absolve you from your oaths already taken!' and turning her horse, she left them, and immediately embarked on board an English frigate. Toulouse and some of the districts bordering on the Pyrenees, also shewed signs of dissatisfaction, and the old royalist party in La Vendee and Brittany flew to arms, with which they were liberally supplied by England, but they were too weak to make any considerable impression on the neighbouring departments.

But though Bonaparte was thus firmly seated on the imperial throne of France by the concurrence or acquiescence of the people, he knew well the nature of the dreadful contest that would probably ensue before the allied sovereigns could be induced again to recognize his title. He knew well that the shouts of the soldiery alone would not consolidate his power, and that it was only by reviving the enthusiasm of the nation in favour of liberty; and by rallying around him the able and energetic actors in the revolution, that he could hope to oppose the inroads of the crowned confederates of Europe. Accordingly, as soon as he landed upon the French coast, he declared his determination to return to the original principles of the revolution: and it was to this declaration that his wonderful success is chiefly to be attributed.

A few days after Bonaparte's arrival at the Thuilleries, the Council of State promulgated the principles of the regenerated government, and the preamble of this declaration stated, that 'the sovereignty resides in the people; and that the people is the only lawful source of power.' The council then proceeded to give a history of the popular government of France, and of the authority of Bonaparte, which had been consecrated by near four millions of votes.

'The Bourbons,' said they 'had ceased to reign in France for twenty-two years; they were forgotten by their contemporaries, and were strangers to our laws, institutions, manners and glory; unknown to the present generation, they

were remembered only by the wars they had excited against the country, and the internal discords they had occasioned.

‘France was invaded in 1814, and the capital taken. Foreigners created a provisional government, assembled the minority of the senate, and forced it, against its mission, and its will, to destroy the existing constitutions, to overturn the imperial throne, and recal the family of the Bourbons; the senate, having been instituted only for the preservation of the constitutions of the empire, had no power to change them, but it decreed that Louis Stanislas Xavier should be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he should have accepted the constitution, sworn to respect it, and cause it to be respected.’

‘The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon,’ said the council, ‘was the result only of the unhappy situation to which France and the emperor had been reduced by the events of the war, by treasons, and the occupation of the capital. The sole object of the abdication was to avoid civil war, and the effusion of blood. This act, not sanctioned by the votes of the people, could not destroy the solemn contract formed between them and the emperor; and also, though Napoleon might have been able to abdicate the crown personally, he could not sacrifice the rights of his son, called to reign after him.’

‘The emperor,’ continued the council, ‘in again ascending the throne to which the people had raised him, re-establishes their most sacred rights. He is called to sanction anew by institutions, (and he has taken the engagement in his proclamation to the nation, and the army; to do so,) all liberal principles, personal liberty, and the equality of rights; the freedom of the press, liberty of worship, the vote of taxes by the commons, national property, the independence of courts of justice, and the responsibility of ministers, and of every agent of the executive power. Such are the principles by which the council of state decides that the nation shall be governed, and such the conditions laid on

him whom the people are said to have called to govern them. But,' continue the council, 'we order, for the more effectual preservation of the rights and obligations of the people, that the national institutions be renewed in a great assembly, already convoked by the emperor.'

The assembly here alluded to, was to consist of the electors from every department of the empire, the immediate representatives of the people in primary assemblies, and whose votes were to be regarded as their voice. This extraordinary convocation was to be termed the *Field of May*, and would comprehend about twenty-five thousand electors. It received this appellation from the feudal assembly of French history, where the monarch met to deliberate with the great vassals of the crown, and the dignified clergy, on the urgent concerns of the state.

Bonaparte also hastened to conciliate the adherents of the Bourbons, by granting an amnesty to all Frenchmen, concerned in aiding the foreign armies, excepting a few individuals that were named; and by granting pensions to the Duchess Dowager of Orleans, and of Bourbon, who remained at Paris. He likewise appointed a commission to organize a system of general education on the Lancastrian plan; and in compliment to the British people, whom he stiled the patrons of liberal ideas, he decreed the complete abolition of the Slave Trade. All restrictions of the press were abolished; and those who had formerly opposed his undue usurpation of power were admitted into his councils, and distinguished by peculiar favours. Having thus given the French people so many valuable pledges of the sincerity of his political reformation, he addressed the following letter to the different sovereigns of Europe.

‘ Paris, April 4, 1815.

‘ Sire, my Brother,— You have no doubt learnt in the course of the last month my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of those events must now be made known to your Majesty.

They are the results of an irresistible power, the results of the unanimous wish of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people, was not fitted for it: the Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments nor manners—France has therefore separated herself from them: her voice called for a liberator: the hopes which induced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her have been deceived: I came; and from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.

‘The first wish of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasioned great reverses, followed by great success.

‘A more brilliant arena is now opened to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalry in future but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.

‘France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid aspect for the independence of other nations. If such then, as I trust they are, are the personal sentiments of your Majesty, general tranquility is secured for a long time to come, and justice seated on the confines of the various states, will, of herself, be sufficient to guard the frontiers.

‘I am, &c. &c.’

The Couriers charged with this remarkable communication, were all stopped on the frontiers and arrested; but the officer sent to the English court, succeeded in delivering his master’s pacific overtures to Lord Castlereagh, but was instantly dismissed with the declaration that the Emperor Napoleon was not known by the British Ministry. These acts of implied hostility were accompanied by a declaration of the powers assembled at the congress of Vienna, stating, *that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy*

and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. This was followed by distinct treaties between the different allied powers, by which it was agreed, that 640,000 men should march against France, Great Britain engaging to pay a sum to each power proportionate to its exertions. These proceedings of the allies produced a great sensation in France, and called forth the most indignant animadversions from many members of the British Parliament.

Bonaparte's council, at first deemed it politic to assert that this declaration of the allies at Vienna was apocryphal, on the ground that it was too base and unjust to have proceeded from that quarter. But when the French Couriers were arrested, the minister of foreign affairs called the emperor's attention to the real perilous state of the country, on account of 'the lawless conduct of the sovereigns of Europe,' who were now in hostile array. It was now also known that Maria Louisa and her son were held in durance by order of the Emperor her father, and that the mother, and a sister of Napoleon's, were conveyed to a state prison in Hungary. At the same time, intelligence arrived of the complete failure of Murat's attempt to revolutionize Italy, and the conquest of his kingdom by the Austrians and English. Thus all hopes of a diversion in this quarter were totally dissipated; while troops were advancing by forced marches against France, in every direction. The Prussians were conveyed in vehicles of all descriptions, and disembarkations of English troops took place daily at Ostend. The Duke of Wellington, the hero of Spain, was appointed Generalissimo of the allied armies, and had arrived in Belgium in order to organize his forces. In short, all Europe was aroused at the re-appearance of a man, whom they considered the cause of so considerable a portion of the miseries they had experienced.

In the midst of this threatened storm, Bonaparte appeared collected and undismayed. He removed from the Thuil

leries to the Palais Bourbon in the Champs Elysées, where he was daily occupied in receiving addresses from all the departments, cities, and authorities, and in directing the the affairs of the empire. Great energy likewise was exerted in placing the army on a war footing; and the troops as reviewed were marched towards the frontiers. At a review on the 9th of April, Bonaparte in haranguing the troops exclaimed, 'Soldiers, we wish not to interfere with the affairs of other nations; but woe to those who shall wish to intermeddle with our's, to treat us like Genoa or Geneva, and impose on us other laws than those which the nation wills. They shall find on our frontiers the heroes of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Jena; they shall find there a whole people; and if they have 600,000 men, we will oppose to them two millions.'

In order to arouse the people, and enforce the decrees of the government, Commissaries were sent into each military division, as in the early stages of the Revolution, with authority to expel from office, all bearing authority whose fidelity or zeal was suspected. The inhabitants of the suburbs of Paris also assumed the old Jacobin designations, and were organized in bands under the appellation of *Corps Francs*. These volunteers every evening appeared before Napoleon's residence, exhibiting their enthusiasm, and shouting *Vive l'Empereur*.

The intended political reformatations in the French government were promulgated under the title of 'a supplementary act to the Constitutions of the Empire.' In the preamble, Napoleon cites the wars in which he had been almost unremittingly engaged as an excuse for neglecting the liberty of the citizens. 'Our object henceforth,' said he 'is to increase the prosperity of France, by the establishment of public liberty. Hence results the necessity of many important changes in the Constitutions, Senatus Consultums, and other acts by which this empire is ruled. On this account, wishing to preserve what is good and salutary on one side, and on the

other, to make the constitutions of our empire in every respect congenial to the wishes and national necessities, as well as to the state of peace, which we wish to maintain with Europe, we have determined to submit to the people proposals tending to modify and perfect its constitutional acts—to protect the rights of the citizens by guarantees—to give a representative system its full effect—to invest the intermediate bodies with all due consideration and proper power, in a word, to combine the highest degree of political liberty with individual safety, with the force and concentration necessary to make the French people and the dignity of our crown respected by foreigners'. After this, follows the different articles of this act, which certainly imparted as high a degree of liberty to the people as they were capable of enjoying.—

The 31st of May, was the day fixed for accepting the new Constitution. A spacious temporary amphitheatre had been erected for this purpose in the *Champ de Mars*, connected with the facade of the military school, in the centre of which 15,000 electors were seated and covered by an awning. The sloping banks which arise round the *Champ de Mars*, were covered with a vast population; and its immense plain was filled with cavalry. Here an elevated altar was placed opposite the throne, which was erected within the amphitheatre. 'Never' said the *Moniteur* 'was a more interesting national fete than that of the *Champ de Mai*. All which elevates the soul, a great compact sealed between a monarch and his people—France, represented by the chosen of its citizens, farmers, merchants, magistrates, soldiers, assembled round the throne, revived the recollection of the most memorable events.'

The emperor Napoleon, arrived at the *Champ de Mars* at one o'clock, accompanied by his three brothers, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome, and was received with loud acclamations. The ceremony began by high mass, which was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by Cardinal

de Bagarie, and four other bishops. The mass ended, the members of the deputation, about five hundred in number, ascended the steps of the throne, when M. Dubois d'Angers addressed the emperor, assuring him of their attachment, and predicting the failure of the impending invasion. The moment the orator ceased, the whole *Champ de Mars* resounded with cries of *Vive la Nation! Vive l'Empereur!* The arch-chancellor next proclaimed the result of the votes, declaring the acceptance of the new constitution, with the exception of only 4,207 votes. The herald of arms then declared the acceptance of the new constitution by the French people. The grand chamberlain having placed before the throne a table, on which the constitution was placed, the arch-chancellor presented the pen to Prince Joseph, who gave it to the emperor, and his majesty signed it. The table being removed, the Emperor thus addressed the meeting:—

‘Frenchmen,—As Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the only object of my thoughts. I sacrificed myself like a certain king of the Athenians, in the hope of seeing the promise which was made me kept inviolate—that the natural integrity of France should be preserved, as well as its honour and its rights. The indignation which was created by seeing those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, on the point of being lost for ever, has, however, again placed me on the throne, which is more dear to me, because it is the palladium of the rights of the people.

‘Frenchmen! In traversing France, in the midst of that public joy which accompanied me to the capital, I counted on a long peace. My thoughts were solely turned on the means of consolidating our liberty, by a constitution founded on the will and interests of the people, and I convoked the *Champ de Mai*. I learn, however, that those Princes who had annihilated the dearest interests of the people, wish to make war upon us. They intend to take from us all our northern fortresses to add to the new kingdom of the Netherlands, and to reconcile their own quarrels by dividing between them Lorraine and Alsace. We must prepare for war. In the mean time, before I go personally

to encounter the hazard of war, my first anxiety is to secure the liberties of the nation.

‘Frenchmen! When we have repulsed these unjust invaders, and when Europe will have been convinced of what is due to twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law will unite all existing differences relative to our former Constitutions.

‘Frenchmen! You are about to return to your departments, tell your fellow citizens that circumstances are critical; but that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come victorious out of this contest of a great people against its oppressors. Generations to come will scrutinize our conduct. A nation loses all which loses its independence. Tell your fellow citizens that those foreign monarchs whom I made kings, or preserved as such, who in the time of my prosperity besought my alliance, and the protection of the French nation, now direct all their power against my person. If I were not convinced that it is in fact our country at which they aim, I would place at their mercy that existence against which they are so much enraged: but tell to our fellow citizens, that, while the love they show for me continues so ardent, the rage of our enemies will be powerless.

‘Frenchmen! My will is that of the people.—My rights are theirs. My honour, my glory, my happiness—can be but the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France!’

‘It would be difficult’ says the French demi-official account of this fete, ‘to express the emotion which displayed itself on all countenances, during this oration of the emperor, or the acclamations which succeeded it.

‘Then the grand almoner, the Archbishop of Bourges, approached the throne, and presented on his knees the Holy Evangelists to the emperor, who took the oath in these words,—“I swear to observe, and to make to be observed, the Constitution of the empire.”

‘The prince arch-chancellor, advancing to the foot of the throne, pronounced the oath of fidelity to the Constitution; the whole assembly then repeated it with acclamation. The assembly, instead of returning to their seats, crowded round the emperor, who was then encircled like the father of a family. They did not retire until after the singing of the *Te Deum*, when the presidents of the electoral colleges advanced to receive the eagles destined for the national

guard of the respective departments. The emperor, then throwing off his imperial mantle, thus addressed the assembly :—"Soldiers of the national guard, of the troops of the land and of the sea, I confide to you the imperial eagle, which you swear to defend at the expence of your blood, against the enemies of your country."

'Universal shouts of "we swear it" continued for a length of time, during which the emperor placed himself on the elevated throne in the midst of the *Champ de Mars*, as colonel of the national guards, and delivered the eagles to the presidents of the departments—Count Chaptal, president of the electoral colleges of Paris; and Count Durosset, lieut.-general, received the eagles of the national guard; and Count Friant, that of the imperial guards; the troops then encircled the throne, and the Emperor thus addressed them :—"Soldiers!—I confide to you the imperial eagle.—You swear to perish, if necessary, in defending it against the enemies of the country."

'The immense army, which surrounded the throne, interrupted the emperor by thunders of applause, "we swear it." Silence being again obtained, the emperor continued, "You, soldiers of the national guard of Paris, swear never again to allow the strangers to pollute with their presence the capital of the great nation." He was again interrupted by continual shouts of "we swear it." He continued, "And you soldiers of the imperial guard, you swear even to surpass yourselves in the campaign about to open, and to die rather than allow the invaders to dictate laws to your country!"

The whole *Champ de Mars* now resounded with indescribable acclamations. Then the troops, amounting to upwards of 50,000 men, of whom 27,000 were national guards, defiled before the emperor, amidst cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the shouts of the people, who were collected in all directions. The Emperor then returned on foot to the

military school, in the midst of an immense crowd, who pressed round him so as almost to prevent his passage.

On the 7th of June, the emperor went in high military pomp to instal the legislature. In his speech he congratulated the members on the commencement of a constitutional monarchy, and urged them to imitate the Senate of a great people of antiquity, by swearing 'to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France.' This event was celebrated in Paris by illuminations, fire-works, &c.

The first act of the chamber of representatives, was the nomination of M. Lanjuinais as president. This choice clearly proved the independence of the assembly, for M. Lanjuinais had always evinced the most rooted aversion to Bonaparte, even when in the zenith of his glory. The emperor however acceded to the choice, and having received addresses from both houses, he set out for his northern army, which had been concentrated on the Sambre.

M. Carnot, who had so frequently 'organized victory,' in his report on the military state of the empire, estimated the troops of the line at 500,000; and the numerical amount of the army at 850,000 men. Admitting that this statement was exaggerated, yet the exertions made to recruit and equip the army were truly astonishing, and could not have been effected without a considerable degree of co-operation on the part of the people. The disasters that might probably accompany the impending contest were also anticipated; and several thousand workmen were daily employed in fortifying the heights around Paris, on which 300 cannon were placed.

The prize which was now to be contested for, was of no ordinary worth, the leaders who were about to meet in hostile array, bore names of no vulgar renown, and the world hung in dread attention on the deep tragedy which was about to be represented. The armies most dreaded by Bonaparte were those hanging on the northern frontier, particularly that under English orders. It was therefore against this part of the allies that the restored Emperor directed his

force, as he concluded that the overthrow of this army would strike a salutary terror into the forces of the other coalised powers, and determine them to a reversion of their late precipitate treaties. No exertion was wanted to collect an army that might ensure the accomplishment of this plan. The choicest troops of the various armies, with a numerous and well stored *materiel*, constituted a force which raised the hopes of the French to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and filled with dismay the partizans of the house of Bourbon.

On the 12th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte left Paris, and arrived at Maubeuge on the 13th in the evening. Soult as Major, went before him on the 9th, by the way of Lille; as also Jerome Bonaparte, Marshal Mortier, and the guards. The army of the north had joined that of the Ardennes, under command of Vandamme, and established its head-quarters at Fumay. That of the Moselle, under General Gerard, departed by forced marches for Metz. The army of the North thus was composed of five bodies of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Count de Lobau. The cavalry, under Grouchy, was formed into four divisions under the orders of General Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman. The Imperial Guard, of 20,000 men, formed the kernel of this splendid army, which was strengthened by a body of artillery well disciplined, provided with an excellent train, and pontoon corps. Beside the batteries attached to each division, each corps had its park of reserve. The Guard, particularly, had a magnificent train of artillery, almost wholly composed of pieces new cast. The whole might be estimated at 130,000 effective men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry; and 300 pieces of cannon.

The marches of the troops were rapid and long, and the weather though stormy, tolerably fine; nor were the roads so cut up as to retard the artillery, or camp equipages. Their movements, therefore, almost partook of precipitation. It was evidently the intention to surprise the Allies by a

sudden approach; and these forced marches gave rise to the reports of a sudden irruption into Belgium. On the 14th, this whole army had joined and formed in line on the extreme frontiers. It was then that the uncertainty in which they had remained respecting these manœuvres was done away, by the following proclamation, which was read at the head of every division:

‘GENERAL ORDER.

‘Avisnes, June 14, 1815.

‘Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

‘Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six!

‘Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered!

‘The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

‘The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb.

‘Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours; the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered.

‘To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed)

‘NAPOLEON.’

It is scarcely necessary to say, that this proclamation was received with transports of joy and loud acclamations by the soldiers: and the chiefs were enraptured with the precision of their routes, and recognized, they said, the presence of the *great man* in those scientific combinations, by which all the masses of the army, after encumbering each other's march, seemed all at once to rise from the ground, and find themselves ranged in line as if by the effect of magic.

The 15th, at break of day, this army broke up for the Belgic territory. The 2d division attacked the Prussian outposts, and pursued them with vigour as far as Marchienne-au-Pont; the cavalry of this body had to charge several corps of infantry different times, which they drove back; took some hundreds of prisoners, and the Prussians hastened to recross the Sambre. The light cavalry followed on the road to Charleroi, and, brushing away in different charges such of the Prussians as they met, drove the whole to the other side. While numerous sharp-shooters defended the approach to the bridge, the Prussians were employed in rendering it impassable, in order to retard the march and afford them time to evacuate the city; but being too closely pushed, they were not able to destroy it effectually, and the men soon removed all difficulties to their passage over it. About noon their work was finished, and the light cavalry took possession of Charleroi.

On the other hand, the 2d body, which had effected its march to Marchienne, advanced on Gosselies, a large town situated on the road to Brussels, with the intention of intercepting at that quarter, the troops driven out of Charleroi. The Prussians, surprised at so sudden an attack, and pursued by the light troops, retired in great disorder to Fleurus, where their main body was concentrated. They were attacked several times by the advanced guard, who afforded them no time to take any positions. The presence of Bonaparte so electrified the French troops, that there were no pos-

sibility of restraining them. They rushed on the Prussians without firing a shot: charging them so furiously with the bayonet, that nothing could resist their shock. The French, in a word, after the most obstinate and sanguinary encounters, carried all the positions opposed to their advance. Towards night Bonaparte returned with his head-quarters to Charleroi. The result of these engagements sustained the confidence of the army, who were joined by the Belgic villagers, in reiterated shouts of '*Vive l'Empereur.*'

Having thus introduced Napoleon Bonaparte into that memorable field where the dreadful and decisive contest took place, it will conduce most to the perspicuity of the narrative to drop the biographical style, and to detail the events that distinguished this battle or in an historical manner, at the same time noticing every particular that has been published respecting the conduct of the French Emperor, on this occasion. The following account has been compiled from the best materials; and the notes, which add so considerably to the interest of the detail, have been furnished by persons of honour and distinction, and bear strong internal evidence of authenticity.

Upon the 16th, at three in the morning, the troops that had hitherto remained on the right of the Sambre, crossed that river; and now Bonaparte began to develope the daring plan which he had formed, of attacking upon one and the same day, two such opponents as Wellington and Blucher.

The left wing of the French army, consisting of the 1st and 2d corps, and of four divisions of cavalry, was entrusted to Ney, who had been suddenly called from a sort of disgraceful retirement, to receive this mark of the emperor's confidence. He was commanded to march upon Brussels by Gosselies, and Frasnes, overpowering such opposition as might be offered to him in his progress by the Belgian troops, and by the British, who might advance to their support. The centre and right wing of the army, with the imperial

guards in reserve, marched towards the right where Blucher and the Prussians were posted. They were under the immediate command of Bonaparte himself.

The news of Napoleon's movements in advance, and of the preliminary actions between the French and Prussians, reached Brussels upon the evening of the 15th.* Instant

* The following extract from a valuable publication 'by a near observer,' contains a lively and circumstantial detail of the events that occurred in Brussels during this eventful period. 'On the evening of Thursday the 15th of June, a Courier arrived at Brussels, from Marshal Blucher, to announce that hostilities had commenced. The Duke of Wellington was sitting after dinner, with a party of officers, over the dessert and wine, when he received the dispatches containing this unexpected news. Marshal Blucher had been attacked that day by the French; but he seemed to consider it as a mere affair of outposts, which was not likely to proceed much further at present, though it might probably prove the prelude to a more important engagement. It was the opinion of most military men in Brussels, that it was the plan of the Enemy by a false alarm to induce the Allies to concentrate their chief military force in that quarter, in order that he might more successfully make a serious attack upon some other point, and that it was against Brussels and the English army, that the blow would be aimed. The troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice; but no immediate movement was expected, and for some hours all was quiet.

'It was past midnight, and profound repose seemed to reign over Brussels, when suddenly the drums beat to arms, and the trumpet's loud call was heard from every part of the city. It is impossible to describe the effect of these sounds, heard in the silence of the night. We were not long left in doubt of the truth. A second courier had arrived from Blucher: the attack had become serious; the enemy were in considerable force; they had taken Charleroi, and had gained some advantage over the Prussians, and our troops were ordered to march immediately to support them: instantly every place resounded with martial preparations. There was not a house in which military were not quartered, and consequently, the whole town was one universal scene of bustle: the soldiers were seen assembling from all parts in the Place Royale, with their knapsacks upon their backs; some taking leave of their wives and children; others sitting down unconcernedly upon the sharp pavement, waiting



Printed for

FIELD MARSHAL *THE* DUKE OF WELLINGTON
PRINCE *OF* WATERLOO &c.

orders were issued, that the garrison of Brussels, the nearest disposable force, should march out to meet the approaching enemy; similar orders were issued to the cavalry, artillery, and the guards, who were quartered at Enghien; other troops cantoned at greater distances, received orders to move to their support.

Those distinguished Highland Corps, the 42d and 92d were amongst the first to muster. They had lain in Brussels during the winter and spring, and their good behaviour had attracted the affection of the inhabitants to an unusual de-

for their comrades; others sleeping upon packs of straw, surrounded by all the din of war, while bat horses and baggage waggons were loading; artillery and commissariat trains harnessing, officers riding in all directions, carts clattering, chargers neighing, bugles sounding, drums beating, and colours flying.

A most laughable contrast to this martial scene was presented by a long procession of carts coming quietly in as usual, from the country to market, filled with old Flemish women, who looked irresistibly comic, seated among their piles of cabbages, baskets of green peas, early potatoes, and strawberries, totally ignorant of the cause of all those warlike preparations, and gazing at the scene around them with many a look of gaping wonder, as they jogged merrily along, one after another, through the Place Royale, amidst the crowds of soldiers, and the confusion of baggage waggons.

Yet there was order amidst all this apparent confusion. Regiment after regiment formed with the utmost regularity, and marched out of Brussels. About four o'clock in the morning, the 42d and 92d Highland regiments marched through the Place Royale, and the Parc. One could not but admire their fine appearance; their firm, collected, steady, military demeanour, as they went rejoicing to battle, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. Before that sun had set in night, how many of that gallant band were laid low! They fought like heroes, and like heroes they fell—an honour to their country. On many a highland hill, and through many a lowland valley, long will the deeds of these brave men be fondly remembered, and their fate deeply deplored. Never did a finer body of men take the field—never did men march to battle, that were destined to perform such services to their country, and to obtain such immortal renown!

gree. The *Les petits Ecossois* as they were called, were so domesticated in the houses where they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see the highland soldier taking care of the children or keeping the shop of his host. They were now to exhibit themselves in another character. They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the sound of the well known pibroch, ‘Come to me and I will give you flesh,’ an invitation to the wolf and raven, for which, the next day did in fact spread an ample banquet. They formed part of Sir Thomas Picton’s division, which marched out early in the

‘Before eight in the morning the streets, which had been filled with busy crowds, were empty and silent; the great Square of the Place Royale, which had been filled with armed men, and with all the appurtenances and paraphernalia of war, was now quite deserted.

‘The Flemish drivers were sleeping in the tilted carts that were destined to convey the wounded—the heavy baggage wag-gons ranged in order, and ready to move when occasion might require, were standing under the guard of a few centinels; some officers were still to be seen riding out of town to join the army. The Duke of Wellington had set off in great spirits, observing, that as Blucher had most likely settled the business himself by this time, he should perhaps be back to dinner. Sir Thomas Picton mounted upon his charger, in soldier-like style, with his reconnoitring-glass slung across his shoulder, gaily accosting his friends as he rode through the streets, left Brussels in the highest spirits never to return. It was on this very morning that Napoleon Bonaparte made the boast, that to-morrow night he would sleep at Lacken.

‘After the army were gone, Brussels seemed indeed a perfect desert. Every countenance was marked with anxiety or melancholy—every heart was filled with anxious expectation. It was not, however, supposed that any action would take place that day. What was then the general consternation, when about three o’clock, a furious cannonading began!—It was certainly in the direction our army had taken—it came from Waterloo! Had our troops then encountered the French before they had been joined by the Prussians?—Were they separately engaged?—Where?—When?—How?—In vain, did every one ask questions which none could answer—numbers of people in carriages and on horseback set off towards Waterloo, and returned no wiser than they went, each bringing back a different story—a thousand absurd reports, totally devoid of foundation, were circu-

morning of the 16th. The Duke of Brunswick, also, took the field at the head of his 'black Brunswickers' so termed from the mourning which they wore for his father, and which they now continue to wear for the gallant prince, who then led them. Those whose fate it was to see so many brave men take their departure on this eventful day, 'gay in the morning as for summer sport,' will not easily forget the sensations that the spectacle excited at the moment, and which were rendered permanent by the slaughter that awaited them.

lated—what you were told one minute, was contradicted the next. According to some, Blucher had been completely beaten—according to others, he had gained a complete victory;—some would have it, that 30,000 French were left dead on the field of battle—others, that about the same number were advancing to surprize Brussels. It was even said that the English army were retreating in *confusion*—but the bearers of this piece of intelligence were received with so much indignation, and such perfect incredulity, that they were glad to hold their peace. Some said the scene of action was twenty miles off—others that it was only six. At length intelligence came from the army, brought by an officer who had left the field after five o'clock, and in the words of this officer, "all was well."

'Still the cannonading continued, and apparently approached nearer. The French were said to be 30 or 40,000 strong. Only 10,000 British troops had marched out of Brussels—our army was unconcentrated—it was impossible, even with the fullest confidence in British valour not to feel extreme anxiety for the army. Unable to rest, we wandered about the Parc the whole evening, or stood upon the ramparts listening to the heavy cannonade, which towards 10 o'clock became fainter, and soon afterwards entirely died away. No further intelligence had arrived—the cannonade had continued five hours since the last accounts came away. The anxiety to know the result of the battle may be imagined.

'Between twelve and one, we suddenly heard the noise of the rapid rolling of heavy carriages, in long succession, passing through the Place Royale, mingled with the loud cries and exclamations of the people below. For some minutes we listened in silence,—faster and faster, and louder and louder, the long train of carriages continued to roll through the town; the cries of the affrighted people increased. In some alarm we hastily ran out to inquire the cause of this tumult. As we flew

Upon the 16th as already mentioned, the left wing of Bonaparte's army under Marshal Ney, commenced its march for Brussels by the road of Gosselies. At Frasnes, they encountered and drove before them some Belgian troops who were stationed in that village. But the gallant Prince of Orange speedily reinforced them so as to keep the French in check. It was indeed of the utmost importance to maintain the position the Belgians now occupied, it being an alignment between the villages of Sart a Mouline, and Quatre Bras. The latter farm house or village, derives its

down stairs, the house seemed deserted, every room door was open—the candles were left burning on the tables—every body had ran out into the Place Royale—at the bottom of the stairs, a group of affrighted Belgians were assembled—consternation pictured on their faces. They could only tell us that intelligence had been brought, of a large body of French having been seen advancing through the woods to take Brussels, that they were within half an hour's march of the city, (which was wholly undefended), and that the English army was in full retreat. "C'est trop vrai—c'est trop vrai," was repeated on every side, "and the train of artillery that was passing through (they said) was retreating!"—We had soon, however, the satisfaction of finding that this was not the case, that the artillery were passing through to join the army, that they were not retreating, but advancing; and finding that the report of the French being within half an hour's march of the city, rested only on the authority of some Belgians, our alarm gradually subsided—some people indeed took their departure—but as the French did not make their appearance, some went to bed, and others lay down in their clothes, by no means assured that their slumbers might not be broken by the entrance of the French.

In fact between five and six, we were roused by a loud knocking at the door, and the cries of "Les François sont ici—Les François sont ici." Starting up, the first sight we beheld, was a troop of Belgic cavalry—covered—not with glory, but with mud, galloping through the town at full speed, as if the enemy were at their heels; and immediately the heavy baggage waggons, which had been harnessed from the moment of the first alarm, set off at full gallop down La Montague de la Cour, and through every street by which it was possible to effect their escape. In less than two minutes, the great Square of the Place Royale, which had been crowded with men and horses, carts and baggage waggons, was completely cleared of every thing,

name from being the point where the high way from Charleroi to Brussels is intersected by another road at nearly right angles. These roads were both essential to the Allies; by the high road they communicated with Brussels, and by that which intersected it with the right of the Prussian army stationed at St. Amand. A large and thick wood called *Le Bois de Bossu*, skirted the road to Brussels on the right hand of the English position; along the edge of the wood was a hollow way, which might almost be called a ravine; and between the wood and the French position were several

and entirely deserted. Again were the cries repeated, of "*Les François sont ici!—Ils s'emparent de la porte de la ville!*" The doors of all the bed-rooms were thrown open, the people flew out with their night-caps on, scarcely half dressed, and looking quite distracted; running about pale and trembling they knew not whither, with packages under their arms—some carrying huge heterogeneous collections of things down to the cellars, and others loaded with their property flying up to the garrets. The poor *Fille-de-Chambre*, nearly frightened out of her wits, was standing wringing her hands, unable to articulate any thing but "*Les François—Les François!*"—while the *Cuisiniere* exclaimed with more dignity, "*Nous sommes tous perdus.*"

'In the Court-yard below, a scene of the most dreadful confusion ensued; description can give but a faint idea of the scuffle that took place to get at the horses and carriages; the squabbling of masters and servants, ostlers, chambermaids, coachmen, and gentlemen, all scolding at once, and swearing in French, English, and Flemish; while every opprobrious epithet and figure of speech which the three languages contained were exhausted upon each other, and the confusion of tongues could scarcely have been exceeded by that of the Tower of Babel. Those who had horses, or means of procuring them, set off with the most astonishing expedition, and one English carriage after another took the road to Antwerp.

'The Duke's Aide-de-Camp at last, brought information that the British army, though attacked by such a tremendous superiority had completely repulsed the Enemy, and remained masters of the field of battle. The defeat which the Prussians had sustained could not, however, be concealed, and the Belgians were filled with consternation and dismay. The corpse of the Duke of Brunswick had passed through Brussels during the night, and his fate seemed to make a great impression upon the minds of the people. Waggon's filled with the wounded be-

fields of rye, which grows in Flanders to an unusual and gigantic height.

In this situation it became the principal object of the French to secure the wood, from which they might debouche upon the Brussels road. The Prince of Orange made every effort to defend it; but, in spite of his exertions, the Belgians gave way, and the French occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment the division of Picton, the corps of the Duke of Brunswick, and shortly after the division of guards from Enghien, came up and entered the action.* ‘What

gan to arrive, and the melancholy spectacle of these poor sufferers increased the general despondency. The streets were filled with the most pitiable sights. We saw a Belgic soldier dying at the door of his own home, and surrounded by his relations, who were weeping over him; numerous were the sorrowful groups standing round the dead bodies of those who had died of their wounds in the way home. Numbers of wounded, who were able to walk, were wandering upon every road; their blood-stained clothes and pale haggard countenances, perhaps, giving the idea of sufferings much greater than the reality.’

* *Extract of a Letter from an Officer to his Friend in Cumberland.*

‘At two o’clock on the 15th of June, we arrived at Genappe, from whence we heard firing very distinctly; half an hour afterwards we saw the French columns advancing, and we had scarcely taken our position when they attacked us. Our front consisted of the 3rd and 5th Divisions, with some Nassau people, and a brigade of cavalry. The business was begun by the first battalion of the 95th, which was sent to drive the Enemy out of some corn-fields, and a thick wood, of which they had possession: after sustaining some loss, we succeeded completely; and three companies of Brunswickers were left to keep it, while we acted on another part of the line: they, however, were driven out immediately; and the French also got possession of a village which turned our flanks. We were then obliged to return, and it took us the whole day to retake what had been lost. While we were employed here, the remainder of the army were in a much more disagreeable situation: for in consequence of our inferiority in cavalry, each regiment was obliged to form a square, in which manner the most desperate attacks of infantry and charges of cavalry were resisted and repelled; and when night put an end to the slaughter, the French not only gave up every at-

soldiers are those in the wood?' said the Duke of Wellington to the Prince of Orange. 'Belgians;' answered the Prince, who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from this important point; 'Belgians!' said the Duke, whose eagle eye instantly discerned what had happened, 'they are French, and about to debouche on the road; they must instantly be

tempt on our position, but retired from their own, on which we bivouacked. I will not attempt to describe the sort of night we passed—I will leave you to conceive it. The groans of the wounded and dying, to whom no relief could be afforded, must not be spoken of here, because on the 18th it was fifty thousand times worse. But a handful of men lying in the face of such superior numbers, and being obliged to sleep in squares for fear the Enemy's dragoons, knowing that we were weak in that arm, might make a dash into the camp, was no very pleasant reverie to soothe one to rest. Exclusive of this, I was annoyed by a wound I had received in the thigh, and which was become excessively painful. I had no great coat, and small rain continued falling until late the next day, when it was succeeded by torrents. Boney, however, was determined not to give us much respite, for he attacked our piquets at two in the morning; some companies of the 95th were sent to their support; and we continued skirmishing until eleven o'clock, when the Duke commenced his retreat, which was covered by Lord Uxbridge. The Blues and Life Guards behaved extremely well.'

Extract of a Letter from an Officer in the Guards.

'We were suddenly moved from Enghien, where we had remained so many weeks in tranquillity, on the night of the 15th instant, or rather the morning of the 16th, at three o'clock. We continued on our march through Braine-le-Comte, (which had been the Prince of Orange's head-quarters,) and from thence on to Nivelles, where we halted, and the men began making fires and cooking. 'During the whole of this time, and as we approached the town, we heard distinctly a roaring of cannon; and we had scarcely rested ourselves, and commenced dressing the rations, which had been served out at Enghien, when an Aide-de-Camp from the Duke of Wellington arrived, and ordered us instantly under arms, and to advance with all speed to *Les Quatre Bras*, where the action was going on with the greatest fury, and where the French were making rapid strides towards the object they had in view, which was to gain a wood, called Bois de Bossu; a circumstance calculated to possess them of the

driven out of the wood.' This task was committed to General Maitland, with the grenadiers of the Guards, who, after sustaining a destructive fire from an invisible enemy, rushed into the wood with the most determined resolution. The French, who were hitherto supposed unrivalled in this species of warfare, made every tree, every bush, every ditch, but

road to Nivelles, and to cut off the communication between them and the other forces which were coming up. The order was, of course, instantly obeyed; the meat which was cooking, was thrown away; the kettles, &c. packed up, and we proceeded, as fast as our tired legs would carry us, towards a scene of slaughter, which was a prelude well calculated to usher in the bloody tragedy of the 18th.

'We marched up towards the Enemy, at each step hearing more clearly the fire of musquetry; and as we approached the field of action, we met constantly waggons full of men, of all the various nations under the Duke's command, wounded in the most dreadful manner. The sides of the road had a heap of dying and dead, very many of whom were British: such a scene did, indeed, demand every better feeling of the mind to cope with its horrors; and too much cannot be said in praise of the Division of Guards, the very largest part of whom were young soldiers, and volunteers from the Militia, who had never been exposed to the fire of an enemy, or witnessed its effects. During the period of our advance from Nivelles, I suppose nothing could exceed the anxiety of the moment, with those on the field. The French, who had a large cavalry and artillery, (in both of which arms we were quite destitute, excepting some Belgian and German guns,) had made dreadful havock in our lines, and succeeded in pushing an immensely strong column of tirailleurs into the wood I have before mentioned, of which they had possessed themselves, and had just began to cross the road, having marched through the wood, and placed affairs in a critical situation, when the Guards luckily came in sight. The moment we caught a glimpse of them, we halted, formed, and having loaded, and fixed bayonets, advanced; the French immediately retiring; and the very last man who attempted to re-enter the wood, was killed by our grenadiers. At this instant, our men gave three glorious cheers, and, though we had marched fifteen hours without any thing to eat and drink, save the water we procured on the march, we rushed to attack the Enemy. This was done by the 1st brigade, consisting of the 2d and 3d battalions of the first regiment; and the 2d brigade, consisting of the 2d battalion of the Coldstream and third regiment, were formed as a reserve along

more especially a small rivulet which run through the wood; posts of determined and deadly defence, but were pushed from one point to another until they were fairly driven out of the wood. Then followed a struggle of a new and singular kind, and which was maintained for a length of time. As often as the British endeavoured to advance from the skirts

the chaussee. As we entered the wood, a few noble fellows, who sunk down overpowered with fatigue, lent their voice to cheer their comrades. The trees were so thick, that it was beyond any thing difficult to effect a passage. As we approached, we saw the Enemy behind them, taking aim at us: they contested every bush, and at a small rivulet running through the wood, they attempted a stand but could not resist us, and we at last succeeded in forcing them out of their possessions. The moment we endeavoured to go out of this wood, (which had naturally broken us,) the French cavalry charged us; but we at last found the third battalion, who had rather skirted the wood, and formed in front of it, where they afterwards were in hollow square, and repulsed all the attempts of the French cavalry to break them. Our loss was most tremendous, and nothing could exceed the desperate work of the evening; the French infantry and cavalry fought most desperately; and after a conflict of nearly three hours, (the obstinacy of which could find no parallel, save in the slaughter it occasioned,) we had the happiness to find ourselves complete masters of the road and wood, and that we had at length defeated all the efforts of the French to outflank us, and turn our right, than which nothing could be of greater moment to both parties. General Picton's superb division had been engaged since two o'clock P. M., and was still fighting with the greatest fury; no terms can be found sufficient to explain their exertions. The fine brigade of Highlanders suffered most dreadfully, and so did all the regiments engaged.

Extract of a Letter from a Private of the 42d Regiment to his Father:

' On the 15th, about twelve o'clock at night, we turned out, and at two in the morning marched from the city of Brussels to meet the enemy, who were advancing in great force on that city. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, we came up with them. Our whole force did not exceed 12,000 men, who were fatigued with a long march of upwards of twenty miles, encumbered with knapsacks and other luggage. The day was uncommonly warm and no water to be had on the road; however,

of the wood, they were charged by the French cavalry, and compelled to retire. The French then advanced their columns again to force their way into the wood, but were compelled to desist by the heavy fire and threatened charge of the British. And thus there was an alternation of advance and retreat with very great slaughter on both sides, until

we were brought up in order of battle. The French being strongly posted in a thick wood, to the number of 40,000 men, including cavalry and lancers, gave us very little time to look round us ere the fight commenced on both sides, in an awful and destructive manner, they having every advantage of us, both as to position and numbers, particularly in cavalry, as the British dragoons had not yet come up. The French cavalry charged the British line of infantry three different times, and did much execution, until we were obliged to form squares of battalions, in order to turn them, which was executed in a most gallant manner, and many hundreds of them never returned. Still they sent up fresh forces, and as often we beat them back. The battle lasted until it was quite dark, when the Enemy began to give way, our poor fellows who were left alive following them as long as they could see, when night put an end to the fatigues of a well-fought day. Thousands on both sides lay killed and wounded on the field of battle; and, as the greater part of the action lay in corn fields along a vast track of country, many hundreds must have died for want of assistance through the night, who were not able of themselves to crawl away. I was wounded by a musket-ball, which passed through my right arm and breast, and lodged in my back, from whence it was extracted by a surgeon in the hospital of this place. Captain M. is most severely wounded, having several shots through his body, and his regiment in general are mostly cut off. We have heard, since we came here, that our fine brigade, which entered the field on that eventful day, consisting of the 3d battalion Royal Scots, 42d, 44th; and 92d regiments, are now formed into one battalion, not exceeding in the whole 400 men.'

The 92d Highlanders while rushing to the charge had their gallant Colonel Cameron killed. Lieut. Col. Mitchel then took the command of the regiment, was soon wounded, and carried off the field, resigning the command to Capt. Holmes, the senior officer present. Capt. Holmes was soon after wounded, and carried off. Capt. Dugald Campbell then took the command, and he was soon wounded and carried off; the command thus devolved on the next senior officer present. The first regiment of guards lost 500 men in this battle.

after a conflict of three hours, General Maitland retained undisputed possession of this important post, which commanded the road to Brussels.

Meantime this battle was equally fierce on every other point. Picton's brigade, comprehending the Scotch Royals, 92d, 42d, and 44th regiments, was stationed near the farm house of Quatre Bras, and was the object of the most destructive fire, rendered more murderous by the French having the advantage of the rising ground; while the British sunk to the shoulders among the tall rye, and could not return the volleys with the same precision of aim. They were next exposed to a desperate charge of the French heavy cavalry, which was resisted by each regiment separately throwing itself in a solid square; but the approach of the French being partly concealed by the nature of the ground, and the height of the rye, the 42d regiment was unable to form a square in the necessary time. Two companies which were left out of the formation, were swept off and cut to pieces by the lancers. Their veteran colonel Macara, was amongst those who fell. Some of the men stood back to back, and maintained an unyielding and desperate conflict with the horsemen that surrounded them, until they were at length cut down. Nothing could be more galling for their comrades than to witness their slaughter without having the power of giving them assistance; but they adopted the old Highland maxim, 'To day for revenge, and to morrow for mourning,' and received the cuirassiers and lancers with so dreadful and murderous a fire, as compelled them to wheel about. These horsemen however, displayed the most undaunted resolution. After being beaten off in one point they made a most desperate charge down the road leading to Brussels, with the purpose of carrying two guns, by which it was defended. But at the moment they approached the guns, a fire of grape-shot was opened upon them, and, at the same time, a body of Highlanders posted behind the farm house, flanking their

advance, threw in so heavy a discharge of musketry, that this body of horse was in an instant nearly annihilated.

The result of these various attacks was, that the French retreated with great loss, and in great confusion; and many of the fugitives fled as far as Charleroi, spreading the news that the British were in close pursuit. But pursuit was impracticable, for the English cavalry had so far to march that when they arrived on the ground night was approaching, and it was impossible for them to be of service. Ney therefore re-established himself in his original position at Frasnes, and the combat died away with night-fall. The British had their leisure to contemplate the results of the day: Several regiments were reduced to skeletons by the number of killed and wounded. Amongst the killed was the gallant Duke of Brunswick who exhibited an unshaken model of ancient German valour and constancy,* Colonel Cameron, so often distinguished in Lord Wellington's dispatches from Spain, fell while leading the 92d to a charge of cavalry, supported by infantry. Many other regretted names were read in the

* This Hero fell in his 44th year. He had, from his youth, been bred to arms. His father fell in the battle of Jena and by the treaty of Tilisit he lost his patrimonial possessions. In the spirit of the days of Chivalry, the Duke took a solemn oath that he would never sheath the sword till he had avenged the insult offered to the tomb of his father. On the rupture between Austria and France in 1809 he appeared in Bohemia, where he raised an independant corps of black hussars; but in consequence of the armistice that followed the battle of Wagram, he was deserted by the Austrians. This induced him to form the bold plan of quitting Germany to seek protection in England. This he executed with equal courage and address, and after travelling 300 miles and overcoming every obstacle opposed to his march, he seized a few small vessels at Elsfleth, and arrived safely in England with about 1800 men. On the turn of affairs in Europe in 1814 he took possession of his Duchy, and though his contingent was only 4000, he actually joined the allies with 14,000 men. The Duke of Wellington caused twelve pieces of the brass cannon taken from the French to be delivered to Colonel Osterman of the Brunswick troops, in order to be employed in the monument intended to be erected to his memory.

bloody list. But if it was a day of sorrow it was a day of triumph also. Bonaparte's plan of advancing to Brussels had been defeated by the British without their cavalry or artillery, and this inspired the troops with confidence and hope. Under these flattering expectations they bivouacked upon the ground which had been occupied by the French during the battle. But the gloomy news that was received from Fleurus destroyed the agreeable news which the success at Quatre Bras had induced the British to entertain.

Bonaparte had reserved to himself what he considered was the most difficult task, that of coping with Blücher, and by his overthrow, cutting off all communication between the Prussian and British armies, and compelling each to seek safety in isolated and unconnected movements.

The Prussian veteran was strongly posted to receive the enemy, whom upon earth he most hated. His army occupied a line where three villages built upon broken and unequal ground, served each as a separate redoubt, defended by infantry and well furnished with artillery. The village of St. Amand was occupied by his right wing, his centre was posted at Ligny, and his left at Sombref. All these hamlets are strongly built, with large court-yards and orchards, each of which is capable of being converted into a station of defence. The ground behind these villages form an amphitheatre of some elevation, in front of which was a deep ravine, edged by straggling thickets of trees. The villages were in front of the ravine; and masses of infantry were stationed behind each, destined to reinforce the defenders as occasion required.

In this strong position Blücher had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to 80,000 men. But the fourth corps commanded by Bulow, being in distant cantonments, had not yet arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated in the Prussian dispatches at 130,000 men. But as Ney had at least 30,000 soldiers under him at Quatre Bras, it would appear that the troops

under Bonaparte, even including a strong reserve, which consisted of the first entire division, could not exceed 100,000 men. The forces therefore actually engaged on both sides might be nearly equal. They were equal also in courage and in mutual animosity.

The Prussians of our time will never forget, nor forgive, the series of dreadful injuries inflicted upon their country by the French, after the defeat of Jena. The murder of the father or the husband, because 'the *pekin* looked dangerous' when he beheld his property abandoned to rapine, his wife or daughters to violation, and his children to wanton slaughter were the tales which the Prussian Landwehr told over their watch fires, to whet each other's appetites to revenge. The successful campaign of 1814, was too stinted a draught for their thirst of vengeance. They were also commanded by Blucher, the inveterate foe of the French name and empire, whom no defeat could ever humble, and no success could mitigate. Amid the general joy and congratulation for the treaty of Paris, this veteran retained the manner of a gloomy malcontent, bearing the mein of Dryden's spectre-knight:—

Stern look'd the fiend, and frustrate of his will,
Not half sufficed, and greedy yet to kill.

And now this inveterate enemy was before them, leading troops animated by his own sentiments, and forming the van-guard of immense armies, which, unless checked by decisive defeat, were about to overwhelm France, and realize those scenes of vengeance, which in the preceding year had been so singularly averted.

The French had, also, their grounds of personal animosity not less stimulating. These very Prussians to whom (such was their mode of stating the account) the emperor's generosity had left the name of independence, and been admitted to be companions in arms to the victors; these Prussians had

been the first to lift the standard of rebellion against them, when the rage of the elements had annihilated the army with which Napoleon invaded Russia. They had done more, they had invaded the sacred territory of France, defeated her armies upon her own soil; and contributed chiefly to the hostile occupation of her capital.

Fired by these sentiments of national hostility, the ordinary rules of war, those courtesies and acts of lenity, which on other occasions afford some mitigations of its horrors, were renounced upon both sides. The Prussians declared their intention to give and receive no quarter; and two of the French divisions hoisted the black flag, as an intimation of the same intention. With such feelings towards each other, the two armies joined battle.

The engagement commenced at three in the afternoon, by a furious cannonade, under cover of which Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand. They were received by the Prussians with the most determined resistance, in despite of which they succeeded in carrying the village at the point of the bayonet, and establishing themselves in the church and church-yard. The Prussians made the most desperate effort, to recover possession of this village, which was the key of their right wing. Blucher put himself at the head of a battalion in person, and impelled them on the French with such success, that one end of the village was again occupied as well as the heights behind it. The village of Ligny, attacked and defended with the same fury and inveteracy, was repeatedly lost and regained, each party being alternately reinforced from masses of infantry. Several houses inclosed with court-yards formed each a separate redoubt, which was furiously assailed by the one party, and obstinately made good by the other. It is impossible to conceive the fury with which the troops on both sides were animated. Each soldier seemed to be avenging his own personal quarrel; and the slaughter was in proportion to the length and obstinacy of a five hours combat, fought

hand to hand, within the crowded and narrow streets of a village. There was also a sustained cannonade on both sides through the whole of the afternoon. But in this species of warfare, the Prussians sustained a much heavier loss than their antagonists, their masses being drawn up in an exposed situation, while those of the French were sheltered by the winding hollows of the lower grounds.

While this desperate contest continued, Bonaparte apparently began to doubt of its ultimate success. To ensure the storming of St. Amand, he ordered the first corps of infantry, which was stationed near Frasnes, with a division of the second corps commanded by Girard, and designed to be a reserve either to his own army, or to that of Marshal Ney, to move to the right to assist in the attack. But this reinforcement happened to be unnecessary; for about seven o'clock, Vandamme had, after reiterated efforts, surmounted the resistance of the Prussians at St. Amand, and Girard had obtained possession of Ligny. Sombref upon the left of the Prussian line, was still successfully defended by the Saxon general, Thielman, against Marshal Grouchy, and the Prussians, though driven from the villages in front of the amphitheatre of hills, still maintained their alignment upon the heights, impatiently waiting to be succoured either by the English, or by their own fourth division under Bulow. But the Duke of Wellington was actively engaged at Quatre Bras; and Bulow was struggling with the difficulties of a long march through very bad roads. In the meantime, Bonaparte brought this dreadful engagement to a decision, by one of those skilful and daring manoeuvres, which characterize his tactics.

Being now in possession of the village of Ligny, which fronted the centre of the Prussian line, he concentrated upon that point the imperial guards, whom he had hitherto kept in reserve. Eight battalions of this veteran and distinguished infantry, formed into one formidable column, supported

by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of Cuirassiers,* and the horse grenadiers of the guard, traversed the village of Ligny at the *pas de charge*, threw themselves into the ravine which separates the village from the heights, and began to ascend them under a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. They sustained this murderous discharge with great gallantry, and advancing against the Prussian line, made such an impression upon the masses of which it consisted, as threatened to break through the centre of their army, and thus cut off the communication between the two wings; the French cavalry at the same time charged and drove back that of the Prussians.

In this moment of consternation, Blücher having headed an unsuccessful charge against the French cavalry, and his horse being shot under him in the retreat, both the fliers and pursuers passed over him as he lay on the ground; an

* The Cuirassiers of the French Imperial Guard are all arrayed in armour, the front cuirass is in the form of a pigeon's breast, so as effectually to turn off a musket shot, unless fired very near; owing to its brightness; the back cuirass is made to fit the back; they weigh from nine to eleven pounds each, according to the size of the man, and are stuffed inside with a pad: they fit on by a kind of fish-scaled clasp, and are put off and on in an instant. They have helmets the same as our Horse Guards, and straight long swords and pistols, but no carbines. All the accounts agree in the great advantage that the French cuirassiers derived from their armour. Their swords were three inches longer than any used by the Allies, and in close action the cuts of our sabres did no execution, except they fortunately came across the neck of the enemy. The latter also feeling themselves secure in their armour, advanced deliberately and steadily, until they came within about twenty yards of our ranks, as a musket-ball could not penetrate the cuirasses at a greater distance. The cuirass, however, was attended with one disadvantage; the wearer, in close action, cannot use his arm with perfect facility in all directions; he chiefly thrusts, but cannot cut with ease. They are all chosen men, must be above six feet high, have served in three campaigns, twelve years in the service, and of a good character; and if there is a good horse to be found, they have it. It is to be observed, that a wound through a cuirass mostly proves mortal.

adjutant threw himself down beside his general to share his fate, and the first use the Prince Marshal made of his recovered recollection, was, to conjure his faithful attendant rather to shoot him than to permit him to fall alive into the hands of the French. Meantime the Prussian cavalry had rallied, charged, and in their turn repulsed the French, who again galloped past the Prussian general as he lay on the ground, covered with the cloak of the adjutant, with the same precipitation as in their advance. The general was then disengaged and remounted, and proceeded to organize the retreat, which was now become a measure of indispensable necessity.

The Prussians in their retreat upon Tilly, preserved their high character for discipline, and presented masses impenetrable to the cavalry of the pursuers. General Thielman formed the rear guard; and being joined by the fourth corps under General Bulow, the Prussian army was once more concentrated in the neighbourhood of the village of Wavre, ten miles beyond the scene of their former defeat; and the utmost exertions were used to place it in a condition for renewing the combat.

The carnage of the Prussians in this unsuccessful battle was very great. It has been estimated at twenty thousand men; but Bonaparte only rates it at fifteen thousand *hors de combat*. He also stated the cannon taken at fifty; but the Prussians limit the number to fifteen. In the retreat there were hardly any prisoners taken.

Bonaparte had it now in his option to pursue the Prussians with his whole army, excepting those troops under Ney, who were in front of the Duke of Wellington. But this would have been to abandon Ney to almost certain destruction; since, if he was unable, on the preceding day, to make any impression on the van of the British army alone, it was scarce possible he could withstand them, when supported by their main body, and joined by reinforcements of every kind. In the supposed event of Ney's defeat, Bonaparte's rear would

have been exposed to a victorious English army, while he knew, by repeated experience, how speedily and effectually Blucher would rally his Prussians, even after a severe defeat. He made his choice, therefore, to turn his whole force against the English, leaving only Grouchy and Vandamme with about 25,000 men, to hang upon the rear of Blucher; and, by pursuing his retreat from Sombref to Wavre, to occupy his attention, and prevent his attempting to take a share in the expected action with the British.*

Napoleon probably expected to find the English army upon the ground it had occupied during the 16th. But the movement of his own forces from St. Amand and Ligny to Frumes, had occupied a space of time which was not left unemployed by the Duke of Wellington, who, in consequence of Blucher's defeat, had determined to fall back so as to maintain his lateral communication with the Prussian right wing. The retreat had already commenced, and the position at Quatre Bras

* Bonaparte has been arraigned by Marshal Ney for want of foresight and military skill in this short campaign. But certainly Bonaparte acted wisely in attacking the Prussian army that was first concentrated; and he might reasonably calculate that Ney could dispose of the British troops as they came up to the field wearied and in detail. In fact, Bonaparte's scheme had in its material points complete success, for he did defeat the Prussians; and, by this success against them, compelled the English to retreat, and gained an opportunity of attacking them with his whole force in a battle, where the scale more than once inclined to his side. As to Ney's complaint against Bonaparte for depriving him of the first division, it is evident, that these troops were not sent for until their aid appeared essentially necessary to carry the village of St Amand, and thereby to turn the right flank of the Prussians; and they were returned to their original position the moment it was perceived the point could be carried without them. Surely more could not have been expected in the circumstances. Of the tone the Marshal assumed to his fallen master; and the reproaches he cast upon him, it may be observed in the words of Wolsey,

Within these forty hours Surrey had better
Have burnt his tongue than said so.

was, about eleven in the forenoon, only occupied by a strong rear guard, destined to protect the retrograde movement of the British general. Bonaparte put his troops in motion to pursue his retiring enemy. The day was stormy and rainy in the extreme; and the roads, already broken up by the English artillery in their advance and retreat, were nearly impassible. The cavalry, whose duty it was to press upon the rear of the English, were obliged to march through fields of standing corn, which being reduced to swamps by the wetness of the season, rendered rapid movements impossible. This state of the weather and roads was of no small advantage to the British army, who had to defile through the narrow streets of the village of Genappe, and over the bridge which there crosses a small river, in the very face of the pursuing enemy. Their cavalry once or twice attacked the rear-guard, but received so severe a check from the Life-Guards and Oxford-Blues, that they afterwards left the march undisturbed. Had the stormy state of the weather, and the difficulties of the road not intervened to impede the advance of the French, the Duke of Wellington's army might have experienced a serious loss in the narrow defile of Genappe.

With little further interruption the British army retired upon the ever-memorable field of Waterloo, and there took up a position on the road to Brussels. The Duke had caused a plan of this, and some other military positions in the neighbourhood of Brussels, to be made some time before by Colonel Carmichael Smyth, the chief engineer; when he had declared that if he had to defend Brussels he would make his stand at Waterloo. He now called for that sketch, and with the assistance of Sir William de Lancy and Colonel Smyth, made his dispositions for the momentous events of next day. The plan itself, a relique so precious, was rendered yet more so by being found in the breast of Sir William de Lancy's coat when he fell, and stained with the blood of that gallant officer. It is now in the careful preservation of Colonel Smyth, by whom it was originally sketched.

When the Duke of Wellington had made his arrangements for the night, he established his head quarters at a petty inn in the small village of Waterloo, about a mile in the rear of the position. The army slept upon their arms upon the ridge of a gentle declivity, chiefly covered with standing corn.

The forces of Bonaparte were gradually coming up during the evening, and occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English army. The villages in the rear were also occupied by his army. The emperor established his head quarters at Planchenoit, a small village in the rear of the position.

Here it may be proper to give as accurate a statement as possible of the strength of the hostile armies. The army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, amounted to 38,000 British, 8000 King's German Legion, 14,000 Hanoverians, and 22,000 Belgian, Nassau, and Brunswick troops, forming a total of 82,000 men, of which 62,000 were infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 5000 artillery, engineers, &c. When from this we deduct 15,000 men employed in garrisons, with the killed and wounded at Quatre Bras, detachments, &c. the whole effective force of the British and Belgic armies in the field of Waterloo, could scarcely exceed 55,000 men, who were divided into two corps d'Armée, under the orders of the Prince of Orange, and Lieut. Gen. Lord Hill. The cavalry were commanded by Lieut. Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge; the artillery by Col. Sir George Adam Wood; and the engineers by Col. Smyth. Nearly the whole was a green army. The allies were chiefly young soldiers; and even the ranks of the British veteran regiments were filled by inexperienced recruits and volunteers from the militia. The order of battle was very compact, as from the extremity of the left to that of the right wings of the contending armies, was scarcely a mile and a half in extent.

The French army, commanded by the Emperor Napoleon, after deducting the losses of the 15th and 16th, and the two corps under Marshal Grouchy, must at least have amounted to 85,000 men, mostly veteran troops of one nation, and possessing every requisite to give effect to their operations.

Thus arranged, both generals and their respective armies waited the arrival of morning, and the events it was to bring. The night, as if the elements meant to match their fury with that which was preparing for the morning, was stormy in the extreme, accompanied by furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, continued and vivid flashes of lightning, and the loudest thunder our officers ever heard. Both armies had to sustain this tempest in the exposed situation of an open bivouac, without means either of protection or refreshment. But though these hardships were common to both armies, yet, (as was the cause previous to the battle of Agincourt) the moral feelings of the English army were depressed below their ordinary tone, and those of the French exalted to a degree of confidence and presumption, unusual even to the soldiers of that nation.

The British could not help reflecting that the dear-bought success at Quatre Bras, had produced in appearance at least no corresponding result: a toilsome advance and bloody action, had been followed by a retreat equally laborious to the soldier; and the defeat of the Prussians, which was now rumoured with the usual allowance of exaggeration, had left Bonaparte at liberty to assail them separately, and with almost his whole force. If to this it was added, that their ranks contained many thousand foreigners, on whose faith they could not implicitly depend, it must be owned there was sufficient scope for melancholy reflections. To balance these, there remained their confidence in their commander, their native undaunted courage, and a stern resolution to discharge their duty.

The French on the other hand, had forgotten in their success at Ligny, their failure at Quatre Bras; or, if they

remembered it, their miscarriage was ascribed to treachery; and it was said that Bourmont and other officers, had been tried by a military commission and shot, for having by their misconduct occasioned the disaster. This rumour, which had no foundation but in the address with which Bonaparte could apply a salve to the wounded vanity of his soldiers, was joined to other exulting considerations. Admitting the partial success of Wellington, the English Duke, they said, commanded but the right wing of the Prussian army, and had in fact shared in Blucher's defeat, as he himself virtually acknowledged by imitating his retreat. All was glow and triumph. No one supposed the English would halt or make head, until they reached their vessels; no one doubted that the Belgian troops would join Bonaparte in a mass; it would have been disaffection to have supposed there lay any impediment to their next day's march to Brussels: and all affected chiefly to regret the tempestuous night, as it afforded the despairing English the means of retiring unmolested. Bonaparte himself shared, or rather affected to share, these sentiments; and when the slow and gloomy dawning of the 18th of June shewed him his enemies, still in the possession of the heights which they occupied over night, and apparently determined to maintain them, he could not suppress his satisfaction, but exclaimed, while he stretched his arm towards their position with a motion as if to grasp his prey: *'These English, I have them now.'*

The field of battle at Waterloo is easily described. The forest of Soignies, a wood composed of beech trees growing uncommonly close together, is traversed by the road from Brussels, a long broad causeway, which, upon issuing from the wood, reaches the small village of Waterloo. Beyond this point the forest assumes a more straggling and dispersed appearance, until about a mile further, where at one extended ridge called the heights of Mount St. John, from a farm house on the Brussels road, the trees almost entirely disappear, and the country becomes quite open. Along this

eminence the British forces were disposed in two lines. The second, which lay behind the brow of the hill, was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the *elite* of the infantry, occupied the crest of the ridge, and were on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. John towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses. The first, which is situated in advance of the hedge, and at the bottom of the declivity, is called *La Haye Sainte*, (the holy hedge,) the other placed at the extremity of the fence is called Fer la Haye. The ground at Fer la Haye becomes woody and broken, so that it afforded a strong point, at which, to terminate the British line upon the left. A road runs from Fer la Haye to Ohain, and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the Duke of Wellington kept up a communication by his left with the Prussian army. The centre of the English army occupied the village of Mount St. John, on the middle of the ridge just where the great causeway from Brussels divides into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight line to Charleroi. A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharpshooters occupied the house and farm yard of La Haye Sainte, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road as far as the inclosures of Hougomont, and turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right upon a deep ravine. Advanced posts from thence occupied the village called Braine la Leude, on which point there was no engagement. The ground in front of the British position sloped easily down into lower ground, forming a sort of valley, not a level plain, but a declivity varied by many gentle sweeps and hollows, as if formed by the course of a river. The ground then ascends in the same manner to a ridge opposite to that of Mount Saint John, and running parallel to it at

the distance of twelve or fourteen hundred yards. This was the position of the French. It is in some points nearer, and in others more distant from the heights or ridge of Mount St. John, according as the valley between them is of greater or less breadth.

The valley between the two ridges is entirely open and uninclosed, and on that memorable day bore a tall and strong crop of corn. But in the centre of the valley, about half way betwixt the two ridges, and situated considerably to the right of the English centre, was the Chateau de Goumont, or Hougoumont. This is (or rather *was*) a gentleman's house of the old Flemish architecture, having a tower and a species of battlement. It was surrounded on one side by a large farm yard, and on the other, opened to a garden fenced with a brick wall. The whole was encircled by an open grove of tall trees, covering a space of about three or four acres without any under-wood. This chateau, with the advantages afforded by its wood and gardens, formed a strong *point d'appui* to the British right wing. In fact, while this point was maintained, it must have been difficult for the French to have made a serious attack upon the extremity of our right wing.

Such was the position of the British army on this memorable morning. The dawn was attended by the same broken and tempestuous weather, by which the night had been distinguished. But the interval of rest, such as it was, had not been neglected by the British, who had gained time to clean their arms, distribute ammunition, and prepare every thing for the final shock of battle. Provisions had also been distributed to the troops, most of whom had thus the means of breakfasting with some comfort.*

Extract of a Letter from an Officer to a Friend.

* 'After having tried the right, and found it strong, Bonaparte manœuvred until he got 40 pieces of artillery to play on the left, where the 5th division, a brigade of heavy dragoons, and two companies of artillery, were posted. Our lines were formed

Early in the morning numerous bodies of French cavalry began to occupy the ridge of La Belle Alliance, opposite to that of Mount St. John, and as our horse were in readiness to encounter them, an engagement was expected between the cavalry of both armies, which our infantry supposed they would only view as spectators. The desertion of a French officer of cuirassiers, attached to the party of Louis XVIII. conveyed other information; he assured Lord Hill, and subsequently the Duke of Wellington, that a general attack was intended, which would commence on our right by a combined force of infantry and cavalry.

In the mean time the communication between our army and the Prussians by our left flank had been uninterrupted. An officer of engineers, who was dispatched so early as four in the morning, accompanied Bulow's division, already on march to assist their English allies. The Prussians evinced an eager and enthusiastic desire to press forward to obtain their share of the dangers and the glory of the day, and to revenge their losses upon the 16th. The common soldiers cheered him and his companion as they passed, 'Keep your ground brave English!' was the universal exclamation—'Only keep your ground till we come up!'—and they used every effort accordingly to get into the field. But the road

behind a hedge, with two companies of the 95th extended in front, to annoy the Enemy's approach. For some time we saw, that Bonaparte intended to attack us; yet as nothing but cavalry were visible, no one could imagine what were his plans. It was generally supposed, that he would endeavour to turn our flank. But all on a sudden, his cavalry turned to the right and left, and showed large masses of infantry, who advanced up in the most gallant style, to the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" while a most tremendous cannonade was opened to cover their approach. They had arrived at the very hedge behind which we were—the muskets were almost muzzle to muzzle, and a French mounted officer had seized the colours of the 32d regiment, when poor Picton ordered the charge of our brigade, commanded by Sir James Kempt. When the French saw us rushing through the hedge, and heard the tremendous huzza which we gave, they turned; but instead of running, they walked off in close columns

was so difficult, that even these officers, well mounted as they were, and eager to make their report, did not reach the field of battle till after 11 o'clock.

The engagement had already commenced. The clouds of cavalry, which had mustered thicker and thicker upon the skirts of the horizon, in the line of La Belle Alliance, began now to advance forward. 'One of our best and bravest officers,' says a writer who describes this terrible contest, 'confessed to me a momentary sinking of the heart when he looked round him, considered how small was the part of our force properly belonging to Britain, and recollected the disadvantages and discouraging circumstances under which even our own soldiers laboured. A slight incident re-assured him. An aid-de-camp galloped up, and after delivering his instructions, cautioned the battalion of the guards along whom he rode, to reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. "Never mind us," answered a veteran guards-man from the ranks,—*"Never mind us Sir, we know our duty."* From that moment my gallant friend said, that he knew the hearts of the men were in the right trim, and that though they might leave their bodies on the spot, they would never forfeit their honour.' A few minutes after, the unparalleled conflict began. The first attack of the

with the greatest steadiness, and allowed themselves to be butchered without any material resistance. At this moment part of Gen. Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry took them in flank, and, besides killed and wounded, nearly 2000 were made prisoners. Now Bonaparte again changed his plan of attack. He sent a great force both on the right and left; but his chief aim was the centre, through which lay the road to Brussels, and to gain this he appeared determined. What we had hitherto seen, was mere 'boys play' in comparison with the 'tug of war' which took place from this time, (3 o'clock) until the day was decided. All our army was formed in solid squares—the French cuirassiers advanced to the mouth of our cannon—rushed on our bayonets: sometimes walked their horses on all sides of a square to look for an opening, through which they might penetrate, or dashed madly on, thinking to carry every thing by desperation. But not a British soldier moved; all personal feeling was forgot-

French, as had been announced by the royalist officer, was directed towards the British right, embracing the part of Hougoumont, and the high road to Nivelles, that commanded the centre of our line. The fury of this attack was such, that a body of sharp-shooters of Nassau Ussingen, to whom the grove of Hougoumont had been confided, abandoned that part of the post, and the chateau itself must have been carried but for the stubborn and desperate courage of a detachment of the guards, to whom the defence was entrusted. Col. M'Donald was obliged to fight hand in hand among the assailants, and was indebted to personal strength, no less than courage, for his success in the perilous duty of shutting the gates of the court-yard against the French. The Spanish general Don Miguel Alava and his aid-de-camp, exerted themselves to rally the scattered sharp-shooters of Nassau, and Don Nicholas de Mennuisir, was particularly distinguished for his activity. 'What would the Spaniards have done' said a prince who distinguished himself in the peninsular war.—'What would the Spaniards have done, Don Miguel, in a fire like that of Waterloo?'—'At least Sir, resorted the Castilian 'they would not, like some of your father's subjects, have fled without seeing their enemy.' By the rout of these light troops, and the consequent occu-

ten in the enthusiasm of such a moment. Each person seemed to think the day depended on his individual exertions, and both sides vied with each other in acts of gallantry. Bonaparte charged with his Imperial Guards. The Duke of Wellington led on a brigade consisting of the 52nd and 95th regiments. Lord Uxbridge was with every squadron of cavalry which was ordered forward. Poor Picton was killed at the head of our Division, while advancing. Until eight o'clock, the contest raged without intermission, and a feather seemed only wanting in either scale to turn the balance. At this hour, our situation on the left centre was desperate. The 5th Division, having borne the brunt of the battle, was reduced from 6000 to 1800. The 6th Division, at least the British part of it, consisting of four regiments, formed in our rear as a reserve, was almost destroyed, without having fired a shot, by the terrible play of artillery, and the fire of the light troops. The 27th had 400 men, and every officer

pation of the wood by the French, Hougoumont was, for the greatest part of the action, completely an invested and besieged post, indebted for its security to the walls and deep ditches with which the garden was surrounded, but much more to the valiant and indomitable spirit of those by whom the defences were maintained. The assailants, after several desperate attempts to carry the post, amidst a destructive fire from the garrison through holes in the garden walls, found it necessary to retire.

Still, however, Hougoumont being in some degree insulated, and its defenders no longer in communication with the rest of the British army, the French cavalry were enabled to pour round it in great strength, to the attack of the British right wing. The light troops who were in advance of the British line, were driven in by the fury of the general charge, and the foreign cavalry who ought to have supported them, gave way on every side. The first forces who offered a steady resistance, were the black Brunswick infantry. They were drawn up in squares, as most of the British forces were, during this memorable action, each regiment forming a square by itself, not quite solid but nearly so, the men being drawn up in several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded space enough

but one subaltern, knocked down in square, without moving an inch, or discharging one musket; and at that time I mention, both divisions could not oppose a sufficient front to the Enemy, who was rapidly advancing with crowds of fresh troops. We had not a single company for support, and the men were so completely worn out, that it required the greatest exertion on the part of the officers to keep up their spirits. Not a soldier thought of giving ground; but victory seemed hopeless, and they gave themselves up to death with perfect indifference. A last effort was our only chance. The remains of the regiments, were formed as well as the circumstances allowed, and when the French came within about 40 paces, we set up a death-howl, and dashed at them. They fled immediately, not in a regular manner as before, but in the greatest confusion.

Their animal spirits were exhausted, the panic spread, and in five minutes the army was in complete disorder: at this cri-

to draw up the battalions in line, where they were ordered to deploy, and the regiments were posted in reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess-board. It was therefore impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without finding themselves at once assailed by a fire in front from that which was in the rear, and on both flanks from those betwixt which it had moved forwards. Often during that day was the murderous experiment resorted to, and always with the same bad success.

Yet although this order of battle possesses every efficient power of combination for defence against cavalry, its exterior is far from imposing. The men thus occupy the least possible share of ground, and those who saw the furious onset of the French cavalry, with a noise and clamour that seemed to unsettle the firm earth over which they galloped, and beheld the small detached black masses, which separated from each other, stood each individually exposed to be overwhelmed by the torrent, could scarcely help trembling for the event. But the cool, steady, and rapid fire of the infantry, with the excellent practice of the artillery, made dreadful gaps in the squadrons of cavalry, and the event seemed no longer doubtful. Still this was far from repres-

tical moment firing was heard on our left, the Prussians were now coming down on the right flank of the French, which increased their flight to such a degree, that no mob was ever a greater scene of confusion; the road was blocked up by artillery; the dragoons rode over the infantry; arms, knapsacks, every thing was thrown away, and "*saute qui peut*" seemed indeed to be the universal feeling. At eleven o'clock, when we halted, and gave the pursuit to Blucher's fresh troops, 150 pieces of cannon and numbers of prisoners had fallen into our hands. I will not attempt to describe the scene of slaughter which the fields presented, or what any person possessed of the least spark of humanity must have felt, while we viewed the dreadful situation of some thousands of wounded wretches who remained without assistance through a bitter cold night, succeeded by a day of most scorching heat; English and French were dying by the side of each other; and I have no doubt, hundreds who were

sing the courage of the French, who pressed on in defiance of every obstacle, and of the continued and immense slaughter that was made in their ranks. Or if the attack of the cavalry was suspended for a space, it was to give room to the operation of their artillery, which within the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, played upon so obvious a mark as the British squares afforded, with the most destructive effect. Yet under such a fire, and in full view of these clouds of cavalry, waiting like birds of prey to dash down upon them, where the slaughter should afford the slightest opening, did these gallant troops close their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades, and resume with stern composure that close array of battle, which their discipline and experience taught them, afforded the surest means of defence. After the most desperate but unavailing efforts on the part of the French, to push back the British right wing, the battle slackened in some degree in this quarter, to rage with greater fury, if possible, towards the left and centre of the line.

It was now upon the village of Mount Saint John, and making use of the high road between that hamlet and La Belle Alliance, that Bonaparte precipitated his columns both of infantry and cavalry, under a tremendous fire of artillery,

not discovered when the dead were buried, and who were unable to crawl to any habitation, must have perished by famine. For my own part, when we halted for the night, I sunk down almost insensible from fatigue; my spirits and strength were completely exhausted. I was so weak, and the wound in my thigh so painful, from want of attention, and in consequence of severe exercise, that after I got to Nivelles, and secured quarters, I did not awake regularly for 36 hours.'

Extract of a Letter from an officer in the Guards.

On the evening of the 17th, we were posted near Hougoumont. The weather which had hitherto been showery, became settled into a decided and heavy rain, which continued in actual torrents the complete night through, accompanied by a gale of wind and constant thunder and lightening. Such a night few have witnes-

that was calculated to sweep every obstacle from their course. The ridge of the hill was upon this occasion very serviceable to the British, whose second line was posted behind it, and thus protected in some degree from the direct fire, though not from the showers of shells which were thrown on purpose to annoy the troops, whom the French with reason supposed to be thus sheltered. The first line derived some advantage from a straggling hedge, already mentioned, extending along their centre and left, and partly masking it, but capable of being penetrated by cavalry in almost every direction. Such as it was, however, its line of defence, or rather the troops by whom it was occupied, struck awe into the assailants; and while they hesitated to advance to charge it, they were themselves charged and overwhelmed by the British cavalry, who, dashing through the hedge at the intervals which admitted it, formed, charged, and dispersed the battalions that were advancing upon their line. The French cavalry came up to support their infantry, and where the British were in the least dispersed, which, from the impetuosity of the men and horses, was frequently unavoidable, our troops suffered severely. This was particularly experienced by the Hussars, or Light Dragoons, who, notwithstanding the most undaunted exertions, were unequal to

sed, it was one that imagination would paint as alone fit for the festival of the dæmons of death, and for the fates to complete the web of those brave souls whose thread of life was so nearly spun. After such a night of horrors and contending expectations, the dawn of any kind of day was welcome; it seemed, however, with difficulty to break through the heavy clouds which overhung the earth, and appeared so slowly, that it seemed as if nature reluctantly lent her light to assist at the scene of carnage and distress, which was to mark the history of this eventful day. Our artillery, which had the night before so admirably answered the fire of the French guns, was all placed on the heights in our front.

About a quarter past eleven o'clock, A. M. the battle commenced by the French making a most desperate and impetuous attack upon Hougoumont, against which, as well as La Haye Sainte, they directed their most furious efforts during the whole day.

encounter with the ponderous sword-proof cuirassiers, and with the lancers. The German Legion also, so distinguished during the peninsular conflicts, were unequal on this occasion to sustain the shock of the French cavalry. And thus, such was the dexterity of Bonaparte in finding resources and in applying them, that he seemed to have a temporary superiority in that very description of force, with which it was supposed altogether impossible he could be adequately provided. Many were killed and many made prisoners, some of whom the French afterwards massacred in cold blood. It was upon this occasion that Sir John Elley requested and obtained permission to bring up the heavy brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Oxford Blues, and the Scotch Greys, and made a charge, the effect of which was tremendous. Notwithstanding the weight and armour of the cuirassiers, and the power of their horses, they proved altogether unable to withstand the shock of the heavy brigade, being literally rode down, both horse and man, while the strength of the British soldiers was no less pre-eminent, when they mingled and fought hand to hand. Several hundred of the French were forced headlong down a sort of quarry or gravel pit, where they rolled a confused and indistinguishable mass of men and horses, exposed to a fire which being

The French opened upon us a dreadful cross-fire, from three hundred pieces of artillery, which was answered with a most uncommon practice from our guns; but to be just, we must own that the French batteries were served in a manner that was terrible. During this period, the Enemy pushed his troops into the orchard, &c. &c., and after its being contested for some hours, he succeeded in reducing our men to nothing but the house itself. Every tree, every walk, every hedge, every avenue had been fought for with an obstinacy almost unparalleled; and the French were killed all round, and at the very door of the house, to which, as well as a hay-stack, they succeeded in setting fire; and though all in flames over their heads, our brave fellows never suffered them to penetrate beyond the threshold; the greatest part of the wounded on both sides were, alas, here burned to death!—In consequence of this success on the part of the French, the Coldstream and third regiment were ordered into the wood, from

poured closely into them, soon put a period to their struggles. Several instances of military indifference occurred during the fury of the conflict. The Life Guards coming up in the rear of the 95th, which distinguished regiment acted as sharp-shooters in front of the line, sustaining and repelling the most formidable onset of the French, called out to them, as if they had been on the parade in the Park, 'Bravo, ninety-fifth! do you *lather* and we'll *shave* them!' Amid the confusion presented by the fiercest and closest cavalry fight which had ever been seen, many individuals distinguished themselves by feats of personal strength and valour. Among these should not be forgotten Shaw, a corporal of the Life Guards, well known as a pugilistic champion, and equally formidable as a swordsman. He is said to have slain, or disabled, ten Frenchmen with his own hand before he was killed by a musket or pistol shot. Officers also were in this desperate action seen fighting hand to hand, like common soldiers: 'You are uncommonly savage to-day,' said an officer to his friend, a young man of rank, who was arming himself with the third sabre, after two had been broken in his grasp: 'What would you have me to do,' answered the other, one of the most gentle and humane men breathing, 'we are here to kill the French;

whence they drove the Enemy; and every subsequent struggle they made to re-possess themselves of it, proved abortive. The places of these two battalions of guards were supplied by two of our gallant friends, the Black Brunswickers, who seemed, like salamanders, to revel in the smoke and flames. The 2d and 3d battalions of the first regiment were formed with the two battalions of Brunswickers into hollow squares, on the slope and summit of the hill, so as to support each other; and in this situation we all lay down, till between three and four o'clock P. M., in order to avoid the storm of death, which was flying close over our heads, and at almost every moment carrying destruction among us: and it is, you will allow, a circumstance highly creditable to those men, to have lain so many hours under a fire, which for intensity and precision was never, I believe, equalled; with nothing else to occupy their attention, save watching their companions falling around them, and listening to their mournful cries.

and he is the best man to-day who can kill the most of them;—and he again threw himself into the midst of the combat. Sir John Elley, who led the charge of the heavy brigade, was himself distinguished for personal prowess. He was at one time surrounded by several cuirassiers; but, being a tall and uncommonly powerful man, completely master of his sword and horse, he cut his way out, leaving several of his assailants on the ground, marked with wounds, indicating the unusual strength of the arm that inflicted them. Indeed had not the ghastly evidences remained on the field, many of the blows dealt on this occasion would have seemed borrowed from the annals of knight-errantry, for several of the corpses exhibited heads cloven to the chine, or severed from the shoulders. The issue of this conflict was, that the French cavalry was completely beaten off, and a great proportion of their attacking column of infantry, amounting to 8000 men, threw down their arms, and were sent off to Brussels as prisoners.

The contest, however, continued to rage with the most uninterrupted fury. It had paused in some degree upon the centre and left, but only to be renewed with double ferocity in the right wing. The attack was commenced by successive columns of cavalry, rolling after each other like

It was about the time I have just named, that the Enemy, having gained the orchard, commenced their desperate charges of cavalry, under cover of the smoke which the burning houses, &c. had caused; the whole of which the wind drifted towards us, and thus prevented our observing their approach. At this period the battle assumed a character beyond description interesting, and anxiously awful. Bonaparte was about to use against us an arm, which he had never yet wielded but with success. Confidently relying upon the issue of this attack, he charged our artillery and infantry, hoping to capture the one, and break the other, and, by instantly establishing his own infantry on the heights, to carry the Brussels road, and throw our line into confusion. These cavalry, selected for their tried gallantry and skill (not their height or mustachios), who were the terror of Northern Europe, and had never yet been foiled, were first brought up by the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment. Never was British va-

waves of the sea. The Belgian horse, who were destined to oppose them, again gave way, and galloped from the field in great disorder. Our advanced line of guns was stormed by the French, the artillery-men receiving orders to leave them, and retire within the squares of the infantry. Thus, at least thirty pieces of artillery were for the time abandoned, but to an enemy who could not either use them or carry them off. The scene now assumed the most extraordinary and unparalleled appearance. The large bodies of French cavalry rode furiously up and down amongst our small squares of infantry, seeking with desperate courage some point where they might break in upon them, but in vain, though many in the attempt, fell at the very point of the bayonets.

In the mean time a brigade of horse artillery, commanded by Major Ramsay, opened its fire upon the columns. They retired frequently, but it was only to advance with new fury, and to renew attempts which it seemed impossible for human strength and courage ultimately to withstand. As frequently as the cavalry retreated, our artillery-men rushed out of the squares in which they had found shelter, began again to work their pieces, and made a destructive fire on the retiring squadrons. Two officers of artillery were parti-

lour and discipline so pre-eminent as on this occasion ; the steady appearance of this battalion caused the famous Cuirassiers to pull up ; and a few of them, with a courage worthy a better cause, rode out of the ranks, and fired at our people and mounted officers, with their pistols, hoping to make the face of the square throw its fire upon them, and thus become an easy prey : but our men, with a steadiness no language can do justice to, defied their efforts, and did not pull a single trigger. The French then made a sudden rush, but were received in such a manner, and with a volley so well directed, as at once to turn them ; they then made an attempt on the 2d battalion, and the Brunswickers, with similar success ; and, astonished at their own failure, the cool intrepidity of their opponents, and the British cheers, they faced about. Thus discomfited, Bonaparte renewed his cannonade, which was destructive to a degree, preparatory to an attack of his whole infantry. I constantly saw the noble Duke

cularly noticed, who, being in a square which was repeatedly charged, rushed out of it the instant the cavalry retreated, loaded one of the deserted guns which stood near, and fired upon the horsemen. A French officer observed that this manoeuvre was repeated more than once, and cost his troops many lives. At the next retreat of his squadron, he stationed himself by the gun, waving his sword, as if defying the British officers again to approach it. He was instantly shot by a grenadier, but prevented by his self-devotion a considerable loss to his countrymen. Other French officers and men evinced the same desperate and devoted zeal in the cause which they had espoused. One officer of rank, after leading his men as far as they would follow him towards one of the squares of infantry, found himself deserted by them when the British fire opened, and instantly rode up to the bayonets, throwing open his arms, as if to welcome the bullet that should bring him down. He was immediately shot, for the moment admitted no alternative. On our part the coolness of the soldiers was so striking as to appear almost miraculous. Amid the infernal noise, hurry, and clamour of the bloodiest battle ever fought, the officers were obeyed as if on the parade. The fire was rolling or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze, upon which

of Wellington riding backwards and forwards, like the Genius of the storm, who, borne upon its wings, directed its thunders where to burst. He was every where to be found, encouraging, directing, animating. He was in a blue coat, and a plain cocked hat, his telescope in his hand; there was nothing that escaped him, nothing that he did not take advantage of, and his lynx's eyes seemed to penetrate the smoke, and forestall the movements of the foe.

The following are other extracts from letters written by those who were in the action.

An officer, who at one part of the day commanded the heavy brigade of cavalry, says, 'our strength before the action was 1050; after it, about 100; (but many had been sent to escort prisoners.) In killed, wounded, &c., we lost about two thirds.'

it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Immediately on the French horse retiring, the line was formed to resist the infantry that succeeded, and these interludes with the infantry were considered as intervals of refreshments. On the word being given 'for the square to resist cavalry,' the line was again thrown into an impenetrable mass. One Dutch corps having not formed with sufficient rapidity were cut to pieces.

Notwithstanding this well-supported and undaunted defence, the situation of the British army became critical. The Duke of Wellington had placed his best troops in the first line; they had already suffered severely, and those who were brought up to support them were frequently found unequal to the task. Observing a Belgian regiment give way at the instant it crossed the ridge of the hill, in the act of advancing from the second to the first line, the Duke rode up to them, halted the regiment, and again formed it, intending to bring them into the fire himself. They accordingly shouted *En avant! En avant!* and marched forward with great pride; but as soon as they crossed the ridge of the hill again and encountered the shower of balls and shells, from which they had formerly retreated, they went to the right about and fairly left the Duke to seek more resolved followers where he could

' In the afternoon of the 18th, the 92d regiment, which was then reduced to about 200 men, found it necessary to charge a column of the enemy which came down on them, from 2 to 3000 men: they broke into the centre of the column with the bayonet; and the instant they pierced it, the Scotch Greys dashed in to their support, when they and the 92d cheered and huzza'd "Scotland for ever." By the effort which followed, the enemy to a man were put to the sword or taken prisoners; after which the Greys charged through the enemy's second line, and took the eagles.'

' The Irish howl set up by Inniskilling Dragoons, and other Irish regiments, is reported to have carried almost as much dismay into the ranks of the enemy, as their swords.' An officer of the Inniskilling says, ' Our brigade charged, upset and completely destroyed three large columns of infantry; at least nine thousand. The old Inniskillings behaved most gallantly.'

find them. In another part of the field the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland, most superbly appointed and commanded by Colonel Hake, were ordered to support a charge made by the British. Their gallant commander hesitated so long that an aid-de-camp of the Duke of Wellington informed him of his grace's command, that he should either advance, or draw off his men entirely, and not remain there to shew a bad example, and discourage others. The brave colonel considering this as a serious option, submitted to his own decision; was not long in making his choice, and having expressed to the aid-de-camp his sense of the Duke's kindness, and of the consideration he had for raw troops, under a fire of such unexampled severity, he said he should embrace the alternative of drawing his men off, and posting them behind the hamlet of Saint John. This he accordingly did in spite of the reproaches of the aid-de-camp, who loaded him with every epithet that is most disgraceful to a soldier. This incident, although so mortifying in itself, had something in it so comic, that neither the Duke nor any of his attendants were able to resist laughing when it was communicated by the incensed aid-de-camp. But the valiant officer of hussars not finding himself comfortable in the place of refuge he himself had chosen,

The Dutch account of this battle, says, 'His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, hurried by ardour into the midst of the battle, was surrounded and taken by the French. The 7th battalion perceived the prince's danger, hastened to his assistance, and succeeded in delivering him; his royal highness took off the insignia of his order, and threw it into the midst of the battalion, exclaiming, "Children, you have deserved it!"—It was fastened to their colours on the field of battle, amid cries of "Long live the hereditary prince!" All the Belgians swore to defend, even to death, this mark of honour; and at this sublime moment, many of these brave men fell, while pronouncing this patriotic oath.'

Serjeant Ewart of the Scots Greys, who took a French eagle, says, 'owing to a column of foreign troops giving way, our brigade was forced to advance to the support of our brave fellows, and which we certainly did in style; we charged through two of

fled in great haste to Brussels. A corps of Belgic cavalry, also fled to Brussels with the greatest precipitation, and entered the town not covered with glory but with mud, cutting their horses with their sabres to quicken their speed, and shouting to the affrighted inhabitants, that the French were at their heels, and all was lost !

In the mean time the battle raged in every point. The centre and left were again assaulted, and if possible more furious than before. The farm house of La Haye Sainte, lying under the centre of the British line, was at last stormed by the French troops, who put the gallant defenders to the sword. They were Hanoverian sharpshooters, who had made good the post, whilst they had a cartridge remaining, and afterwards maintained an unequal contest with their bayonets through the windows and embrasures. As the entrance of the farm was in the very focus of the enemy's fire, it was impossible to send supplies of ammunition by that way, and the commanding officer had not presence of mind to make a break through the back part of the wall for the purpose of introducing them. 'I ought to have thought of it,' said the Duke of Wellington, 'but' added 'my mind could not embrace every thing at once.' However, the post was of little use to the French, as our artillery was brought to plunge into it.

their columns, each about 5,000 ; it was in the first charge I took the eagle from the Enemy ; he and I had a hard contest for it ; he thrust for my groin—I parried it off, and cut him through the head ; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark, by my throwing it off with my sword by my right side ; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which went through his teeth ; next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who, after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet—but he very soon lost the combat, for I parried it and cut him down through the head ; so that finished the contest for the eagle. After which I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the General, saying to me, "You brave fellow, take that to the rear: you have done enough until you get quit of it;" which I was obliged to do,

During this scene of tumult and carnage, the Duke of Wellington flew from square to square encouraging the men by his presence, and the officers by his direction. While standing in front of Mount St. John, several guns were levelled against him, distinguished as he was by his suite. The balls repeatedly grazed a tree near where he stood, 'That's good practice,' observed the Duke to one of his suite, 'I think they fire better than in Spain.' Riding up to the 95th in front of the line, the soldiers cried out, 'Only let us at them'—'Not yet,' replied the Duke, 'but stand fast 95th, we must not be beat—what will they say in England?' At one time when the event of the action seemed very doubtful, one of his aids-de-camp in returning with a message of importance was shot through the lungs; but this young gentleman, with a strong resolution to do his duty, rode up to the Duke, delivered his message, and instantly dropped from his horse. One general officer was under the necessity of stating, that his brigade was reduced one third of its number, that those who remained were exhausted with fatigue, and that a temporary relief, of however short duration, seemed a measure of peremptory necessity. 'Tell him,' said the Duke, 'what he proposes is impossible. He, I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot

but with great reluctance. I took the eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamations of thousands of the spectators that saw it.'

The eagles taken, belonged to the 45th and 105th regiments, and were superbly gilt and ornamented with gold fringe. That of the 45th was inscribed with the names of Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, Friedland, &c. being the battles in which this regiment, called the *invincibles*, had signalized itself. The other was a present from Louisa to the 105th regiment. One was much defaced with blood and dirt, as if it had been struggled for, and the eagle was also broken off from the pole, as if from the cut of a sabre; but it was nevertheless preserved. It is worthy of observation, that the eagles taken, were only given to their respective regiments at the *Champ de Mai*. On the 1st of June.

Sir W. Ponsonby led his brigade against the Polish Lancers, checked at once their destructive charges against the British In-

which we now occupy.'—'It is enough,' returned the general; 'I and every man under my command are determined to share his fate.' The gallant Duke was often observed to look at his watch, and heard to exclaim 'Would to God that either the night, or the Prussians, would come.'

So early as between three and four o'clock, the division of Bulow appeared menacing the right of the French. But this movement was foreseen and provided against by Bonaparte, who had kept in reserve a large body of troops under Count Lobou, who were opposed to Bulow with a promptitude which appeared like magic. The engagement was only partial and feeble, as the Prussian general waited the coming up of the main body of Blucher's army; and this was retarded by many circumstances, though Blucher, notwithstanding the consequence of his fall on the 16th, insisted upon leaving his carriage, and being placed on horseback, that he might expedite the march by precept and example.

Grouchy and Vandamme had followed the rear of the Prussian army as far as Wavre. It is probable that about this time the appearance of Bulow's corps on Bonaparte's right flank had made the Emperor desirous that Blucher should be attacked seriously so as to prevent him from detaching forces to the support of Wellington. Orders to this effect were

issued, and he was ordered to advance with his division of infantry, and took 2000 prisoners; but having pushed on at some distance from his troops, accompanied only by one Aide-de-camp, he entered a newly-ploughed field, where the ground was excessively soft. Here his horse stuck, and was utterly incapable of extricating himself. At this instant, a body of Lancers approached him at full speed. Sir William saw that his fate was inevitable. He took out a picture, and his watch, and was in the act of giving them to his Aid-de-camp to deliver to his wife and family, when the Lancers came up: they were both killed on the spot. His body was found, lying beside his horse, pierced with seven lance wounds; but he did not fall unrevenged. Before the day was ended, the Polish Lancers were almost entirely cut to pieces by the Brigade which this officer had led against them.

Sir Tho. Picton fell, in the thickest of the fight, gloriously 'leading up his division to a charge with bayonets, by which

accordingly bent to Grouchy. The resistance of Tauscheln who commanded the Prussian rear-guard was so obstinate, as to induce Grouchy to suppose that he was engaged with the main Prussian army. The bridge and village of Wavre, were at length carried by the French; and Grouchy anxiously expected from his Emperor orders to improve his success. But no such orders arrived, and it was next morning before Grouchy heard the portentous news that awaited him, announcing the fate of Napoleon and his army.

When the Prussian army began to debouch from the wood, and direct their artillery against the French, the Duke exclaimed with rapture. 'There goes old Blucher!'—At the same time Bonaparte, determined to risk a final effort, ordered his own guard, consisting of 15,000 veterans, who had remained all the day in reserve, to advance. Those old warriors entered the plain with their accustomed intrepidity, supported by cavalry and artillery. Courage was restored through the French ranks, and every effort was made to second the decisive charge. The prodigious shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, with which the guard replied to the exhortations of their chief, led the British to expect a renewal of the attack, with Napoleon as the leader. Many an eye was eagerly bent to the quarter from which the clamour proceed-

one of the most serious attacks made by the Enemy was defeated: a musket-ball, which passed through his right temple, was cut out with a razor, on the lower and opposite side of his head, where it appeared just breaking through the skin: he never spoke a word after he received the wound. After the 16th, this gallant officer's coat was observed to be most dreadfully cut. After his lamented fall, it was discovered that he had been wounded in the hip on the 16th by a musket-ball, a circumstance which he carefully concealed from every one but his servant; the wound had assumed a serious aspect for want of surgical assistance, having been only bandaged by himself and servant as well as circumstances would admit.

General Halket had a brother in the field, who was colonel of a Hanoverian corps, or a regiment of the German legion. A trait of spirit is related of him which has few examples in modern warfare. A French general was giving his orders with great

ed; but the mist as well as the clouds of smoke, rendered it impossible to see any object distinctly. The imperial guard was, however, at last observed advancing dauntlessly to the combat. The British right wing, with its artillery and sharp-shooters, had been gradually brought round from a convex to a concave position, so that the guns raked the French columns as soon as they debouched upon the causeway for their final attack. The service of the British artillery was upon this occasion so accurate, and at the same time so destructive, that the heads of the French columns were enfiladed, and in a manner annihilated, before they could advance upon the high road. Those who witnessed the fire and its effects, describe it as if the French columns kept perpetually advancing from the hollow way without ever gaining ground on the plain; so speedily were the files annihilated as they came into the line of the fire. Enthusiasm, however, joined to the impulse of those in the rear, who forced forward the front into the scene of danger, at length carried the whole attacking force into the plain. They advanced boldly against every obstacle, closing promptly and coolly their shattered files, till they attained the ridge where the British soldiers lay on the ground, to avoid the destructive fire of artillery, by which the assault

confidence to a large body of troops; and had come to their front unattended. Colonel Halket made a dash at him at full gallop; and, putting a pistol to his breast, seized his horses reins, and brought him off from the very boards of his wonder-struck soldiers!

Indeed the instances of heroic death were as numerous as they are affecting. Colonel Miller of the first guards requested a last sight of the colours under which he had fought. He kissed them fervently, and begged they might be waved over him till he expired.

The lamentable Captain Curzon, Lord Scarsdale's son, met his fate with almost 'military glee.' In falling from his horse, he called out gaily to Lord March, who was riding with him at a gallop,—'Good b'ye, dear March.' And by one effort more, when his friend had left him for the urgent duty of animating

was covered: but this was their final effort. 'Up guards and at them,' cried the Duke of Wellington, who had rode up to the point of attack. In an instant they sprung up, and assuming the offensive, rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. This body of guards had previously been disposed of in line four ranks deep. The effect of their three fatal cheers, and of the rapid advance that followed, was decisive. The *invincible* French grenadier guards were within twenty yards of the British, but not one of them staid to cross bayonets with the islanders. At this crisis the Duke himself led up the 42nd and 95th upon their flank, which completed their disorder. A heavy column of Chasseurs attempted ineffectually to cover them. The 58d and 78d regiments made a fine charge, and by separating drew a curve round the rear of the French, whose retreat was thus cut off.

The Duke of Wellington, perceiving the confusion this repulse had occasioned in the French army, and that Blucher was driving all before him on their right flank, commanded the British troops to form a line, and assume the offensive. Just as the line was formed the sun streamed out, as if to shed his setting rays upon the conquerors of that dreadful day. Fatigue and diminution of numbers, even wounds

a foreign corps, in very critical circumstances; he looked up, and cried 'Well done, dear March.'

An Irish Officer declared to a friend, that on the morning of the 18th when ever he attempted to rise he fell down again from the effects of sleeping on the mud. The dejection consequent on this weakness he described as most extreme; but in about two hours after, being revived by a little brandy, he found with joy he could stand, and use his limbs, for the honour of Ireland. Many other officers were in the same condition. It is not wonderful that such men should have conquered. When the Duke of Wellington, while amusing himself at the Duchess of Richmond's ball, on the evening of the 15th, heard of the advance of Bonaparte, he is reported to have said, 'When other generals get into a scrape they are lost; but when I get into one my men always extricate me.'

were forgotten at the animating order to charge; and the whole line four deep, and supported by the artillery and cavalry, rushed down the slope, and up the corresponding bank, preceded by the Duke of Wellington with his hat in his hand. The fire from one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery did not stop them for a single moment, and in a short time the French artillery-men deserted their guns, cut loose their traces, and mingled in the flight now altogether confused and universal, the fugitives trampling down those who yet endeavoured to keep their ranks. The tirailleurs of the Imperial guard gallantly endeavoured to cover the retreat. They were charged by the British cavalry and literally cut to pieces. Both lines now became united in one tide of general and undistinguished flight. Baggage wagons, artillery carts, guns overthrown, and all the impediments of a hurried flight, encumbered the field and road, without mentioning the thick-strewn corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the still more miserable wounded, who, in vain shrieked and implored compassion, as fliers and pursuers drove headlong over them in the agony of fear, or the ecstasy of triumph. All the guns which were in the line, fell into the immediate possession of the British.

The march and advance of the Prussians crossed the van of the British army near La Belle Alliance, where the Duke of Wellington and Prince Marshal Blucher, met to congratulate each other upon their joint success. Here too the victorious allies of both countries exchanged military greeting. The Prussian cavalry in advance, halted their regimental band to play 'God save the King,' which compliment the British returned with three cheers. After a fight of such unparalleled length and ferocity the British troops were completely exhausted. Even the horses of the officers were altogether unable to strike a trot for any length of way. But Blucher assuring the Duke that every man and horse should be sent in pursuit of the fugitives, the British halted and gave the French three hearty cheers. The night

was illuminated by a bright moon, so that the fliers found no refuge, and experienced as little mercy. The Prussian light horse executed their orders with an exactness that was terrible. At Genappe there was nothing but pell-mell confusion, and the French being completely dispirited and exhausted, were slaughtered without resistance. There was something Homeric in the death of General Duhesme, who commanded the rear guard. He was overtaken at the gate of an inn by a Brunswick hussar. 'The Duke fell yesterday,' said the hussar, and instantly cut him down. At Charleroi the French attempted to make a stand, but a few shots from their pursuers dispersed them; and caissons, provisions, guns, and money, were abandoned in the streets, and the whole *material* of the army fell into the hands of the Prussians. The flight now recommenced with all its disorder. At a little distance from Charleroi, one party took the road leading to Avesnes, and the other to Philippeville; and many threw themselves into the surrounding woods, to avoid the Prussian cavalry, and thus this great army gradually dispersed and disappeared.

The British halted about two miles from the field of battle. It was then half past nine o'clock. The Duke of Wellington returned to Waterloo. As he crossed again this fatal scene, on which the silence of death had now succeeded to the storm of battle, the moon breaking from dark clouds shed an uncertain light upon this wide field of carnage, covered with mangled thousands of that gallant army, whose heroic valour had won for him the brightest wreath of victory, and left to future times an imperishable monument of their country's fame. He saw himself surrounded by the bloody corpses of his veteran soldiers, who had followed him through distant lands—of his friends—his associates in arms—his companions through many an eventful year of danger and of glory: in that awful pause which follows the mortal conflict of man with man, emotions unknown or stifled in the heat of battle forced their way, the

feelings of the man triumphed over those of the general, and in the very hour of victory, Lord Wellington burst into tears.

If it was a day of glory, it was likewise a day of sorrow for Britain; if we triumph in it as the proudest, we must also mourn it as the most bloody of all the battles that she fought or won. Those who witnessed the most sanguinary contests of the Peninsular war, declared they had never seen so terrible a carnage; and the Prussians acknowledged that even the battle of Leipsic was not to be compared to it. The dead could not be numbered; and by those who visited this dreadful field of glory, and of death, the day after the battle, the spectacle of horror that it exhibited can never be forgotten.

The mangled and lifeless bodies were even then stripped of every covering—every thing of the smallest value was already carried off.* The road between Waterloo and Brussels, which passes for nine miles through the thick shades of the Forest of Soignè, was choked up with scattered baggage, broken waggons, and dead horses. The heavy rains and the

* All the inhabitants near the field of Battle fled into the adjoining wood, except the gardener at Hougoumont, who had delayed his retreat too long, and was therefore obliged to remain amongst the British troops. At a farm house at the end of Waterloo and nearest the field, one solitary woman remained, during the whole of the day, shut up in a garret, from which she could see nothing, and without any means of gaining information of what was passing, while they were fighting man to man, and sword to sword, at the very doors; while shells were bursting in at the windows, and while the cannon-balls were breaking through the wooden gates into the farm-yard, and striking against the walls of the house. This woman was the farmer's wife: and when asked her motives for this extraordinary conduct, she replied with great simplicity, that she had a great many cows and calves, and poultry, and pigs—that all she had in the world was there; and that she thought, if she did not stay to take care of them, they would all be destroyed or carried off. Though the inhabitants had their property destroyed, yet they were amply compensated by the plunder of the dead, and the sale of their relics to crowds of curious English that visited the field. Many of the peasantry, it is said, realized a small fortune.

great passage upon it, had rendered it almost impassible, so that it was with extreme difficulty that the carriages containing the wounded could be brought along. The way was lined with unfortunate men who had crept from the field, and many, unable to go farther, lay down and died :—holes dug by the road side, served as their graves, and the road, weeks after the battle, was strewn with the tattered remains of their clothes and accoutrements. In every village and hamlet,—on every road,—in every part of the country, for thirty miles round, wounded soldiers were found wandering; the wounded Belgic and Dutch stragglers exerting themselves to the utmost to reach their own homes. So great were the numbers of the wounded, that, notwithstanding the most active and unremitting exertions, the last were not removed from the field of battle into Brussels till the Thursday following.

It is impossible for words to do justice to the generous kindness, and unwearied care and attention, which the inhabitants of Brussels and Antwerp, and the whole of the Belgic people, exerted towards these poor sufferers. Nor should the humanity shown by the British soldiers themselves be unnoticed. The wounded of our army, who were able to move, employed themselves in tying up the wounds and administering to the wants of their suffering enemies.

The desolation which reigned on the scene of action, cannot easily be described. The fields of high standing corn were trampled down, and so completely beaten into the earth, that they had the appearance of stubble. The ground was completely ploughed up in many places with the charge of the cavalry, and the horses' hoofs, deep stamped into the earth, left the traces where many a deadly struggle had been. The whole field was strewn with the melancholy vestiges of war and devastation—soldiers' caps pierced with many a ball, and trodden under foot—eagles that had ornamented them—badges of the legion of honour—cuirasses—fragments of broken arms, belts and scabbards innumerable—shreds of tattered cloth, shoes, cartridge boxes, gloves, highland bon-

nets, feathers steeped in mud and gore—French novels, and German Testaments—scattered music belonging to the bands—packs of cards, and innumerable papers of every description, that had been thrown out of the pockets of the dead, by those who had pillaged them. French love-letters, and letters from mothers to their sons, and from children to their parents, were scattered about in every direction.

The number that fell on the field of Waterloo, has never been exactly ascertained. The loss in killed and wounded of the British and Hanoverians, has been estimated at 17,000, and that of the French at 23,000, making a total of 40,000. But some officers of distinction have considered this computation as rather low. To the superior English officers that fell, and are mentioned in the notes, may be added, General Barnes, Colonels Ellis, Gordon, Ferrier, and Hamilton; and Lieut. Colonels Thomas, Canning, Currie, Fitzgerald, D'Oyly, and Macara, Majors Hodge, Cairnes, Hawlyn, Howard, Griffith, Packe, and Lloyd, and most of the Duke of Wellington's suite. Many of these fought and fell in the ball dress, in which they had appeared at the Duchess of Richmond's rout. The Earl of Uxbridge received a wound by almost the last shot fired, in consequence of which his leg was amputated.

When it is considered that it was almost the first line alone, which consisted of English troops, that received and repelled the furious and repeated shocks of the whole French army, the decided superiority of troops that have been nurtured in the invigorating principles of freedom, will appear in a most striking point of view. Blucher's celebrated veterans, strongly posted, could not resist the attacks of an equal number of French, but a small body of English defeated a greatly superior number of French warriors, whose gallantry and enthusiasm were most conspicuous on this occasion. Had the Prussians not appeared at night, and had the French succeeded in forcing the English lines, Lord Wellington has declared that a rout would not have ensued.

Ten thousand men could have defended the road to Brussels, while the Forest of Soignè would have formed a retreat, which it was scarcely possible that Bonaparte could have forced.

The British regiments who fought this day received from their country several distinguished honours and privileges. A grand monument commemorative of the battle, was voted by Parliament. The principal officers were admitted to the most honourable military order of the Bath, and many were presented with the orders of the Allied Sovereigns. About half a million sterling was also raised by voluntary subscription in the united kingdom, for the benefit of the wounded, and the relatives of those who fell in this memorable campaign.

Having thus given a general description of this 'terrible battle,' as the late Marshal Ney justly and emphatically termed it, we will now return and view the conduct of the *great Napoleon*, during this dreadful conflict, and the important events that ensued.

Bonaparte was incessantly occupied during the morning of the 18th, in arranging and encouraging his troops, and every where was exhibited the most profound devotion to his service. There was a lofty observatory above a mile in the rear of his position, from which it is said he directed the movement of his army. But this is not true. He walked or rode during the greater part of the action upon an eminence near a cottage called La Belle Alliance. Jean Baptiste La Coste, of this place, about five in the morning, was taken prisoner to serve as guide, and conducted with his hands tied behind him (that he might not escape as a former man had done) to another house belonging to him, opposite to which Bonaparte had slept. Observing the French soldiers plundering and destroying this house, he cried. Bonaparte asked what he cried for? 'Because your soldiers are destroying all my property, and my family have

no where to put their heads.' Bonaparte said, 'Do you not know that I am emperor, and can recompense you an hundred times as much?' He was placed on a horse immediately between Bonaparte and his Aid-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape. They proceeded a little beyond Belle Alliance, and Bonaparte took the ground on a small eminence on the opposite side; a sort of body guard of twelve pieces of artillery, very light, surrounding them. From this spot, he could command both lines. He first observed: 'How steadily those troops take the ground! how beautifully those cavalry form! 'Observe these grey horse,' (meaning the Scots Greys, who particularly attracted his attention), 'They are brave men, it is a pity to cut such troops in pieces.' He asked La Coste the particulars of every house, tree, wood, rising ground, &c., with which he seemed well informed, holding a map in his left hand, and intent upon the action all the day, incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat pocket, in large pinches, of which he violently snuffed up about half, throwing the other from him, with a violent exertion of the arm, and thumb and finger, as if from vexation; this was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours: he frequently placed his left hand upon the back of La Coste's horse, to speak to the Aid-de-camp on the other side of him. Seeing La Coste flinch at the shower of shot, he replied; 'Do not stir, my friend, a shot will kill you equally in the back as the front, or wound you more disgracefully.'

Capt. Erskine, who was made prisoner in the battle of the 16th, was brought before Bonaparte for examination. Being asked by Bonaparte 'Who commands the cavalry?' he was answered, 'Lord Uxbridge.' 'No, Paget,' replied Bonaparte. The officer then explained that they meant the same person, and Bonaparte nodded assent. He was then asked, 'Who commanded in chief?' and was answered, 'the Duke of Wellington;' upon which he observed, 'No,

that cannot be, for he is sick.' It seems that his Grace had received a fall from his horse, on the 14th, and was reported to be indisposed in consequence, and Bonaparte had received intelligence to that effect. The conversation continued in this line for a considerable time, during which Bonaparte showed himself perfectly acquainted with the strength and position of the several divisions of the Allied Armies, and the names of their several Commanders. As they were successively mentioned, Bonaparte occasionally remarked, 'Oh! yes, this division cannot be up in time.— This division cannot be up in a day,' and so on.

At three o'clock, some disorders were observed in the rear of Lord Wellington's line, which appeared very near broken. At this time Bonaparte sent off an express to France, exclaiming frequently to the Secretary, 'Above all, fail not to say that the victory is mine!' So confident was Bonaparte of getting to Brussels, that several bales of Proclamations were found among his baggage, dated from 'Our Palace at Lacken,' a royal residence near that city.

' Proclamation to the Belgians and Inhabitants of the left Bank of the Rhine.

' The ephemeral success of my enemies detached you for a moment from my Empire; in my exile, upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaint, the God of battles has decided the fate of your beautiful provinces; Napoleon is among you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen; rise in mass, join my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remainder of these barbarians, who are your enemies and mine: they fly with rage and despair in their hearts.'

' At the Imperial Palace of Lacken, June 17, 1815.'

' (Signed) NAPOLEON.'

' By the Emperor,'

' The Major-General of the Army,'

' COUNT BERTRAND.'

However averse the Belgians in general might be to French domination, there were several prepared to welcome them as conquerors. One nobleman at Brussels, had pre-

pared a splendid supper for the Emperor, and a list of eighty other gentlemen were found amongst his baggage, whose houses were to be protected from the soldiery. La Coste says, that he often expressed surprize that the Belgic troops did not come over to him. It is certain that wherever the French encountered them, they called to them, 'Come over to us brave Belgians, and do not fight against your Emperor!' He had formed the idea of arming the Belgic peasantry, and a considerable depot of muskets was at Lisle for that purpose.

Bonaparte continued to give his orders with great confidence and animation. He is reported to have said, 'These English fight well, but they must give way soon;' and asked Soult if 'he did not think so.' Soult said, that he much doubted whether they would ever give way. 'And why?' said Napoleon with his usual quickness. Soult replied: 'he believed they would sooner be cut to pieces.' Still Napoleon seemed to entertain the fullest confidence of victory, and at six o'clock jocularly observed that they should arrive at Brussels in good time for supper. This boast is not to be ascribed to a want of military foresight, for the Duke of Wellington admitted, that 'he never had fought so hard for victory, and never from the gallantry of the enemy, had he been so near beaten.'

When Bonaparte perceived Blucher's troops deploying, he pretended to believe that they were Grouchy's corps; and he even caused this false report to be spread through the line. Not that he could himself be so far deceived as to mistake the Prussians, for his own troops, but he concluded that they were closely pursued by Grouchy; and that he should be able to rout the English before they could attack him seriously. Determined therefore to make a great effort, he instantly ordered the reserve of his guard to advance. This formidable column led by Ney, answered the order with a shout of triumph, and followed their beloved chief

with confidence.* But when he arrived within 400 yards of the British line, Generals Bertrand and Drouot threw themselves before him, and exclaimed in a pathetic accent—
 ‘Ah! Sire, what are you going to do! Consider the safety of France, and of the army, depends entirely upon you. All is lost if any accident should happen to you.’ Bonaparte yielded with apparent reluctance to their entreaties, and stopping at the bottom of a hillock, smiled and addressed expressions of confidence and encouragement to the corps that passed him. The march of these old warriors was very firm, and there was something solemn in it.—Their appearance was very fierce. A kind of savage silence reigned amongst them: and in their looks there was a mixture of surprise and discontent, at finding Bonaparte was not at their head.

These terrible warriors being repulsed by warriors still more terrible, rushed back in confusion. Cries of *all is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. A universal panic seized the army, which sought safety in instant flight; and as the Prussians had out-flanked the right wing, it is highly probable that many did cry ‘*Sauve qui*

* Mr. Simpson, who has published some particulars respecting Waterloo, visited the rope walk erected by Bonaparte at Antwerp, which had been converted into an hospital for 1500 wounded French prisoners. Here he learned, and reluctantly confesses, several instances of their ‘phrenetic zeal’ for the Emperor. He saw one man who had tossed up his amputated arm in the air with a feeble cry of *Vive l’Emperor*. Another at the moment of the preparations to take off his leg, declared that there was something he knew of which would cure him on the spot, and save his limb, and the operator’s trouble. When asked to explain this strange remark, he said ‘a sight of the Emperor!’ The indispensable amputation did not save him. A singularly wild and almost poetic fancy, was the form in which another bore his testimony; he was undergoing, with great steadiness, the operation of the extraction of a ball from his side; in the moment of the greatest suffering, he exclaimed ‘an inch deeper and you will find the Emperor!’ Many others shewed similar acts of heroic devotion, and died with the Emperor’s name on their lips.

peut,' though this has been most anxiously denied. Bonaparte for a last effort, collected some battalions of the old and young guards, and led them on. But all in vain, for this feeble reserve was presently overthrown. The commanders, swept along by the flying torrent, had not a single file of men to rally to; and night coming on added to the confusion. Even the squadrons of *service* drawn up by the side of the Emperor were dispersed.

Seeing that the battle was lost, Bonaparte rode off with his general staff. The bridge and narrow road at Genappe, were so encumbered with military waggon, that it took above an hour to get through them. Three leagues beyond Charleroi he halted, and a tent was pitched upon a grass-plot. A fire being kindled, and refreshments placed upon a chair, Bonaparte took the first for fourteen hours, standing with his back to the fire, with his hands generally behind him, conversing with a circle of nine, whose horses La Coste had been ordered to hold, till the party, about two in the morning, broke up, when each taking his horse, Bertrand gave La Coste a Napoleon d'or, which he exchanged, after a twenty-four hours fast, to refresh himself and family.

A Frenchman, 'in order to recommend himself to the successful party,' has published a narration of this campaign, wherein he labours to prove, that the '*monster Bonaparte*,' acted as if he had 'lost his understanding.' But in opposition to the assertions of this unprincipled writer it is only necessary to adduce the testimony of the Duke of Wellington, who declared, that Bonaparte did his duty, and fought the battle with *infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery*—'and this,' adds the noble Duke, 'I do not state from any personal motive of claiming merit to myself, for the victory is to be ascribed to the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers.'

A very few days after Bonaparte's departure to the army, one hundred and one discharges of artillery awoke the Pari-

sians at an early hour, announcing the defeat of the Allies. But the bulletin was modest and reserved. However, on the following day the defeat of the united Prussian and English armies on the plains of Fleurus was published. The official account stated, that the defeat of the Prussians was so complete, that there was no expectation of further news of them for some time, and with respect to the English, 'we shall see, in the course of a day or two, what we shall do with them—The emperor is there !'

On the morning of the 20th June, after two days of painful surmise, and trembling expectation, it was whispered throughout Paris, 'The emperor is here !' No one deigned to inquire what was the fate of the army. His presence in Paris was a bulletin too unequivocal of its entire defeat to need further confirmation.

Bonaparte arrived in Paris at three in the morning, and assembled his counsellors. It was deemed by him necessary to try some master-stroke, which should counterbalance the effects of the defeat at Waterloo. After much deliberation, he thought that the evil impression made on the public mind, from the disaster occasioned by the panic of the army, would be best neutralized by marching upon the assembly, and proclaiming himself Dictator. Lucien, his brother, was peremptory also in this opinion ; but there were persons of the council whose minds were not bound up to such a terrible feat. This discussion was not, however, so secret, but that some intimation of the project reached a member of the House of Representatives, who had been too early skilled in revolutions, not to feel that no time was to be lost.

M. de la Fayette, therefore hurried to the house, which had assembled at an earlier hour than usual, as the news of Bonaparte's arrival had circulated through Paris. He found the president occupied in correcting some defects of grammar in the procès-verbal of the preceding day. 'Leave your erratas,' he exclaimed, 'there is other matter for discussion ;

hasten to open the sitting, and give me the parole.' 'Representatives,' said M. de la Fayette, 'it is now twenty-five years since I raised my voice in this tribune of liberty; the country is in danger, and can be saved by you alone. The sinister reports, which have circulated these two days past, are unhappily confirmed. It is you whom it behoves to rally the whole country around the national standard, the standard of 1789, of liberty, equality, and public order; it is to you to whom it belongs to defend the independence and the honour of France against the pretensions of the enemy.'

'A veteran in the cause of liberty, a stranger to the spirit of faction, I am come to propose to you the previous measures which the crisis into which the nation is plunged demands; I am assured that all my colleagues will feel their necessity.'

The first of these propositions was to declare that the independence of the country is threatened; the second, that the house shall declare itself permanent; that all attempts to dissolve it are high treason, and that any one who shall be guilty of this crime shall be immediately arraigned as a traitor to his country. The third proposition consisted of thanks to the army, and the national guard; the fourth was an invitation to the minister of the interior to convoke the staff officers of the national guard, and procure arms for every citizen who should be called to serve in it; the last was an invitation to the ministers to repair to the House, and answer all questions that should be made them.

No explanation was demanded by any member of the cause of these alarming propositions; it was sufficient that they were made by M. de la Fayette, and that Bonaparte was in Paris. The three first of these motions were immediately converted into laws. The national guard flocked round the assembly without waiting a law; but the ministers obeyed the summons of the chamber with less alacrity.

The plans of policy offered by the ministers and Lucien Bonaparte did not satisfy the deputies, and Napoleon was told,

that a rising ferment among the deputies would infallibly compromise his dignity: and indeed, the National Representation were so worked upon during the remainder of the day, and in the night, that in the morning the president and the emperor's best friends came and besought him to abdicate, as the only means left of saving France! The emperor, though far from being convinced, came to a speedy decision:—‘The honour and glory of France have been the objects of my life,’ said he; ‘you know it; and it shall not be said that my personal interests shall ever stand in the way of their attainment; may you succeed without me; I abdicate; may the allies have been really sincere in their communication.’ He then dictated the following:—

DECLARATION OF BONAPARTE TO THE FRENCH.

Paris, June 23.

‘Frenchmen! in commencing a war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the Powers against me.

‘Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France—may they prove sincere in their declarations, and really direct them only against my power! My political life is terminated; and I proclaim my Son, under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French.

‘The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my son, reduces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the Regency by a law.

‘Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

‘(Signed) NAPOLEON.’

The Assembly having sent a deputation to offer him their thanks for this communication, he received them, surrounded by all the great officers of his household, and those of his guard, with all the pomp suitable to the imperial dignity of which he was about to be deprived. His figure and deportment were calm; he said that a great disaster had happened, but that the territory was yet untouched; he spoke of the sacrifice which he made, at the desire of the chamber, to

public circumstances, and to his tenderness for his son. The deputation withdrew, observing the most respectful ceremonies, promising to mention to the Assembly that part of his message that related to his son.

Bonaparte thus surrendered his authority though surrounded by soldiers, and the *Fédérés*, who incessantly cried ‘Vive Napoleon!’ while thousands of the citizens crowded to his palace, exclaiming ‘give us arms, we are ready to support our emperor.’ The troops concentrated before Paris, amounting to 50,000 men, also continued the old cry of ‘Vive l’empereur!’ But Napoleon, instead of taking advantage of the strong feeling exhibited in his favour, and making another bold effort to retrieve his fallen fortunes, caused the following address to be distributed amongst the troops:—

‘Napoleon to the brave Soldiers of the Army before Paris.’

‘Soldiers!—While obeying the necessity which removes me from the brave French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps, though absent; I know all the corps, and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it shall have displayed. Both you and me have been calumniated: men, very unfit to appreciate our labours, have seen in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object.

‘Let your future successes tell them that it was the country above all things which you served by obeying me, and that if I have any share in your affection, I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

‘Soldiers! some efforts more and the coalition is dissolved; Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike.

‘Save the honour, the independence of the French. Be to the last the same men that I have known in you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

‘(Signed) NAPOLEON.’

After Napoleon’s abdication, five persons were named to take the supreme command. These were Fouché, Carnot,

Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. The first act of the Executive Commission was the sending of an embassy to the Duke of Wellington and Blucher, to stop the march of their armies, and gain information of their intentions relative to peace.

The plenipotentiaries were General la Fayette, M. le Forest, a veteran in diplomacy, General Sebastiani, and M. d'Argenson; these four were members of the Assembly of Deputies; M. Ponteculant, member of the Chambers of Peers of the king, and M. Benjamin Constant.

The plenipotentiaries repaired first to the French advanced-posts, to ask of the Duke of Wellington and General Blucher a suspension of hostilities. Blucher demanded not only the fortified posts, before and around him, should be given up, but all those of the Ardennes, and in Lorraine, should be evacuated. The plenipotentiaries could not accept these conditions; and proceeded athwart many difficulties and delays, to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Haguenau. The monarchs, and even their first ministers, were not visible; but after some delay the English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussians ambassadors, held conferences with them, in which they acted with the most consummate duplicity, and dismissed the French plenipotentiaries on the pretext that the negotiations could not commence at Haguenau. They were accompanied by two Prussian officers, who took so circuitous a route, that they did not reach Paris till two days after the capitulation was signed.

On the 30th of June, the allied armies approached the north of Paris, and commenced a distant cannonade. The French commander-in-chief, the prince of Echmuhl, who was the minister of war, had taken his head quarters at La Villette, just without the walls of Paris. From thence a correspondence was established by the minister and his staff, with the Chamber of Deputies, and by himself with the Duke of Wellington. 'Representatives of the people,' said the minister, 'we are in presence of the enemy. We swear

before you, and the whole world, that we will defend to our latest breath the cause of our independence, and the honour of our nation. They wish to force the Bourbons upon us. 'The Bourbons give no pledge to the nation,' &c.—This address was signed by Davoust, and fourteen generals. The letter to the duke of Wellington contained a formal demand of a cessation of hostilities, since the object of the war, Napoleon's abdication, was accomplished. But the Duke of Wellington replied to this demand by occupying such positions as were most favourable for attacking the defences around Paris.

On Monday the 3d of July, the armies were drawn out on the plains of Grenelle, to the south-west of the city. The morning passed in preparations and manœuvres for battle. But the Duke of Wellington invited the French generals to a conference; when he led them through his ranks, displayed his positions, plans, and resources, and allowed them the necessary time for deliberation. During the day an honourable capitulation was signed, and the French army began its march beyond the Loire.

In the mean time the Legislature laboured uninterruptedly in forming a new constitution and a Bill of Rights, in conformity to the example of the English at the epocha of their revolution. While the cannon of the besiegers were sounding in the ears of these legislators, they decreed that an address should be made to the allied powers, declaring that the Bourbons were rejected as the enemies of the French nation; that no proposition of peace, which should tend to the re-establishment of this family, would be received or listened to, and that the French were resolved to perish rather than submit to such a yoke. This decree of the chamber was ordered to be distributed to the army.

The allied armies, agreeably to the capitulation, having entered Paris, an English and Prussian camp were formed in the Champs Elysées. A message from the provisional government announced that, although the allied sovereigns

had appeared undecided in the choice of a prince to take the crown of France, they had, on the preceding day, made a declaration by their ministers and generals, *that all the sovereigns were engaged to replace Louis XVIII. on the throne; —that he was to make his immediate entry into the capital, and that the Thuilleries were now in the possession of the foreign troops.* In this state of things, ‘we have nothing to do,’ add they, ‘but to offer our vows for the country; and as our deliberations are no longer free, we deem it our duty to separate.’

The Chamber of Peers heard the sentence of the allied sovereigns, and withdrew from the Luxembourg in silence; the Commons were not so courtly disposed. They were hearing the report of the commission on some part of the constitution which they were about to frame, when the message of the commission of government interrupted the speaker at the tribune. The debate on the constitution was then resumed, and the orator terminated his speech, by citing, and applying to themselves the memorable words of Mirabeau in the assembly at Versailles.

The assembly, finding the capital surrounded, had on the preceding day made a solemn declaration, which might be called its testament, to the French nation. After a desultory discussion on their personal situation, the assembly adjourned their meeting to the following morning at an early hour. The deputies repaired to the hall at eight in the morning, and found it surrounded by a considerable number of troops, who refused them entrance. They then repaired to the house of their president, where they made a solemn protest against the proceedings of the Allies.

On the morning of the 8th of July, the white flag waved on the steeples of St. Denis; and crowds of citizens collected to see the re-entrance of the king into Paris. Those who went some distance to hail his approach, carried their white cockades in their pockets, which they placed in their hats after passing the barrier: but those who neglected to divest them-

selves of this symbol of loyalty at their return, were with difficulty saved from the fury of the populace. Fearless of the English and Prussian bayonets, they loudly vociferated 'Non Bourbons! vive la representation nationale!' Louis XVIII. surrounded by troops, silently entered the city; and in the evening there was an illumination, in which the houses of many of the anti-Bourbonists exhibited peculiar brilliancy. The rejoicings were accompanied by discharges of artillery from the English and Prussian camps.

Napoleon immediately after his abdication withdrew from Paris to Malmaison, where he employed himself in preparing for his intended voyage, and in conversing with men of letters and artists. The chief topic of his discourse with those persons was the errors and abuses of his own government; but in discussing the late events, he always spoke in the third person, and as if he himself had no immediate concern in those operations.

On the 29th, at the moment of ascending his carriage, Napoleon sent to the Provisionary Government with this message:—'I know the position of the enemy, their advanced corps is not numerous.—There is only occasion to shew the moral force of our army, the hope of the soldiers would revive on seeing their old general. In abdicating the power, I have not renounced the glorious title of every citizen—that of defending my country. If it be required, I answer for beating the enemy, and, inspiring the army with dispositions which shall procure you more favourable negotiations. This object gained, I engage on my word to re-ascend my carriage, and to pursue my route to the place which I have chosen.' An answer was returned, that it was too late, and that negotiations were already commenced.

Napoleon departed for Rochefort. On going on board the frigates, he sent one of his suite to an English cruiser to learn whether the passports had been received which were promised by the Provisional Government, to allow him to proceed to the United States. He was informed

they were not, but that an explanation would be made to the English admiral upon the subject. It was supposed that Napoleon might get out under a neutral flag; but the answer was, that the frigate would be attacked. A passage was then mentioned in a neutral vessel. The answer was, that it would be strictly searched, perhaps even taken to an English port; but it was intimated to him that he had better go to England, and affirmed, that there he could have no harm to apprehend.

During the interval that he was waiting for the answer of the English admiral, Napoleon conceived the idea of embarking with a select suite in two *chasse-marees*, of from 18 to 20 tons burthen, and to try the chances of fortune, and the dangers of the sea, in a voyage to America.

In the mean time circumstances pressed, and it became necessary for him to take his resolution. He sent back the same negociator on board the English cruiser to learn if an answer had been received. The English captain replied, that it was every moment expected, and he added, that, if the emperor would immediately embark for England, he was authorised to receive him, and take him thither.—He added, that, as a public character he could not guarantee the determination which would be made as to his fate; but he added, that as a private individual, and many other captains repeated it along with him, they had not a doubt but Napoleon would experience in England all the respectful treatment which he might wish for: that the English had a generosity of sentiment, a liberality of opinion, even above sovereignty. Napoleon's envoy, encouraged by such professions, said he would go and communicate to the emperor the offer of the English captain, and the whole of the conversation.

All this time the force of the English was known to be increasing every day—all the passages were closed—two or three lines of vessels extended in a crescent on the open sea—the boats at night stood near the shores, and shut up the

most secret outlets. On another side the white flag was flying upon the neighbouring coasts; the agitation was great, and civil war at hand: it became urgent to decide upon something. The emperor was advised to rejoin the army, or to throw himself into some of the troubled districts. The arrival of Davoust, the disposition of Clausel and Lamarque, those of the garrisons of Rochefort and l'Isle d'Aix, rendered success possible, or good terms certain. Napoleon rejected the advice to countenance civil war, as unworthy of him.

Nothing presented itself but the *chasse-marees* or the English fleet. He had private conferences with many of his suite, as his situation was become extremely critical. It was more easy to make objections than to give him counsel; and on his part it was more easy to combat an objection than to remove it. One of them, having expressed himself afraid lest if he went to England his personal liberty and rights would be violated, he exclaimed with warmth, 'That is impossible. If I have a correct opinion of the Prince of Wales, after what I have heard of him, he possesses the strength of mind and justice of an Edward, joined to the grace and gallantry of a Charles II. Characters of this stamp do not let opportunities slip of doing glorious actions. 'The manner in which I shall be treated in England may adorn one of the finest pages of history. Ill treatment of my person would be an outrage against the laws, and would cover that people with shame, now that I can no longer do them any injury.'

At last he assembled all his suite around him, and wished to have their opinion as to what should be done. The opinion was for the English fleet. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'we will go on board the English fleet;' and, telling some one to take a pen, he dictated the following letter to the Prince Regent:—

'Your Royal Highness,

'Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my

political career, and I come, like Themosticles, to throw myself upon the hospitality (*m'asseoir sur le foyer*) of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which (protection) I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

'Rochefort, 13th July, 1815.'

'NAPOLEON.'

This letter was immediately sent on board the English vessel, with an intimation that Napoleon would repair thither on the morrow, which he did in fact, early in the morning. The first moments of his reception were cold and embarrassed; but, in a short time, scarcely had Napoleon looked over the crew, seen the officers, and chatted with the captain, than the inevitable ascendancy of this extraordinary man, who, for twenty years, has employed all tongues upon his actions, operated like magic. The admiral came to pay his respects to the ex-emperor—the latter desired to see his ship, and invited himself for the morrow to breakfast—he was received with distinction and politeness*.

They set sail on the same day, on the 16th. Contrary winds or calms made the voyage long and tedious. They made Torbay only on the 25th, where orders were found to hold no communication with the land. But all the people of the country were there, without distinction of rank or sex. Napoleon was principally occupied in reading, in conversation at intervals with some of his suite, and in taking a walk regularly several times a day upon the poop, viewing the people through his glass. He seemed struck with the beauty of the women, repeatedly crying out, 'What charming girls! what beautiful women!' and bowing to them. Some English officers reprobated the abuse he received in

* Bonaparte begged the boatswain might be sent to him, of whom he made many enquiries respecting the ship and his length of service. This honest fellow, surprised at the unexpectedness of the message, and his sudden introduction to one of whom he had heard so much, to the very great amusement of the crew, was determined to have the first word; and, therefore, with cap in hand, a scrape of the foot, and a head almost bowed to the deck, in true sailor-like style saluted him with, '*I hope your honour's well.*'

certain newspapers. 'The multitude,' said he, 'only judge from such *Blue Beard* tales—grave historians, who write for posterity, characterise men solely by their actions, and I leave my defence to them.'

On the third day they were ordered round to Plymouth. On anchoring in Plymouth sound, two frigates, the *Eurotas* and *Liffey*, were stationed on each side of the *Bellerophon*, and a sloop of war a-head. Several guard boats also commenced rowing round the ship. The visitors around the *Bellerophon* progressively increased daily, until upwards of 1,000 boats, full of people, were at one time endeavouring to precipitate themselves on the ship, in order to view the object of boundless curiosity. At length, the cheerings and acclamations became so general, when Napoleon appeared to gratify the spectators, that the ships were afterwards removed to a greater distance.

Sir Henry Banbury, accompanied by the Hon. Mr. Bathurst, charged with the communication of the determination of government to Bonaparte, were conveyed on board the *Bellerophon*, by Lord Keith's yacht. Sir Henry was introduced to the Ex-Empire; and, after mutual salutations, he read to him the resolution of the Cabinet, by which he was informed of his intended transportation to the island of St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received the intimation without any mark of surprise, as he said he had been apprized of the determination: but he protested against it in the most emphatic manner; and, in a speech of three quarters of an hour, delivered with great coolness, self-possession, and affability, reasoned against the outrageous proceeding; and in which he shewed himself to be well versed in our laws. Sir H. Banbury and Mr. Bathurst say, that his manner was temperate, his language eloquent, and that he conducted himself throughout in the most prepossessing way.

Lord Keith thanked Bonaparte for his polite attention to his nephew, who had been wounded at the battle of Ligny,

and had been attended by the chief imperial surgeon. After their departure, Bonaparte wrote the following protest against his transportation to the colony of St. Helena:—

Protest of Napoleon against his removal to St. Helena.

‘On board the Bellerophon, at sea, August 4, 1815.

‘I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person, and of my liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon: I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England.

‘Once seated on board the Bellerophon, I was upon the hearth of the British people. If the Government, by giving orders to the Captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag.

‘If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their integrity, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

‘I appeal, therefore, to history—it will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years on the people of England, came voluntarily in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.’

The certainty of Bonaparte being sent to St. Helena produced a strong impression on his suite; but the veteran Bertrand appeared little affected. His resolution seemed to be formed, and he viewed the disappointment with calmness. Madame Bertrand was however strongly agitated, and after conversing for some time with her husband, she darted into Napoleon’s cabin, threw herself at his feet, where she continued about half a minute; then starting up, rushed below into her own cabin, and had nearly succeeded in precipitating herself out of the quarter gallery window, when she was prevented by her husband and General Montholon. Subsequently when endeavouring to dissuade her husband from accompanying Bonaparte, he exclaimed in a loud and angry voice, ‘Never, Madame Bertrand, never!’ On the

day after this lady's attempt to commit suicide, Bonaparte enquired of the surgeon after her health, and, with a smile, asked if he imagined she really intended to drown herself.

Bonaparte, while on board the *Bellerophon*, conducted himself in the most polite and affable manner to the officers. The British, as well as the French officers, generally stood uncovered before him. This example had been shewn by admiral Sir Henry Hotham when he breakfasted on board the *Superb* in Basque roads. The *Superb's* yards were manned on his going on board, and on his return the same compliment was paid him by the *Bellerophon*. And though orders were sent to treat him merely as a general, they were never observed by the officers and crew of the latter ship, so deeply had he ingratiated himself into their favour.

The *Bellerophon* and *Tonnant* with Lord Keith on board put to sea from Plymouth sound on Friday the 4th of July. On the same day the *Northumberland* sailed from Portsmouth, and on Sunday these ships met and came to anchor off Torbay. General Bertrand went first on board the *Tonnant*, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn. At dinner, Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Bonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the *Northumberland*. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against sending the emperor to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation was to live quietly in England, under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn did not enter into any discussion with him. After dinner they, accompanied by Bertrand, went in the admiral's yacht towards the *Bellerophon*. Previously to their arrival Bonaparte's arms and pistols were taken from him—not without considerable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers.

Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Bona-

parte took leave of them individually. A Colonel Pistowki, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him. He had received 17 wounds in the service of Bonaparte; he said he would serve in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to accompany him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish lancers were peremptory, and he was removed to the *Eurotas*. But the distress and despondency of this faithful Pole were so great, that he was afterwards permitted to follow his master into exile in a transport that sailed soon after.

When Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, and first saw Bonaparte, he simply pulled off his hat, and said. 'How do you do, *General Bonaparte*?' which was returned to him in a manner equally laconic, but with his head uncovered. Bonaparte, after this salutation, protested with great vehemence against the British government for sending him into banishment; and concluded, by expressing some indignation at being styled general—saying, 'You have sent ambassadors to me as a sovereign potentate—you have acknowledged me as first consul.' He took a great deal of snuff whilst speaking.*

Bonaparte and his companions had sent frequently ashore, and purchased a billiard-table, wines of the most costly description, an immense quantity of playing-cards, chess-men, &c. and the best books procurable in the English language. The ex-emperor previous to his removal on board the *Northumberland* also wrote a farewell address to the French nation.

'I coveted the sceptre' said he 'but to sway it for your glory and welfare! The knowledge of my devotion to your honour and prosperity excited the hatred of the sovereigns of Europe. Had I sought only to reign without regard to the interests of my people, I should have established in their eyes the legitimacy of my title to the throne. Had agriculture been neglected, had manu-

* Admiral Sir George Cockburn, a strict disciplinarian, was made responsible for Bonaparte's safety, until the arrival of Major-general Sir Hudson Lowe, the new governor of St. Helena.

factories languished, had debt accumulated, and public spirit been degraded, then I had insured the friendship of rival potentates: had I circumscribed the prosperity of the empire to the embellishment of its palaces, or sacrificed the majesty of the throne to the preservation of the royal authority, then my dynasty might have possessed the inglorious inheritance.'

After reciting several arguments in defence of his political conduct, he concludes,—

'On the rock where I am doomed to pass my future days, by the disloyal sentence of your enemies, I shall yet hear the echo of your triumph, and hail, in the gloom of its horizon, the flag of your independence!'

Early on Monday morning, August 7th, Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, to superintend the inspection of Bonaparte's baggage; it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They found but 4000 gold Napoleons, and these were sealed up and detained. They were all sent on board the *Northumberland* about eleven o'clock. At half past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, went on board the *Bellerophon*, to receive Bonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Bonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the officers of the *Bellerophon*. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. Lord Keith received in the barge the following personages:—Bonaparte; General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children; Count and Countess Montholon and child; Count Las Cassas; General Gorgaud; nine men and three women servants. Bonaparte's surgeon refused to accompany him, upon which the surgeon of the *Bellerophon* offered to supply his place.

About twelve o'clock the *Tonnant's* barge reached the *Northumberland*. Bertrand stepped first upon deck, Bonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a general, presenting arms to him. He

pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburn—‘*Je suis à vos ordres.*’ He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who were near the admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an officer he said, ‘*Dans quel corps servez-vous?*’ (In what corps do you serve?)—The officer replied ‘In the artillery.’ Bonaparte immediately rejoined, ‘*Je sors de ce service moi-même.*’ (I was originally in that service myself.) After taking leave of the officers who had accompanied him from the *Bellerophon*, and embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, he went into the after-cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir J. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Honourable Mr. Lyttleton, &c.

Lord Lowther and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton now entered into very earnest conversation with him, which continued for two hours. As he was very communicative, and seemed desirous of a very free conversation with these two young gentlemen, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and entered into a review of much of his conduct. We understand that they asked him how he came to commit the impolicy of attacking Spain—the motives for the Berlin and Milan decrees—the war against Russia—the refusal of the terms of peace offered him before the first capture of Paris, &c. To all these questions he gave full answers, not avoiding, but rather encouraging, the discussion.

After defending the invasion of Spain, as forming part of ‘a grand political system,’ he took a new line of argument on the subject of his detention, and after much discussion, concluded by saying—‘Well, I have been deceived in relying upon your generosity. Replace me in the position from which you took me,’ (or words to that effect.)

Speaking of his invasion of France, he said with great vehemence—‘I was then a sovereign. I had a right to make war. The king of France had not kept his promises.’ He afterwards said exultingly, and laughing and shaking

his head—‘I made war on the king of France with 600 men.’

At one time he observed—‘I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England;’ and then, as if correcting himself for having inadvertently said more than was prudent—‘that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just—at least less unjust.’

His cabin in the Northumberland was fitted up with great elegance. His bed was peculiarly handsome, and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet was of silver. Among other articles upon it was a magnificent snuff-box, upon which was embossed, in gold, an eagle with a crown flying from Elba to the coast of France—the eagle just seeing the coast of France, and the respective distances, were admirably executed.

In the evening the Northumberland got under weigh; and, on the 9th, being joined by the vessels that were to accompany her, made sail down the Channel, and was soon out of sight.

During the voyage Bonaparte seemed perfectly calm and resigned to his fate. Once or twice he complained of the tediousness of the passage. He frequently amused himself in playing at cards with the companions of his misfortunes. He, however, kept up his dignity with those about him; and they never approached him covered, nor wore their hats in his presence. At dinner he had a plate of each dish on the table put before him by his servant, and some he partook of, others were removed without eating any. The same ceremony was observed in handing about wine; a glass of each kind on a salver was occasionally presented, and, if inclined, he drank one; if not, the salver was removed without his speaking. He never asked how he was to be disposed of, and was perfectly passive in every transaction. Sometimes, however, he submitted to ask for some indulgences for his followers, who were not equally capable of enduring the privations of their new situation.

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THE
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1. THE SUGAR LEAF
2. The Sugar Leaf
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After a slow, but not a boisterous passage of ten weeks, the lofty, black, and romantic rock of St. Helena appeared. Bonaparte viewed its dreary aspect, through his glass, with great attention; and its appearance at a distance is truly horrific; but his countenance remained unchanged, and no remark escaped his lips. Madame Bertrand did not view this singular place of exile with equal composure, being much agitated on beholding the precipitous and naked rocks, and apparently regretting the absence of those gay and splendid circles of polished society she had left in Europe.

Description of the Island of St. Helena.

This Island is situated in 15 deg. 55 min. south latitude, and 5 deg. 49 min. west longitude, from Greenwich. Its length is ten miles and a half; breadth six miles and three quarters: and its circumference about twenty eight miles. It lies within the limit of the south east trade wind, and is distant twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, eighteen hundred from that of South America, and seven thousand four hundred from Cape St. Vincent in Portugal, the nearest point of Europe. The voyage from this country is usually performed in ten Weeks.

It consists of one vast rock perpendicular on every side, like a castle, in the middle of the Ocean, whose natural walls are too high to be attempted by scaling ladders, nor is there the smallest beach except at the Bay, called Chapel Valley Bay, which is fortified with a strong battery of large cannon planted even with the water, and farther defended by the perpetual dashing of prodigious waves against the shore, which without further resistance, makes the landing difficult.

On rounding what is called Munden's Point the eye is suddenly relieved by a view of James town, seated in a narrow valley between two lofty mountains; and the interspersion of trees among the white houses, has an effect picturesque and pleasing in a high degree. This valley, known by the name of James's Valley, is on the N. W. and leeward side of the Island, in which situation there is a good anchorage from eight to twenty-five fathoms; and fresh water is conveyed in leaden pipes to the wharf from a spring two miles distant, which affords a plentiful supply. The surf at times is tremendous: particularly about Christmas, and many lives were lost in approaching and leaving the shore, until a new wharf and landing place were constructed by Governor Brooke.

Upon landing and passing the drawbridge, the way leads between a line of heavy guns, and a double row of trees, of a lively green, generally in full leaf. The town is entered by an arched gateway, under a rampart and terrace, forming one side of a parade, about 100 feet square.—On the left side are the government house, and main guard room; the former enclosed with a wall, having the semblance of embrasures, is called the castle: it contains the governor's habitation, and the offices of government. The church, fronting the gateway, is a neat edifice: the principal street commences between it and a pallisade enclosing the company's garden; it consists of 28 houses, most of them neat and well-constructed. It divides into two other streets; one on the east, leading to that side of the country: the other proceeding to the upper part of the valley, where are situated the barracks, the new garden, and the hospital. In this street are a number of shops, well stored with European and other commodities: but the houses in general are far inferior to those in the lower part of the town, where the principal inhabitants reside. The two hills between which the town is situated, are Rupert's on the east, and Ladder Hill on the west: the roads by which access is gained into the interior, are formed on the sides of these hills, and the ascent is so safe and easy, that carts and oxen pass along without danger or difficulty. For a mile or two, the traveller sees little else than nakedness and sterility: but his curiosity is soon gratified by the sudden prospect of verdure, woody heights, neat dwellings and cultivated plantations.

St. Helena is unequally divided by a lofty chain or ridge of hills, running nearly east and west; from this chain alternate ridges and valleys branch off in various directions. Diana's Peak, towards the east end of this chain, is the highest point of the island, and rises nearly 2,700 feet above the level of the sea. From the summit of this peak, no point intercepts the horizon: the whole island is beneath the scope of vision: the ridges and hollows diverging from the chain are traced to the sea. Houses and plantations diversify the prospect, and the contrast of naked and verdant mountains renders the scene at once novel, picturesque, and majestic.

Lightning, thunder, or storms, rarely disturb the serenity of this mild region; the rain is divided more after the manner of our temperate climates, than of the tropical ones; every month has its share, but July, August, and September seem to be the most stormy. Luxuriance of vegetation increases in proportion to the distance and height from the sea; and upon the very summit of the inferior hills, oxen are to be seen up to their knees in grass. Fruits, particularly vines, figs, oranges and lemons, ripen best in the valleys near the sea. From a garden more interior, but

finely watered and sheltered, of no greater extent than three acres of ground, 24,000 dozen apples of a large size were gathered in one season, besides peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs in abundance. Farmers are frequently disappointed in the cultivation of wheat, barley, and oats; either from drought, or from the depredation of the rats, which are frequently so numerous as to destroy the most promising crop. Potatoes, cabbages, peas, beans, and other vegetables, are raised in great plenty.

The breed of cattle and sheep on the island is originally English; the beef is of an excellent quality, but in consequence of the great demand from the company's shipping, a bullock is seldom allowed to attain the age of four years. Rabbits abound in some situations; pheasants and partridges are become numerous, since the government has given them protection; and every garden is enlivened by the notes of the canary-bird.

Of fish it has been computed that 76 species frequent the coasts. Of those most commonly taken and used, are mackarel, albecore, cavallos, jacks, congers, soldiers, old wives, and bull's eyes. And of shell-fish, long legs and stumps: these resemble the lobster in taste and colour, and have the same sort of tail. A great number of ships touch annually at St. Helena; and in war, the long detention for convoy experienced by large fleets (the crews and passengers of which are frequently equal to the whole population of the island) occasions such a consumption of stock and refreshments, that the mere productions of the place itself could never be adequate to such exigencies, were it not supplied with ample quantities of salt meat from England, and of rice from Bengal.

By the registered returns of the year 1805, the population of the island is stated at 504 white inhabitants, and 1,560 blacks, of whom 329 were free; forming a total of 2,064, besides the garrison, and the civil establishment of the company. There are two churches, one in the town, and another in the country. Strangers are accommodated in private houses, at one guinea per day each; for which a good table, wines, and lodgings, are provided.

The governor when there is occasion, may exercise the power of captain general. He is allowed a town and country house, and a liberal table, with servants, horses, &c. the lieutenant-governor has also two houses, some land, servants, and a few horses; the other officers are only allowed a town residence; there are also houses for the engineer, chaplain, and head surgeon. The civil establishment consists of an accountant, paymaster, storekeeper, and the secretary to the government, with their assistants.

St. Helena is gifted with many attractions and advantages, both local and natural; the temperature and salubrity of the

not exceeded in any part of the world ; the variations of cold are moderate, and fluctuate near the point most congenial to animal existence. It is fanned by a constant and equable wind, surrounded by abundance and variety of fish, and refreshed by numerous springs of the finest water. The only endemic disorders to which the natives are subject are of the catarrhal sort ; these, as they are of the inflammatory class, may in some measure account (notwithstanding their general robust health) for the few instances of longevity among the islanders.

The anchorage in the road is safe and sheltered ; and though the ships riding there sometimes drive to sea, this is owing rather to the steep declivity of the bank, than to the force or impression of the wind : the surf is sometimes high and dangerous, but the ocean beyond it is never ruffled by those hurricanes, which in other climates occasion such distress ; the approach from the south-west is smooth and commodious, and on departing for Europe, the ship glides away before a steady and a gentle breeze.

This island being discovered by the Portuguese on the festival of the Empress Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, acquired the name it still bears. After being successively deserted by the Portuguese and the Dutch, the English East India Company sent their servants to occupy it ; but the Dutch, about the year 1672, retook the island. Soon after an English officer landed a party of men in the night in a small cove, and climbing the rocks, fired into the fort, which was compelled to surrender. It has since been secured from invasion. The Company has now transferred the island to the Crown ; and an able Engineer, with proper assistants, are employed in rendering this singular rock impregnable.

The necessary arrangements being made, Bonaparte was landed on the second evening after the arrival of the Northumberland. As his intended residence was not ready for his reception, he was conveyed to the house of a private gentleman, at some distance from the town. Here he appeared perfectly at his ease, and amused himself with the two daughters of his host, who are represented as remarkably fine, intelligent, and playful girls. He frequently took exercise in the garden, and spent the remainder of his time in reading, conversation, or *vingt-un*. He received those English gentlemen that were presented to him with great affability ; but seemed rather hurt at the severity of Sir George Cockburn's arrangements.

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